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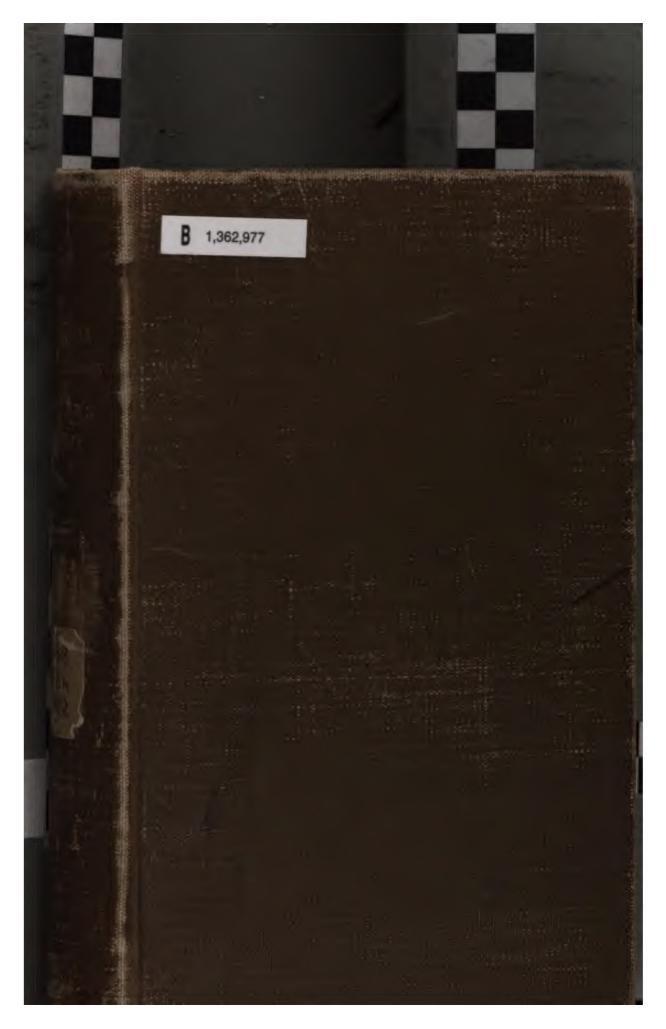
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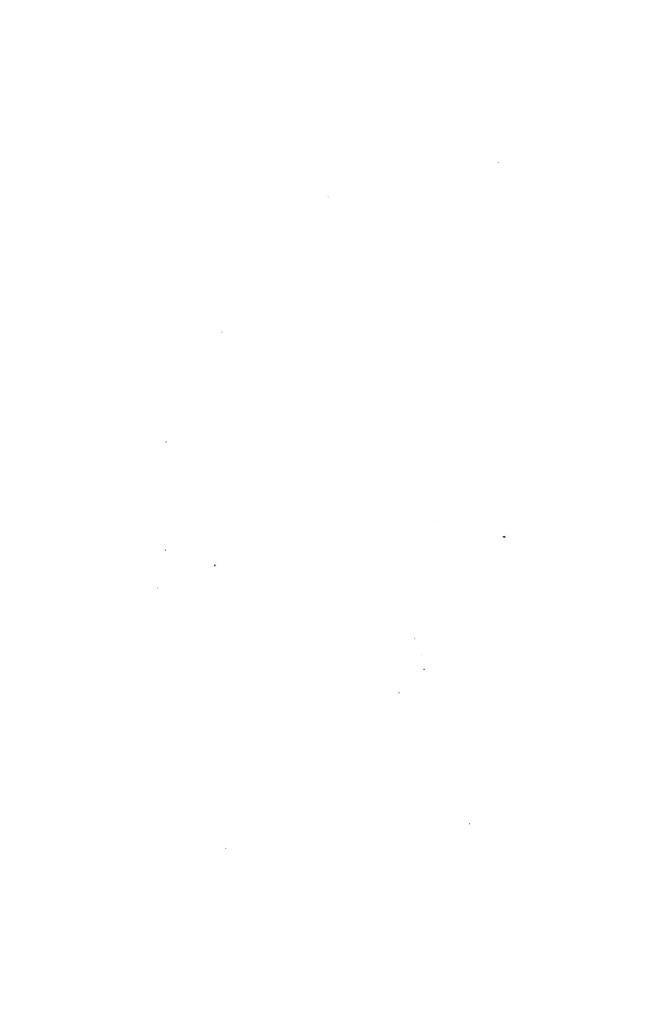
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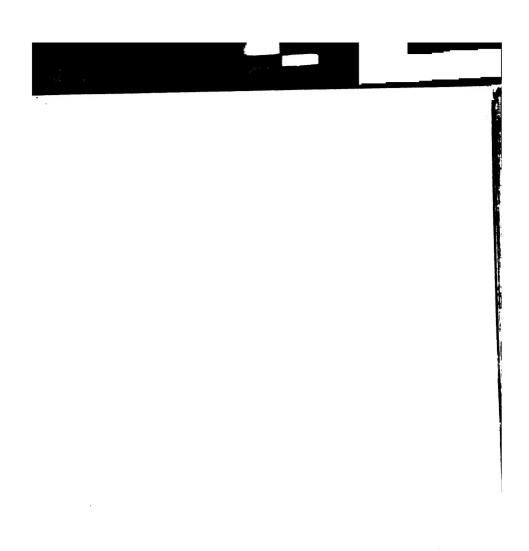
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ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS

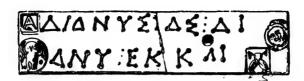
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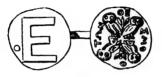


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(1) TINAKION DIKACTIKON (c. 68 § 4)







(2)

(2) and (3) κληροι θεςμοθετών (c. 63 § 5)









(4)

(4) and (5) CΥΜΒΟλΑ ΔΙΚΑCΤΙΚΑ (col. 32, 14)







(5)



(6) үнфос тетрүпнменн

(7) үнфос плирнс (сол. 85, 27—29)

ΣΚΕΥΗ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΙΚΑ

(See description on p. lxxvi)

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

42

ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS

A REVISED TEXT
WITH AN INTRODUCTION
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
TESTIMONIA AND INDICES

RV

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Tetradrachm of Athens, C. 590—525 B.C. (See note on page 39.)

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PREFACE.

THE preparation of the present volume was planned not long after the memorable publication of Mr Kenyon's editio princeps on Friday, the thirtieth of January, 1891. In that important work much was happily done by its able editor to facilitate the study of the newly liscovered treatise by a skilful decipherment of the papyrus, by a areful comparison of the text with that of the existing fragments, by judicious restoration of a large number of passages imperfectly preved in the manuscript, and by an eminently readable commentary many interesting points of constitutional history. The editio princeps also the editoris primitiae; and, considering the brief limits of within which it was prepared, and notwithstanding certain superblemishes which have since been removed, it was undoubtedly markable achievement.

by the side of Mr Kenyon's work, for an edition in which attention might fitly be paid to matters of scholarship and verbal m, together with a more minute comparison of the fresh evidence hat already familiar to us in two closely allied departments of al learning, (1) the Constitutional History, and (2) the Legal ties of Athens. There was also at that time an acknowledged an *Index Graecitatis*; and lastly there was a call for a fuller arer statement of the evidence on the text so far as it could be from quotations in later Greek literature. It has been the present writer to endeavour to supply such an edition.

The Introduction begins with a slight sketch of the political literature of Greece before the time of Aristotle, so far as it was directly concerned with theories of government. This is followed by a brief notice of the Politics of Aristotle and of the lost political works ascribed to the same author. The external evidence as to the authorship of the Holiteiai is next reviewed in chronological order, showing that, according to testimony extending over fifteen centuries from the age immediately succeeding that of Aristotle, the work, as a whole, was ascribed to Aristotle and to none beside. A brief account of the later literature of the subject is succeeded by a description of the Berlin Fragments, and the British Museum papyrus, of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. The date of the treatise is placed between 328 and 325 B.C., which corresponds to the latter part of Aristotle's life; and, after a discussion of its relation to the Politics, and an examination of its style and language, it is accepted as being substantially the work of Aristotle himself; due regard is, however, paid to the considerations that have been urged on the other side by several eminent scholars. The discussion of the authorship is followed by an indication of the authorities either certainly or probably used by the writer. This is succeeded by an abstract of the contents, which (excepting a few dates added for the sake of clearness, with one or two items supplementary to the lost beginning of the treatise), is strictly confined to the author's own statements, any extraneous matter being carefully distinguished as such. The rest of the Introduction is mainly devoted to a conspectus of the Bibliography of the treatise, showing that, apart from editions and translations and separate works, the number of writers of signed contributions to the literature of the subject, in the department of periodical publications alone, already exceeds one hundred and thirty. Many of these papers were not published until after the present edition was already in type, the Commentary on the first forty-one chapters and the first draft of the Critical Notes and Testimonia having been written during the Long Vacation of 1891, while the greater part of the Introduction was prepared for delivery in the form of College Lectures in the autumn of the same year. An abstract of the contents of some of the more recent literature is included in the conspectus, wherever it seemed to be desirable. Professor Bruno Keil's important volume of nearly 250 pages on the Solonian Constitution as described in the 'Aθηναίων πολιτεία, with many interesting criticisms on the treatise in general, did not appear until the present edition was nearly ready for publication; but it has been found possible to include a few references to it in the Addenda and in the English Index.

In settling the Text I have constantly used the facsimile published by the Trustees of the British Museum; and, on nearly all points of special difficulty, I have also endeavoured to form an opinion of my own by consulting the papyrus itself. In the case of passages imperfectly preserved in the Ms. I have considered it safer to accept Mr Kenyon's testimony as to the exact number of letters still visible, than that of other editors who, without having had the advantage of inspecting the Ms, much less of having constant access to it, have not unfrequently indicated letters as actually visible which (at the best) are represented only by the faintest traces in the facsimile on which their texts are confessedly founded. Where the reading is uncertain, or the MS defective, I have freely admitted conjectures that commended themselves to my judgment as sound restorations of the text. My own conjectures, so far as they are here put forward for the first time, are always distinguished by an asterisk whenever they are included in the text; but even of these, several must be regarded as merely provisional and tentative restorations. Others are only suggested in the notes. References to all of them may be readily found in the English Index, under the heading 'Conjectures.'

In the Critical Notes the readings of the Ms are for convenience recorded in a distinctive type. No one, however, who is familiar with the facsimile as a whole, or with the specimen published in Mr Kenyon's Translation, will regard these 'small uncials' as intended to represent the actual characters used by any one of the four copyists employed on the work. I have also indicated the readings or conjectures adopted in the principal critical editions that have already appeared; the Dutch edition, by van Herwerden and van Leeuwen; the two German editions, by Kaibel and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and by Blass respectively; and the third (and carefully revised) edition by Mr Kenyon. Where Mr Kenyon has himself withdrawn the reading proposed in his first edition, I have not thought it desirable to record the reading so withdrawn, unless it helped to explain some of the earlier conjectures which in themselves appeared deserving of mention. I have therefore said nothing about such purely provisional readings as καρδία καὶ κοινή in c. 40 l. 17. It was clear that καρδία could not be right, and more than one scholar (for example, Professor Blass, Professor Mayor, and Mr Bywater) saw at once that καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ was a necessary correction;

S. A. b

but, now that it is admitted that this is virtually the reading of the papyrus, in which KAIDIA is corrected into KAIIDIA, it is no longer necessary to record the text of the first edition. At the time, however, when the above suggestion was made, it had every right to be described as an 'emendation'; and it may be interesting to add that, as such, it attracted the notice of the late Mr Freeman, who observes in the preface to the third volume of his History of Sicily:—'such an emendation as this is not conjecture at all; it is the keen instinct of the true expert seeing his way straight to the right thing.' Again, it has not been deemed desirable to record all the conjectures that have been proposed since the publication of the editio princeps, many of them, however attractive at first sight, being excluded by our present knowledge of the actual readings of the papyrus, or by other considerations.

The Testimonia, printed immediately below the critical notes, contain further evidence on the text, in the form of quotations in Greek Lexicographers, Scholiasts, and others. Many, but by no means all, of these, had already been recorded in the various editions of the Fragments. In the present volume, a good deal of pains has been spent on the endeavour to trace in the Scholiasts, and in authors such as Aristides, tacit quotations or paraphrases of our text, which had hitherto escaped detection owing to their source having been unacknowledged. In the case of these quotations, it has been thought best not to remain content with giving references alone, but (as a general rule) to print the passages in full. It is only thus that their exact value in relation to the text can be readily seen.

In the Explanatory Notes considerable space has naturally been assigned to the quotation of parallel passages, especially from the Politics; and on every point an endeavour has been made to compare the new evidence with the old. In the historical notes to the first part (c. 1—41) much had already been accomplished by Mr Kenyon; but the second part (c. 42 to the end) was comparatively new ground. Throughout the work special attention has been given to the evidence of Greek Inscriptions.

The Greek Index gives a complete list of the vocabulary, with full citations of the phraseology of the treatise, including that of the passages quoted from the poems of Solon and the decrees of Athens, which are duly distinguished from citations from the body of the work. Words not recorded in the Index Aristotelicus, and words hitherto unknown, are indicated by distinctive marks. In checking the items in this Index,

much help has been derived from the two Greek Indices, the *Index Dictionis* and the *Index Nominum et Rerum*, of the Dutch edition; but in the present work it has been thought best to have only one Greek Index, and to adopt a more convenient mode of reference. The preparation of this Index has been a laborious task and has considerably delayed the publication of the volume.

The Archaeological Illustrations in the frontispiece are borrowed from Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquités (Hachette, Paris): the Aeginetan and Attic coins on p. 39, from Baumeister's Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums (Oldenbourg, Munich). To the publishers of both of these important works, the best thanks are due for the readiness with which they have accorded the use of these illustrations.

Among those who in other ways have aided me in preparing the present work, I gladly mention in the first place Mr Kenyon, who, with his able colleagues in the department of MSS at the British Museum. has afforded me every facility for studying the papyrus; and, at times when my daily duties in Cambridge made it impossible for me to visit the Museum, has readily given me the fullest information on any point on which I had occasion to consult him. It is a pleasure to add that for a large number of valuable notes and references I am indebted to the kindness of two whose names have long been eminent in the world of scholars:--Mr W. L. Newman, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and editor of Aristotle's Politics; and the Rev. John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, Senior Fellow of St John's, and Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge. I am similarly indebted in no less degree to a scholar of more recent reputation, Mr W. Wyse, late Fellow of Trinity, and now Professor of Greek in University College, London, whose felicitous emendations of the text, founded mainly on a minute acquaintance with the Attic Orators, and proposed at a time when he was resident in his College rooms in Cambridge, are one more proof that the spirit of Dobree still happily dwells in its ancient home. Lastly, in response to a request conveyed by Mr George Macmillan, Secretary of the Hellenic Society and a member of the firm by which this volume is published, his Excellency the Minister for Greece, whose recent departure from England is regretted by all lovers of Hellenic learning, was good enough to lend me his own copy of the admirable emendations proposed by his brother, Anastasios Gennadios, in the columns of an Athenian newspaper taking its name from the Acropolis.

He also kindly allowed me the use of a number of a Greek philological magazine, 'A $\theta m\hat{a}$, containing valuable articles on the textual criticism of the treatise by G. A. Papabasileios, and K. S. Kontos. This magazine was not to be found in the Library of the British Museum, and is practically inaccessible in England except to its annual subscribers. While engaged in exploring the scattered literature of such a subject as the present, one feels in such a case, no less than in that of the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, the full force of the complaint made not long ago by the late Mr Freeman. 'No man can undertake to find out every pamphlet and every article. And, when one has found what is wanted, it is sometimes forbidden to buy the number that one wants, unless one chooses to buy a whole volume that one does not want.' I can only add that I shall be grateful to writers of similar articles for any separate copies of their papers that happen to be available; and, if in this way I become possessed of any duplicates, I propose to present the duplicate to a Library where it will be readily accessible to many who are interested in the subject.

I owe much besides to the principal editions of the treatise, especially to Mr Kenyon's third edition, more particularly for details connected with the readings in the papyrus. The study of the Ms and of the facsimile alike has been considerably facilitated by the convenient plan adopted in the Dutch edition of Professors Van Herwerden and Van Leeuwen, in which the contents of the Ms are indicated, not merely column by column, but also line by line. The edition of the text by Professors Kaibel and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has been of much use in revising the text and the testimonia, and in dealing with the fragments. In this last particular, as in some others, a still further advance has been made in the very useful Teubner text recently edited by Professor Blass, the results of whose subsequent examination of the papyrus have, by his own kindness, reached me in time to be included in the Addenda.

My obligations to other published works are acknowledged as they arise, and are also expressed in general terms at the close of the bibliographical part of the Introduction. It may here be noticed that several of the most important of the books of reference to which I am thus indebted, are already attesting in their new editions the value of the evidence on the Constitutional History and the Public Antiquities of Athens which is contained in the treatise that, little more than two

PREFACE

years ago, was so unexpectedly restored to us from the tombs of Egypt.

Up to the time of that fortunate event, the student was compelled to satisfy his curiosity with the scattered fragments that, in successive generations, first in Italy and France, and afterwards in Holland and Germany, had been diligently sought by the industry of scholars, and collected into one by those 'friends of Truth,' who (in Milton's phrase) 'imitating the carefull search that Isis made for the mangl'd body of Osiris, went up and down gathering limb by limb still as they could find them.' Even now, when in place of these disiecta membra, the actual body of the work has been happily recovered in an approximately complete condition, the 'friends of Truth' have made much ado over many minor details of the great discovery. After all that has been found, the quest continues still; but it is no longer limited, as it was two years ago, to the enterprise of a single scholar, enjoying all the privileges, and, at the same time, encountering not a few of the perils of a solitary pioneer. On the contrary, it is shared by a goodly number of eager investigators in many lands; and the very number of those who are joining in the quest is almost a source of embarrassment to any one of them who attempts to gather up the main results of their research and to combine them with his own. The last two years have led to many points connected with the new treatise being viewed in a more sober light and with a more fitting sense of proportion: the exaggerated expectations that were at first aroused have been followed by a natural reaction, which is now succeeded in its turn by the prevalence of an intermediate state of settled contentment. Meanwhile, the excitement of that earlier time is over; and those who are still engaged on the quest must be content to continue their patient toil unstimulated and unrewarded by any such general and public interest as that which justly awaited the first announcement of an event which has enabled men of letters to realise in the present day some of the joyous surprises of the age of the Renaissance. In the feeling language lately used in Cambridge by a learned prelate belonging to both of the two oldest Universities of the United Kingdom, 'the dignity and nobility of a scholar's life lie in this, that it claims no recognition, and asks for no reward. It seldom admits of excitement; it has no prospect of great encouragement; it looks forward to no definite achievement.' There are times, however, when a student, while attempting to restore and explain some imperfectly recorded remnant of the past, may take a quiet pleasure in obeying the precept of George Herbert:—

'If studious, copie fair what Time hath blurr'd'.

And at last there is a moment when, in the spirit of thankfulness that comes with the completion of an arduous undertaking, he may, as at present, offer to the kindly criticism and to the use of others a work which, however long delayed by lack of leisure, and however inadequate in itself, has at least been the result of the most unsparing labour and the most strenuous endeavour.

December 27, 1892.

CONTENTS.

Tues on each													PAGES
Introduc													
§ 1.							reece b		the ti	me of	Arist	totle	ix—xii
§ 2.	Polit	ical 1	vorks	asci	ribed	to A	l <i>ristotl</i>	e	•	•	•	•	xii—xix
§ 3·	Evid	ence	of a	ncie	st as	uthor	rities o	n th	e aut	horsh	ip of	the	
	П	ολιτε	îaı		•			•	•				xix—xxix
§ 4·	The l	ater	litera	iture	of t	he II	ολιτεῖα	ı					xxix—xxxi
§ 5·	The .	Berli	n Fr	agm	ents	of th	ε 'Αθη	rαίω	ν πολι	tela.	• .		xxxi—xxxiii
	The .	Briti.	sh M	useu	m F	apyr	us.						xxxiv—xxxix
§ 7·	Date	and	Aut	torsi	tip o	fthe	treatis	e .					xxxix—liv
§ 8.	Auth	oriti	es fol	lowe	d in	it .							liv—lviii
§ 9.	Abstr	act o	fits	cont	ents								lix—lxvii
§ 10.	Cons	pectu.	s of t	he L	itero	ıture	of the	subj	iect				lxvii—lxxv
-	-		•				n the c	-		·s .			lxxvi
•	List e	-											lxxvi
CORRIGER	IDA .						•		•				lxxvi
ADDENDA										•			lxxvii—lxxx
TEXT AND	No.	TES.	inclu	ding	'Fı	agm	enta e:	к раз	pyri p	agini	ultin	ais'	
			249)	_				•	•	٠.			1-249
HERACLII	ois E	PITO	MA										250
FRAGMEN	TA ex	r prin	na li	bri p	arte	251-	—3; d	ubia	253-	-4; a	liena	254-	5 251—5
FRAGMEN	TORU	M IN	I PAI	YRO	Lo	NDIN	ENSI I	INVE	NTOR	UMI	NDEX		256
GREEK I	NDEX												257-296
English	INDE	x											297302



INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The political literature of Greece before the time of Aristotle.

In a brief preliminary survey of the political literature of Greece¹, it is unnecessary to dwell on the names of representatives of the pre-Socratic schools of philosophy, such as Pythagoras of Samos and Protagoras of Abdera, although the former is said to have written a πολιτικον σύγγραμμα (Diog. Laert. viii 6), and the latter a treatise περὶ πολιτείας (ib. ix 55). The work ascribed to Pythagoras was undoubtedly spurious; like that of Protagoras, it has been lost to posterity.

'The earliest extant specimen of this branch of literature is the treatise preserved among the works of Xenophon under the title of 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. Among modern scholars Cobet stands almost alone in being content to accept it as Xenophon's (Nov. Lect. p. 706). Its authorship is in fact uncertain: it has been attributed to Alcibiades, and also to Critias², who is known to have written on the πολιτείαι of Sparta, Thessaly and Athens. It may fairly be regarded as emanating from the oligarchical party at Athens, and as primarily intended for the perusal of readers at Sparta who sympathised with their aims. It was probably written between B.C. 426 and 413. It is in any case the earliest Greek political treatise that has come down to us. More than this, it is the 'oldest extant specimen of literary Attic prose 4'; it is also 'the oldest extant specimen of a political pasquinade'. The real or imputed abuses of the Athenian Democracy are attacked in a tone of bitter sarcasm or insidious irony, relieved by acute remarks on interesting points of national economy, such as the relations of Athens to her subjects and rivals, and the comparative strength and weakness of her naval and military establishments.

The Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία, though regarded as spurious by Deme-

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¹ Cf. Henkel, Studien zur Geschichte der Griechischen Lehre vom Staat, esp. pp. 1—17, die politischen Schriften der Philosophen.

W. Helbig, Rhein. Mus., xvi 511 ff. se.g. by Boeckh, Public Economy of

Athens, III v, vol. i p. 390 Fränkel.

4 Jebb, Primer of Gk. Lit., p. 114.

5 Col. Mure's Literature of Greece, v
422—5. See also A. Kirchhoff, in the Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy for 1874.

trius of Magnesia (Diog. Laert. ii 57), is accepted as the work of Xenophon by Plutarch (Lyc. 1) and others in ancient times, and among the moderns by Cobet (Nov. Lect. p. 705—724) and many others. Its date is possibly later than the battle of Leuctra (371); but is more probably between 403 and 401. It is a work inspired throughout by admiration of Spartan institutions. The $K \dot{\nu} \rho o \nu \pi a \iota \delta \epsilon \dot{a}$ is later than the death of Socrates (Cyrop. III i 38—40), and was probably written after Xenophon's return from exile, or about 369. While professing to describe the education of the founder of the Persian empire, it is really a historical and political romance, an idealised biography with a didactic purpose, being practically an encomium on Socratic principles and Spartan practice. It is prompted by the author's experience of Hellenic political and social life, especially the instability and vicissitudes of various forms of government.

The pamphlet entitled $\pi \delta \rho o i$ [$\hat{\eta} \pi \epsilon \rho i \pi \rho o \sigma \delta \delta \omega v$] was probably not the work of Xenophon, but was written about 346 B.C. as a manifesto of the party who held that the commercial prosperity of Athens depended on peace with Philip. It suggests several expedients for enlarging the revenue, especially by means of taxes levied on resident aliens, as well as profits derived from the labour of 10,000 public slaves who were to be employed in the mines of Laurium.

Passing from 'Xenophon' to Plato, we have in the Republic the most memorable of all delineations of an Ideal State. In the first four books the description of the State is in harmony with Hellenic notions of religion and morality; in the remainder, the Hellenic State is transformed into an ideal kingdom of philosophy, of which all other governments are perversions. In the eighth book all conceivable forms of constitutions are reduced to five classes, represented by aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and despotism or tyranny, corresponding to five leading types of individual character. In the portraits of the typical 'timocrat', tyrant, and democrat, and in the account of the successive changes which they represent, we have a sequence of transformations that is not entirely in accordance with historical facts. but nevertheless supplies us with something of the nature of a philosophy of history. The author is clearly no lover of democracy, or indeed of any of the existing varieties of government. His gaze is fixed on something above and beyond the horizon of his time. In his view, as expressed in the closing words of the ninth book, the man of understanding is little likely to be a politician in the land of his birth, though he will certainly be a politician in an ideal city which is all his own;

Introduction to Holden's ed.
 Jowett, Introd. to the Republic, p. 3.

BEFORE THE TIME OF ARISTOTLE

a city whose pattern is laid up in heaven, and he who desires may look on that pattern and in the vision find indeed his home. But whether there really is, or ever will be, such a city, is of no concern to him; for he will do all things in obedience to the laws of that city and of no other.

The Republic is almost always called the Πολιτεία, but sometimes bears the plural name, Πολιτείαι. Thus Themistius (ii 32 c) associates with the name of Plato, Πολιτεῖαί τε αὶ κλειναὶ καὶ οἱ θεσπέσιοι Νόμοι. The dialogue on the Laws was composed after the Republic (Ar. Pol. ii 3, 1), and was published after the author's death (Diog. Laert. iii 37). It sets forth in minutest fulness the details of an Ideal Code; and, in the absence of any actual code of the institutions of Athens, the indications of the existing laws therein contained are often of special value. The lofty conception of the 'rule of Philosophers' is here abandoned, and the state described is the best which is practically possible under the existing limitations of Greek life. In the third book the author reviews the constitutions of Sparta, Persia and Athens, noting the causes of the success and failure of each; and then proceeds to develop his own constitution. In the Platonic dialogue, entitled the Moliticos, or an inquiry into the definition of a Ruler, there is much affinity with the Laws of Plato and the Politics of Aristotle. In contrast to the doubtless earlier scheme in the Republic, with its five types of constitution, we here find a series of seven, in which, apart from the ideal and only perfect type, we have six existing forms of government. These six are obtained by dividing the rule of the One (μοναρχία), of the Few (ή ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων δυναστεία), and of the Many (δημοκρατία) into two varieties each, (1) into kingship and tyranny, and (2) into aristocracy and oligarchy, while the two varieties of democracy ('constitutional government' and 'simple democracy') are undistinguished by any differences of name. The distinction in each of these three pairs turns upon the question whether Law is observed or not. In its political views, and probably in its date, this dialogue occupies an intermediate position between the Republic and the Laws; and its classification of typical forms of government reappears, with slight differences of terminology, in the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle. Of the other political dialogues bearing Plato's name, the Epinomis is an appendix to the Laws, and is mainly concerned with Education; the Minos dis-

¹ See esp. K. F. Hermann, De vestigiis institutorum veterum, imprimis Atti-corum, per Platonis de Legibus libros indagandis, 1836.

² Politicus, pp. 291, 302.

³ Eth. viii 10; Pol. iii 7 and vi (iv) 2. Cf. Newman's Politics, i 430—433, and Prof. Sidgwick in Class. Rev. vi 141

cusses the definition of Law; but neither of these can be reckoned among the genuine works of Plato.

The above summary has been purposely confined to writings strictly concerned with politics, to the exclusion of historical works in which political discussion only plays a subordinate part. Otherwise, we might have recalled the debate on the relative merits of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy, which is ascribed to the Persian grandees in the pages of Herodotus (iii 80-82); and the reflexions on the effects of party spirit in Grecian politics, to which Thucydides is prompted by the narrative of the vengeance of the victorious demos on the oligarchs of Corcyra (iii 82 f). As it is, in the limited field of purely political literature, we have noted the rise of the polemical pamphlet, and the historical romance, while in Plato's delineation of an Ideal State and an Ideal Code, we have seen the prototype of writings such as Sir Thomas More's Utopia and Bacon's New Atlantis. The setting forth of such ideals became a favourite medium for the expression of political criticism; but it is characteristic of Aristotle that, while following this fashion, he succeeded in bringing the political speculations of philosophy into closer relation with the facts of history. In the language of one of the foremost authorities on the political writings of Aristotle, "political science 'begins' for Aristotle 'in History', no less than in Ethics"1. 'The vision of an ideal State did not make Aristotle indifferent to the problems and difficulties of the actual State. The age which dreams of ideal States is often on the point of losing its interest in politics; but this was far from being the case with Aristotle".

§ 2. Political works ascribed to Aristotle.

Among the political writings ascribed to Aristotle by far the most important is, of course, the *Politics*. The imperfect form in which it has come down to us has been variously explained. The earlier view, supported by Spengel³, was that the work of Aristotle was originally completed by himself, and that important portions of it were afterwards lost. The later view, which is more probable in itself, and is accepted by almost all Aristotelian scholars in modern times, regards the *Politics* as a work that was left unfinished. This view is corroborated by the fact that in later writers we have no reference to the *Politics* which cannot be traced to the existing work. The latest event mentioned in it is the death of Philip, B.C. 336 (viii (v) 8, 10, p. 1311 b 2). As to

¹ Mr W. L. Newman's *Politics*, vol. i 2 ib. p. 89. Bp. 15. Ueber die Pol. des Ar., pp. 44 ff.

TO ARISTOTLE

the order of the books, it can hardly be doubted that, owing to the nature of their contents, books vii and viii should come immediately after iii, while it is not quite certain that books v and vi should be transposed. The order adopted by Susemihl is as follows: i, ii, iii, vii, viii, iv, vi, v. Thus books iv-viii of the new order correspond to vii, viii, iv, vi, v, of the old1. In the Politics Aristotle discusses the origin of the household, the village and the state, and examines the nature of property, and in particular of property in slaves (Bk. 1). The citizen is defined as one who shares in the judicial or deliberative administration of a state. In the next book, Aristotle criticises the Republic and the Laws of Plato, the constitutions framed by Phaleas and Hippodamus, and the actual forms of government prevailing in Sparta, Crete and Carthage, closing with some (possibly interpolated) criticisms on Solon and Pericles (II). The various types of government are thereupon described in turn, Monarchy, Aristocracy and a mixed constitutional system called πολιτεία, together with the three forms into which they respectively degenerate, Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy (III). The author next delineates his Ideal State, and deals with the subject of Marriage and of Education, Bk IV (VII). The latter should be national and also liberal; its two main branches are 'music' and 'gymnastic', Bk v (VIII). The types of government are then discussed in detail. Of the three perversions, Tyranny, the perversion of Monarchy, which is itself the best and most divine, is necessarily the worst. Oligarchy, the perversion of Aristocracy, is not so bad as Tyranny; the last, and the least bad, is Democracy. The different kinds of government are then further discriminated, with the forms assumed by the deliberative and the executive power in each, Bk vi (iv). The basis of democracy is defined to be liberty, which includes the principle that 'all should rule and be ruled in turn'. The characteristics of democracy are then described:--all officers of state are appointed 'by all, and out of all'; all rule over each, and each in turn rules over all; the appointment is by lot, except in cases where special knowledge is required; there is little or no qualification; office is held for a short time only, and rarely (if ever) twice, except in the case of military offices; all men, or at least persons selected out of all, sit in judgment in all causes, or at any rate on the most important; the public Assembly is supreme, not the officers of state; when the citizens are paid, even the Council loses its

lines of the Berlin ed.—Among the most recent discussions of the order of the books may be mentioned Shute's History of the Aristotelian Writings., pp. 164—176; and Newman's Politics, vol. i 292, vol. ii pp. xxi—xxiv.

¹ In the present work, whenever the books of the *Politics* are specified, the number in the new order is given first, followed (in parenthesis) by that of the old order. As a general rule, however, the references are solely to the pages and

power, as the Assembly and the Lawcourts take all the business to themselves. Then follow the various kinds of oligarchies; and the consideration of the due coordination of offices in the state, Bk vII (VI). The author's design is now nearly completed. He has still to speak of the motives, objects and occasions of revolutions in states. Revolutions begin in trifling matters but involve important issues. They are brought about either by force or by fraud. The author next considers how revolutions may be avoided, and tyrannies and monarchies preserved; he describes a despot of a virtuous and beneficent type; and adds some reflexions on the short duration of tyrannies and oligarchies. Lastly, he attacks the views put forward in the Republic as to the cycle through which states are described as passing in the course of their decline. Thus the work ends (as it began) with a criticism on Plato.

Among the lost writings of Aristotle was one entitled Πολιτικός, a dialogue in two books, expressly mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (v 22), and vaguely noticed by Cicero¹. The anonymous list of his works, now ascribed to Hesychius, includes the περὶ ἐήτορος ἡ πολιτικοῦ. That of Diogenes Laertius, a work entitled mepì Barileias, said to have been addressed to Alexander*; and a dialogue on colonisation under the name of 'Αλέξανδρος ή ὑπὲρ ἀποικιῶν α'. In closer connexion with contemporary history, the δικαιώματα πόλεων ascribed to Aristotle are said to have contained the formal pleas on the points of difference submitted by the Greek states to the arbitration of Philip⁴. A work of far wider scope was that known as the νόμιμα, or νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, of Aristotle. This was a comprehensive account of the institutions of various non-hellenic peoples, including the Etruscans, under the head of νόμιμα Τυρρηνών. An abstract of this existed at one time under the name of νομίμων βαρβαρικών συναγωγή .

Lastly, there was the work entitled the Πολιτεῖαι, or sketches of the constitutional history of a large number of Hellenic states. Constitutional history, however, was far from forming the sole subject of this extensive work. The numerous fragments that have survived give abundant proof that local legends, national proverbs, and even anecdotes of social life found a place in its pages. It is generally supposed

¹ De Fin. V 4, 11, 'cumque uterque eorum (Aristoteles et Theophrastus) docuisset, qualem in republica principem esse conveniret'—; ad Quintum fratrem, iii 5, 1, 'Aristotelem, quae de republica et praestante viro scribat, ipsum loqui.' Cf. Bernays, die Dialoge des Ar. pp. 53, 153.

<sup>153.

&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Bernays, l. c., pp. 53, 154; published by Lippert (1891) from an Arabic translation.

⁸ Bernays, l. c., pp. 56, 156. 4 Rose, Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta, (Teubner) 1886, frag.

⁶ i2—614.

6 ib. frag. 604—610. Diels (Berlin Academy, 30 July, 1891) suggests that pap. ix p. 29 of the Flinders Petrie papyri is an excerpt from the νόμιμα βαρβαρικά.

6 Rose, Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, p.

^{395;} Fragmenta, 381—603, ed. 1886.

that the great collection of facts comprised in the Holitical formed the materials for the composition of the Politics. It will be shewn at a later point that the 'Aθηναίων πολιτεία in particular was not completed until about nine years after the latest date recorded in the Politics; but this fact is not inconsistent with the materials collected for the Πολιτείαι being used in the Politics even before they had themselves been reduced into their present form. As regards the comparative value of the two works, the general character of the fragments of the Πολιτείαι shews that it would be going too far to say that we could wish that the Πολιτείαι were 'preserved, even at the expense of the extant book on the theory of politics', especially when we reflect that, in the words of the writer just quoted, 'the Politics are confessed on all hands to be the ripest and fullest outcome of Greek political experience'.'

The treatise known as the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία formed part of the vast collection of Holiteias which the unanimous voice of antiquity ascribed to the pen of Aristotle. In tracing the literary history of the Πολιτείαι we must necessarily begin with the well-known story of the fate of Aristotle's library, which is told in full by Strabo (p. 608—9), and more briefly touched upon by Plutarch (Sulla, 26). On the death of Aristotle, in 322 B.C., his library passed into the possession of his pupil, Theophrastus, who presided over the Peripatetic school at Athens until his death in 287. The library of Theophrastus, including that of Aristotle, was bequeathed to a pupil of both, named Neleus, who removed it to Scepsis, an inland town of Asia Minor, in the S.E. of the Troad. From Neleus it passed to his descendants, who were men of neither literary accomplishments nor philosophic tastes. They are described by Strabo as idiwrai. They were, however, sufficiently conscious of the value of the manuscripts to prevent their being appropriated by the kings of Pergamos, who began to form their famous library about thirty or forty years after the death of Theophrastus. The manuscripts were accordingly concealed in a cellar, where they were exposed to injury from the effects of damp and the depredations of worms. It was probably after the death of the last of the Pergamene Kings in B.C. 133, that they were sold to Apellicon of Teôs, a wealthy adherent of the Peripatetic school at Athens. On examination they were found to contain many compositions which were unknown to the successors of Theophrastus at the head of the Lyceum. Their owner caused them to be copied; but, as he was 'more of a bibliophile than a philosopher', the transcripts published under his care proved to be far from accurate. In 86 B.C. Athens was captured by Sulla, and the library of Apellicon was taken to Rome. It was there placed under the charge of a librarian, by whose

¹ Mahaffy's Hist. of Classical Gk. Literature, ii 414.

permission it was properly arranged by a learned Greek, a friend of Cicero and a preceptor of Strabo (p. 548), named Tyrannion. Copies were obtained from Tyrannion by Andronicus of Rhodes, who classified the works according to subjects', published them, and drew up the lists which were current in the time of Plutarch's.

On the strength of this last statement it has been supposed that all the extant lists of Aristotelian writings are to be ultimately traced to Andronicus*. But, even before his time, the successors of Theophrastus possessed copies of a few at least of the works of Aristotle, chiefly of the exoteric or popular class. As examples of these, the list suggested by Grote⁵ includes the dialogues; the legendary and historical collections; and the constitutional histories of various Hellenic cities. Thus, the Holtreiau may have been known to the successors of Theophrastus even before the library of Aristotle was for a time restored to Athens more than two centuries after the owner's death. But, to show that the fate of Aristotle's writings did not entirely depend on the fortunes of the library buried in the vault at Scêpsis, we have abundant proof of some of them being familiar to the philosophic world during the interval in which his library itself was lost to view⁶; and it is probable that many of them, including those of more general interest, were at an early date transcribed at Athens and thence transmitted to the great library at Alexandria.

In the case of Theophrastus, we know for certain that lists of his works were drawn up, not only by Andronicus of Rhodes, but also by Hermippus of Smyrna, who lived till about the end of the third century B.C. and was a pupil of Callimachus, the chief librarian of the Alexandrian Museum⁷. Such a list is preserved by Diogenes Laertius⁸, with the titles arranged in alphabetical order. The corresponding list of the writings of Aristotle is not in the order of the alphabet, but is arranged with a certain degree of method under 146 titles as follows. "First we have the dialogues and other exoteric works, then two or three early abstracts of Platonic lectures or writings, then we come to a part of the list in which logical works seem to predominate; ethical, political and

όλίγων, και μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν.

¹ Porphyry, life of Plotinus, c. 24, p.

¹¹⁷ Didot.
2 Plut. Sulla, 26; cf. Grote's Aristotle, i pp. 50-54, and Shute's History of the Aristotelian Writings, p. 29-39. Rose, Ar. Pseud., p. 8; Frag. (1886)

p. 1.
 Strabo, p. 609, συνέβη δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων τοῖς μὲν πάλαι τοῖς μετά Θεόφραστον ούκ έχουσιν όλως τὰ βιβλία πλην

Aristotle, p. 55.

⁶ Zeller, Phil. d. Griechen, II ii p.

^{145—153&}lt;sup>3</sup>.
7 Schol. in Theophr. Μετ. τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον Ανδρόνικος μεν καὶ Ερμιττος άγνοούσιν. ούδε γάρ μνείαν αὐτοῦ ὅλως πεποίηνται εν τῆ ἀναγραφῆ τῶν Θεο-φράστου. Heitz, die Verlorenen Schriften des Ar., p. 47. Susemihl, Ar. über die Dichtkunst, 1865, p. 17; and Gr. Litt. in der Alexandrinerseit, i 492, 494 note 8 V 21-27.

rhetorical works predominate towards the middle; then come physical and zoological works; last in order we have works designed in all probability for Aristotle's own use ('hypomnematic works'), letters and poems1". The arrangement seems hardly sufficiently precise to be that of Andronicus, who is said to have introduced the plan of grouping the writings according to their subject-matter*; and this is not the only reason for regarding it as independent of Andronicus⁸. It has in fact been conjecturally ascribed to Hermippus, and has been generally supposed to be founded on the catalogue of Aristotle's works in some great library like that of Alexandria. In a subsequent passage (v 34) Diogenes observes that the books enumerated were nearly 400 in number. He even adds that their genuineness was not contested by any one4.

There is a second list, ascribed to Hesychius and containing only 127 titles, 27 of those in Diogenes being here omitted and 8 added in their place.

A third list, ascribed to 'Ptolemy the philosopher,' is found in an Arabic translation only. This includes 92 titles. It is certainly later than the time of Andronicus, as one of the titles relates to certain treatises found in the library of Almikun (Ablikun or Atlikun), the Arabic form of Apellicon.

In all three lists the Holiteiau are included. In I they appear as the 143rd item: $-\pi \circ \lambda_i \tau \in \hat{\alpha}_i$ $\pi \circ \lambda_i \in \mathcal{N}$ $\delta_i \circ \hat{\beta}_i = \hat{\beta}_i$ (sc. 158), <κοιναί> καὶ ἴδιαι, δημοκρατικαί, ολιγαρχικαί, αριστοκρατικαί, τυραννικαί.

In II 135 the title is πολιτείας πόλεων ίδιωτικών καὶ δημοκρατικών καὶ όλιγαρχικών <καί> άριστοκρατικών καὶ τυραννικών ρνη (158).

In III 81 the Arabic description is translated as follows: 'liber quem inscripsit de regimine civitatum et nominatur bulitija, et est liber in quo commemoravit regimen populorum et civitatum plurium e civitatibus Graecorum et aliorum earumque relationem (originem? cognationem?); numerus vero populorum et civitatum quarum meminit [in eo] CLXXI [civitates magnae]6'.

In 111 the number of the πολιτώαι is given as 171; whereas 1 and 11 agree in making it 158. The ancient Latin Version of the life of Aristotle states the number as 250; while, among the early expositors of Aristotle, Elias twice gives the same number, and Ammonius has

¹ Mr W. L. Newman's ed. of Ar. Pol. vol. i p. vi.

Porphyry, ref. on p. xvi, note 1.

Zeller, II ii, 51 f. 4 Grote's Ar. i 40.

⁵ First published by Ménage on Diog. vol. ii 201. The same list was found by

Rose in two MSS in the Ambrosian library at Milan (A. P. p. 709). All the lists are given by Rose in the Berlin Ar., vol. v 1463—1473, and in the Teubner text of the Fragmenta, pp. 3— -1473, and in the ^{22.} Rose, Frag. pp. 8, 16, 21⁸.

250. The higher estimate is either a mere mistake, or has arisen from including among the πολιτεῖαι certain of the νόμιμα βαρβαρικά. The latter view is confirmed by the fact that one of our authorities for the larger number¹ mentions it in immediate connexion with the statement that Aristotle accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, even as far as 'the land of the Brahmins,' where (according to this imaginative commentator) he actually compiled 'the 255 πολιτεῖαι'; while the estimates of Elias are in both cases given in a similar connexion. We may therefore discard the larger number, and accept 158 as resting on better authority².

The total number of $\pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \hat{i} a_i$ included in modern collections of their fragments is 99. In 51 of these the name of Aristotle and the title of the $\pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \hat{i} a$ are expressly mentioned, generally thus: 'Aριστοτέλης $\hat{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} - \omega \nu \pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \hat{i} a$. In 16 others, Aristotle is cited, but the name of the state is not given, though it can be inferred from the contents of the passage. Lastly, out of the total number of 80 states mentioned in the Politics, there are 32 that are not named in the fragments already enumerated, but which may fairly be assumed to have been included in the original work. Thus we have a list of 51 + 16 + 32, or 99 states, more than half of which (51) are represented by fragments in which the title of the work, as well as the name of Aristotle, is mentioned, while in more than two-thirds (67 out of 99) the name of Aristotle occurs. The three classes are as follows:

	I (51)		II (16)	III (32)			
$^{ullet}A heta\eta u$ al ωu	'Ιμεραίων	Μηλιέων	'Αντανδρίων	'Αμφιπολιτών	Καρχηδονίων		
A l γινητ $\hat{\omega}$ ν	Keίων	Ναξίων	'Ατραμυτηνών	'Αντισσαίων	Καταναίων		
Αἰτωλῶν	Κερκυραίω»	Νεοπολιτών	'Επιδαυρίων	'Απολλωνιατών	Κλαζομενίων		
' Ακαρνάνων	Κιανών	'Οπουντίων	θηβαίων	'Απολλωνιατών	Κνιδίων		
' Ακραγαντίνων	Κολοφωνίων	'Ορχομενίων	'Ιασέων	έν Πόντφ	Κώων		
' Αμβρακιωτών	Κορινθίων	Παρίων	Κρητών	'Αρυδηνών	Λαρισσαίων		
' Αργείων	$K \upsilon \theta \nu l \omega \nu$	Πελληνέων	Κροτωνιατών	' Αφυταίων	$\Lambda \epsilon$ οντίνων		
'Αρκάδων	Κυμαίων	Σαμίων	Κυθηρίων	Βυζαντίων	Μαγνήτων		
'Αχαιῶν	Κυπρίων	Σαμοθράκων	Μηλίων	Έπιδαμνίων	Μαντινείων		
Βοττιαίων	Κυρηναίων	Σικυωνίων	Μιλησίων	'Ερετριέων	Μολοσσῶν		
Γελώων	Λακεδαιμονίων	Σινωπέων	'Ρηγίνων	'Ερυθραίων	Μυτιληναίων		
$\Delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \omega_{\nu}$	Λ ϵ ν κ α δ $i\omega$ ν	Συρακοσίων	' Ροδίων	Έστιαι έων	'Ροδίων		
$\Delta \eta \lambda l \omega \nu$	Λ οκρ $\hat{\omega}$ ν	Ταραντίνων	Σολέων	Ζαγκλαίων	Φαρσαλίων		
'Ηλείων	$\Lambda \nu \kappa l \omega \nu$	Τεγεατῶν	Συβαριτών	'Ηραιέων	Χαλκιδέων		
'Ηπειρωτῶν	Μασσαλιωτῶν	Τενεδίων	Τηνίων	'Ηρακλεωτών	$X l \omega \nu$		
Θετταλών	Μεγαρέων	Τροιζηνίων	Χαλκηδονίων.	θηραίων	'Ωρειτῶν.		
'Ιθακησίων	$Me heta\omega$ ral ω r	Φωκαιέων.		'Ιστριέων			

¹ Vita Ar. vulg., Rose, Frag. p. 258³.

² A division of the πολιτείαι into genuine and spurious seems to be im-

plied by Simplicius, in Ar. Categ. p. 27 a 43 Brandis, er ταις γνησίαις αυτού πολιτείαις. But it has been proposed either

The modifical are said to have been arranged in the order of the alphabet1. Some have seen indications of this in the reading preserved in a single MS of Harpocration, s.v. θεσμοθέται:—'Αριστοτέλης έν τή ā 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, and also in the phrase in Photius, s.v. σκυτάλη:ώς 'Αριστοτέλης έν τη 'Ιθακησίων πολιτεία μβ. Here the πολιτεία of Ithaca appears to be described as 42nd in the series. If we test this by taking the 99 extant titles of modifical as the basis of our calculation, Ithaca, which is 37th in the list of 99, would have been 58th in the complete list of 158; if, again, we take the 67 titles in which Aristotle is named, Ithaca, which is 21st of the 67, would have been 50th in the complete list; if the 51 in which the name of the particular πολιτεία is specified, Ithaca, which is 17th of the 51, would have been 52nd, not This calculation, of course, assumes that in the longer list, the names in alphabetical order are distributed in the same proportion as in the shorter lists. But it is highly probable that $\overline{\mu\beta}$ is a corruption of either μέμνηται or (as proposed by Bergk) μαρτυρεί. If so, we cannot rely on this phrase as proof of an alphabetical order. Besides, if the order was alphabetical, it was unnecessary to specify the number of any particular treatise. Such an arrangement, however, although not attested with any certainty, is natural in itself, and the constitution of Athens would in any case have occupied the first place.

§ 3. On the evidence of ancient authorities as to the authorship of the Πολιτεΐαι.

We may now proceed to review in chronological order the successive quotations from the Πολιτείαι which are preserved in ancient authorities.

Firstly, there is reason to believe that the historian Philochorus, writing before 306 B.C., or less than 20 years after the composition of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, quoted that work as Aristotle's. The grounds which have been suggested for this belief are as follows:—

(1) The Scholium on Arist. Vesp. 1223 includes a quotation from 'Aθ. πολ. 13, ll. 16—20; the latter part of that Scholium coincides with one on Lys. 58 which is proved by Strabo, p. 392 c, to come from Philochorus. Hence it is possible that the whole of the Schol. on Vesp. 1223 really comes from Philochorus, and that Philochorus is our real authority for the citation from the 'Aθ. πολ. (2) In the term dποψη-φισθηραι το dχθοs (frag. 57), Philochorus appears to be correcting or explaining the phrase το dχθοs dποσείσασθαι,—probably a reminiscence of dποσεισdμενοι το βάρος in 'Aθ. πολ. 6 § 1. (3) In Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, 10, Aristotle is cited as

to alter π ohirelass into $\ell\pi$ ioroha $\hat{\alpha}$ s (Ideler, in Ar. *Meteor.* I xii n. 40), or (with greater probability) to regard γ ryolass as a corruption of the number $\overline{\rho r \eta}$ (158); Heitz, Frag.

Ar. p. 223 a.

¹ κατὰ στοιχεῖα, Elias, ap. Rose, Frag.
p. 258³, l. 29.

authority for a statement respecting the action of the Areopagus immediately before the battle of Salamis ('Aθ. πολ. 23 § 1). Cleidemus, the author of an 'Aτθls, is next quoted as asserting that this action was due to the wiles of Themistocles. Then follows the story of the dog of Xanthippus which, in Aelian, de Natura Animalium, xii 35, is attributed to 'Aristotle and Philochorus.' It has been plausibly suggested that Aelian had read an extract, ultimately derived from Philochorus, on the events immediately preceding the battle of Salamis, in which the name of Aristotle may have occurred in connexion with the account of the action of the Areopagus, and in which the story of the dog of Xanthippus was also related. This may have lead Aelian to make the mistake of quoting Aristotle, as well as Philochorus, as authorities for the story about the dog. If, as is not improbable, the whole of the narrative in Plutarch comes from Philochorus, then Philochorus, and not Plutarch, is our authority for attributing to Aristotle the quotations from the $\Delta\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. respecting the action of the Areopagus. This implies that 'a careful historical student and critic, who lived and wrote at Athens in the generation immediately following Aristotle's,' accepted the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία as the work of Aristotle himself1.

An early notice of the Holiteia may also be traced in the attack made by TIMAEUS on Aristotle's account of the origin of the Greek colony of Locri Epizephyrii. Timaeus was born about 352 B.C. (or 30 years before the death of Aristotle), was banished from Tauromenium in 310, and from about that time resided in Athens for more than 50 years, dying about 256 B.C. The evidence for this attack on the part of Timaeus is to be found in Polybius, who rejects the view of Timaeus, and emphatically supports the account given by Aristotle. From a subsequent passage it appears that the attack of Timaeus was directed against Theophrastus as well. We are not told in which of Aristotle's works the description of the origin of Locri was to be found, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was the Πολιτείαι. The only other possible work would have been the 'Αλέξανδρος περὶ ἀποικιών, which is now represented by its title only. Now Timaeus was in Athens for 23 out of the 35 years during which Theophrastus presided over the Lyceum as the successor of Aristotle. He had thus exceptional opportunities for becoming acquainted with Aristotle's writings, and with the traditional knowledge of them preserved by the Peripatetic School: and he may fairly be quoted to prove that within 66 years of the death of Aristotle, one of the Πολιτείαι was attributed to that author.

The Πολιτείαι appear to have been also quoted by Philostephanus of Cyrene, the author of works entitled περὶ εὐρημάτων and περὶ νήσων, who lived under Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 222—206). 'Aristotle' and Philostephanus are quoted by Varro (apud Servium ad Verg. Georg. i 19) and by Pliny (N. H. vii 57); and it has been conjectured

¹ Abridged from Prof. J. H. Wright's article in the *American Journ. of Philology*, xii 3, 310—318.

² Polyb. Excerpta libri xii 5—8, and II; Rose, Frag. 547³; cf. Heitz, Verl. Schr. p. 243, and Shute, l. c., p. 39.

that Varro and Pliny took their quotations of Aristotle at second-hand from Philostephanus1.

It was probably in the middle of the second century B.C. that excerpts from the Πολιτείαι were made by HERACLEIDES LEMBOS, who appears to have followed his original with an almost slavish fidelity. We have only fragments of these excerpts under the title ἐκ τῶν "Ηρακλείδου περί πολιτειών".

CICERO refers as follows to the Πολιτείαι and νόμιμα βαρβαρικά of Aristotle, as well as to the work of Theophrastus περὶ νόμων:—omnium fere civitatum non Graeciae solum sed etiam barbariae ab Aristotele mores instituta disciplinas; a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovinus (de Fin. v 4 § 11); but there is no proof of any direct acquaintance with the text of the Hodereau. In the de Officiis, ii 18, he quotes, as from Theophrastus, the account of the liberality of Cimon which we find in c. 27 of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. In the de Senectute § 72 he tells an anecdote about Solon and Peisistratus without showing any knowledge of c. 14 of that treatise. Similarly, in de Officiis, i 75, he writes of Solon and Themistocles with reference to the Areopagus without betraying any close acquaintance with chapters 23 and 25. Whatever knowledge he possessed as to the contents of those chapters was probably obtained secondhand from his authority, Panaetius, who, as we know from Cicero himself (de Fin. iv 28 § 79), constantly quoted from Plato, Aristotle, Xenocrates, Theophrastus and Dicaearchus. About Dicaearchus in particular Cicero writes to Atticus in glowing terms:—in his Tusculan villa he has been reading with admiration that author's account of the constitution of Pellene, while he fancies that his library at Rome contains a copy of the Constitutions of Corinth and of Athens.

1 Rose, A. P., pp. 410, 534; Susemihl, Gr. Litt. in der Alexandrinerseit,

i 476.

Heracleides Lembos, probably born at Kallatis in Pontus, was the author of an extensive compilation called 'Ioroplas. He flourished under Ptolemy VI, Philometor (181–146). Cf. Susemihl, ω . s., i 503–5. (Rühl even supposes that he was the editor of the ' $\Delta\theta$. π 0 λ . in its present form.)

The author of the excerpts is, however, regarded by Rose (in his A. P., p. 532) as far later in date, and as having borrowed his excerpts from Didymus (who was born B.C. 63). But the part played by Didymus in transmitting the knowledge of the Πολιτεΐαι to a later time has been much exaggerated, and the form in which the excerpts from Heracleides have reached us is hardly worthy of the industrious and intelligent critic from whom they are supposed to have been derived.—See also Prof. Wright in Harvard Studies, iii 15, and Holzinger in Philologus, vol. 50, p. 436. Infra, p.

250.

3 See also Shute, l. c., p. 72.

4 Ad Att. ii 2, 'Πελληναίων in manibus

hercule magnum acervum Dicaearchi mihi ante pedes exstruxeram. O magnum hominem! et unde multo plura didiceris quam de Procilio. Kopur-ollur et Adnralur puto me Romae habere. Mihi crede, leges;...mirabilis vir est.'
Heitz, Verl. Schr., p. 244, considers that these may have formed part of the β los Έλλάδος of Dicaearchus. Bergk, Rhein. Mus. 1881, p. 113 n. 2, suggests that the reference is to the Πολιτεΐαι of Aristotle. He would alter Dicaearchi into Dicaearchiae (i.e. 'at Puteoli'); but his sug gestion (with the textual alteration which it involves) seems very improbable.

Constitutions may well have been written in imitation of the earlier work ascribed to Aristotle; and the imitation may have been sufficiently close to lead to the contents of the Holtreiau of Aristotle becoming known to later writers through the medium of Dicaearchus¹.

It has been conjectured that many of the quotations from the Πολιτείαι in later authors were taken second-hand from the works of Alexandrian scholars such as Didymus Chalcenterus, and his successor, Pamphilus². Didymus was born in 63 B.C. and compiled a Lexicon of Tragic and Comic Diction, while among the lexicographical works of Pamphilus, who flourished in 20 B.C., was one entitled 'Αττικαὶ λέξεις. The scholiast on Aristophanes, Aves 471, quotes Aristotle εν τη Σαμίων πολιτεία, as well as the comic poet, Plato; and such a scholium may readily have been derived from Didymus*; but the indebtedness of later writers to this able and industrious compiler has been greatly overrated; and, now that we know of the actual existence of copies of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία at a time when it was supposed to have been hopelessly lost, there is less reason for attributing to the interposition of Didymus a knowledge of the Πολιτείαι which may easily have been derived from the work itself. It has further been supposed that some of the accounts of remarkable phenomena found in later collections, such as the Θαυμάσια 'Ακούσματα of various writers, may have been originally borrowed from the Πολιτείαι. Thus, Antigonus of Carystus, who probably lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in his Ioroριών Παραδόξων Συναγωγή (144), quotes from Callimachus a description by Aristotle of the two fountains of the Sun in the temple of Zeus This description may have been derived from the Πολιτεία of Cyrene4.

In the age of Augustus, the Πολιτεΐαι are not quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, however, refers to the Τυρρηνών Νόμιμα, which formed part of the Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά ascribed to Aristotle.

STRABO (who belongs to the same age) refers in general terms to Aristotle in connexion with Elis (Rose, Frag. 493°), Argos (482), Epidaurus (491), Tenedos (594), and Chalcis (601. 603). In a single passage (on p. 321—2), after stating that the migrations of the Leleges are attested by ai 'Apiστοτέλους πολιτείαι, he appeals to no less than four of them as his authorities, vis. those of the Acarnanians, Opuntians, Megarians and Leucadians. When we remember that the story of the recovery of the lost library of Aristotle is told by Strabo (doubtless on

¹ Heitz, Verl. Schr., p. 244.

² Rose, A. P., p. 400; Heitz, Verl.

Schr. p. 244, and Ar. Frag. p. 219.

³ Rose, A. P., p. 521.

⁴ Rose, Frag. 531³; A. P. p. 487;

Heitz, Verl. Schr. p. 245.

⁵ Rose, Frag. 609³.

the authority of his preceptor Tyrannion), we are not surprised at finding in his pages not a few traces of a first-hand acquaintance with the Πολιτείαι. Nevertheless, the fact that only a comparatively small number of the πολιτείαι are noticed in Strabo has led to the supposition that he had no direct knowledge of that work.

PLINY the elder (23—79 A.D.) names Aristotle as his authority mainly on the geography of several of the Greek islands (Tenos, Delos, Melos and Samos), and also in connexion with Argos, Thebes and Chalcis. One of his references may be traced to the Νόμιμα Βαρβα-ρικά. He also states that, according to Aristotle, the art of painting was introduced into Greece by Euchir, Daedali cognatus (Rose, Frag. 382³); but there is no sufficient warrant for referring this to a lost passage of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. Pliny's references to Aristotle may safely be regarded as taken at second hand ³. This has also been assumed, but with perhaps less justice, in the case of Plutarch (c. 46—120 A.D.).

PLUTARCH repeatedly mentions Aristotle as his authority:—five times in the life of Lycurgus³; once in that of Cleomenes⁴; and twice in that of Pericles, in passages that may perhaps be traced to the \(\Sigma_{\text{a}\text{\sigmi}\text{\omega}\text{\sigma}}\) πολιτεία. In five instances Aristotle is named in connexion with Naxos, Tegea (twice), Troezen and Ithaca⁶; and in two others we may trace the reference to the Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά². The 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία may fairly be regarded as the source of Plutarch's references to Aristotle in the lives of Theseus, Solon, Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles and Nicias, and Nicias, as also of certain passages in which Aristotle is not actually named 14. At this point it may be interesting to notice two good examples of tacit quotation from the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία in the pages of Plutarch. c. 14 § 4 of the πολιτεία we read that, with the aid of Φύη, Megacles restored the exiled Peisistratus ἀρχαϊκῶς (or ἀρχαίως) καὶ λίαν ἀπλῶς: in Plutarch's Solon (3 § 5) we find the phrase απλούς...λίαν καὶ ἀρχαίος. Again, in c. 5 § 2 of the πολιτεία, we are told of Solon, είλοντο κοινή διαλλακτήν και άρχοντα Σόλωνα: in the Amatorius of Plutarch (18 § 14), a passage that has not hitherto been noticed in this connexion, we find five consecutive words applied to Solon, which are identical with those

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1 Heitz, Verl. Schr. p. 244.
2 e.g. through Philostephanus of Cyrene.
3 cc. 1, 5, 6, 28, 31; Rose, Frag<sup>8</sup>.
533—538.
4 c. 9; Frag<sup>8</sup>. 539.
5 cc. 26, 38; Frag<sup>8</sup>. 577—8.
6 Frag<sup>3</sup>. 559, 592, 507, 597.
7 Camill. 21, and De Cohibenda Ira
11; Frag<sup>8</sup>. 610, 668.
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just quoted, - τούτον είλοντο κοινή διαλλακτήν καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ νομοθέτην.

In view of such instances it seems difficult to maintain the theory that Plutarch had only a second-hand knowledge of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία'. He has even been charged with the incredible carelessness of keeping words such as rûr unchanged in copying from the intermediate authorities which he is supposed to have followed. Thus, in Solon, c. 25, his statement that fragments of the wooden tablets on which the laws of Solon were inscribed were still to be seen in his own day (ἔτι καθ' ήμας) in the Athenian πρυτανείον, was regarded by Rose as a careless transcript from some such phrase in Polemon as διασώζονται δ' έν τῷ Πρυτανείφ³. Similarly, in Lycurgus, c. 28, έτι καὶ νῦν was held to refer to the age of Plutarch's authority Ephorus. In the former case, at any rate, the statement of Plutarch is corroborated by the evidence of Pausanias (i 18 § 3) who, even at a later date, observes that in the πρυτανείον the laws of Solon είσὶ γεγραμμένοι. Other quotations in Plutarch are ascribed by Rose to the Eclogae and Collectanea of previous writers, such as Didymus; but this ascription is not supported by the context of the quotations themselves. Plutarch places the Πολιτείαι of Aristotle in the same category as the works of Herodotus, Xenophon, Eudoxus and Aristoxenus, implying that all these writers dealt with important and interesting events in a style that was at once vigorous and graceful. Such is not the language of one whose knowledge of

1 Prof. J. H. Wright, The Date of Cylon, p. 25, observes: Most of Plutarch's statements on the affair of Cylon are traceable to Aristotle's Respub. Ath. A comparison of Plutarch's account of pre-Solonian affairs with that of Aristotle shows, however, first, that this dependance is not immediate, and, secondly, that there is much admixture of foreign matter'... In the note he refers to 38 passages in Plutarch's Solon which bear resemblance to passages in Aristot. Respub. Ath., and are evidently traceable to the latter work. Only once, however, is Aristotle here named (Sol. 25 ad init.) 'A minute comparison of the wording of these parallel passages, and a consideration of the order in which they occur in the two writers, as also of extraneous matter inserted and of important and illuminating facts omitted, show that Plutarch was certainly not intimately acquainted with the Respub. Ath. The resemblances, the dissimilarities, and the discrepancies alike are intelligible only on the supposition that Plutarch was transcribing from some work in which

an abridgment of these parts of the Respub. Ath. was embodied. In transcribing from this abridgment he interpolates foreign matter, which is inconsistent with the unabridged Aristotle.
The abridgment omitted the main part of cc. 2—4, also c. 13 [§§ 2, 3], as well as many minor statements. The poetical quotations of Plutarch are from a different collection; such as coincide are in a different order...Plutarch's otherwise unaccountable omission in his Them. of the characteristic anecdote of Themistocles, Ephialtes, and the Areopagus (Respub. Ath. c. 25) may be explained on the hypothesis that the copy of Aristotle's work used by Plutarch did not contain this story. In *Pericles*, Aristotle is cited, but immediately there follow statements as to Pericles which directly contradict Aristotle (cf. Ad. Bauer, Forschungen, p. 77, who believes, however, in a first-hand use of *Respub. Ath.* by Plutarch).'

² Preller on Polemon, p. 87.

Rose, A. P., pp. 413, 491.
Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epicurum, C. 10, δταν δέ μηδέν έχουσα λυπηρόν ή

the Holtreia was mainly or solely derived from second-hand sources of information.

ZENOBIUS, who flourished in the time of Hadrian (117—138 A.D.), refers to c. 28 of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, and mentions the πολιτείαι of Corcyra, Samos, Delphi and Methone (Frag. 513, 576, 487, 552). He also names Aristotle as his authority for facts relating to Cythnus and Thebes (Frag. 523, 502).

Aulus Gellius (115—180 a.d.) names Aristotle in connexion with Solon's law against neutrality. The law is found in $^{\circ}A\theta$. $\pi o \lambda$. c. 8 § 5.

ARISTIDES, one of the most celebrated rhetoricians of the 2nd century (117 or 129—180 A.D.) never mentions the Abyraíwr πολιτεία, but the only poems of Solon which he quotes are extracted from those preserved in that treatise; he also paraphrases other passages from those poems and from the text of Aristotle¹.

Diogenes Laertius (towards the close of the 2nd century A.D.) twice appeals to Aristotle for facts connected with Corinth (Frag. 516, 517). In the first of these passages he couples him with Ephorus. In a third passage he refers to Aristotle iν τη Δηλίων πολιτεία (Frag. 489); but, as the vague plural φασίν occurs in the previous context, there is no certain proof of first-hand acquaintance with the work in question. In this author, however, we have several parallels to the account of Solon given in the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία."

POLLUX of Naucratis (A. 180—238 A.D.), who dedicated his 'Ovoμαστικόν to Commodus (Emp. 180—192), quotes largely from the
Πολιτείαι, especially from that of Athens. The latter is his main authority on all points of Athenian law and antiquities. Many consecutive lines are either transcribed or paraphrased from its pages, e.g. the epigram about Diphilus and a large part of its context in c. 7 § 4. But his debt to the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, though vast, is invariably unacknowledged, while the only passage in which he mentions the name of Aristotle in connexion with a term of Attic law, is not

βλαβερδν Ιστορία και διήγησις, έπι πράξεσι καλαϊς και μεγάλαις προσλάβη λογον έχοντα δύναμν και χάριν, ώς τον 'Ηροδότου τό Έλληνικά, και Περσικά τοῦ Ζενοφώντος, δτα δὲ 'Ομηρος ἐθέσπισε θέσκελα είδώς, ή τὰς περιόδους Εύδοξος, ή κτίσεις και πολιτείας 'Αριστοτέλης, ή βίους ἀνδρῶν' Αριστόξενος ἔγραψεν, οῦ μόνον μέγα και πολύ τὸ εὐφραῖνον, άλλὰ και καθαρόν και άμεταμελητόν έστιν.

1 Cf. Aristides ii 360, 361 Dind., with 'Aθ. πολ. 5 § 2, 11 § 2, 12 § 5; also p. 535—538 with 'Αθ. πολ. c. 12; and lastly i p. 765, (Σόλωνα) φασι τῆς πολιτείας καταλυθείσης λαβόντα ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ καθ-

ηθθαι πρὸ της οίκίας, βοηθεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα, οίμαι, ἐνδεικνύμενον δὲ ως ἔχει γνώμης, with $A\theta$. πολ. C. I4 § 2.

² Diog. Laert. i §§ 45, 50, 58.
² Even before the discovery of the 'Aθ. πολ. this fact had been partially ascertained by comparing the language of Pollux with that quoted from the 'Aθ. πολ. in the lexicographers. Cf. Stopientin, De Iulii Pollucis in publicis Atheniensium antiquitatibus enarrandis auctoritate, (Breslau) 1875; and Stoewer, in quibus nitantur auctoribus Iulii Pollucis rerum iudicialium enarrationes, (Münster) 1888.

found in that treatise, so far as it has been preserved. Several of the other πολιτεῖαι are, however, expressly mentioned, viz. that of Acragas (twice in Frag.* 476), Himera (twice in 510), Tarentum (590), Orchomenus (566), and Sicyon (580). In other passages, where Aristotle is named, the information may have been ultimately derived from the Constitutions of Cyprus (527), Rhegium (568), Syracuse (585, 589), Cyrene (529) and Argos (481), or from the Τυρρήνων νόμμμα (608).

ATHENAEUS, who, like Pollux, was a native of Naucratis (fl. c. 200 A.D.) expressly mentions the πολιτείαι of Aegina (Frag. 472), Delos (490), Naxos (558), Troezen (596), Thessaly (499), Methone (551), Colophon (515), Massalia (549), Croton (583), Sybaris (584) and Syracuse (588). The name of Aristotle is also mentioned in connexion with Miletus (557); and that of Timaeus with reference to Aristotle's account of Locri (547), which has already been noticed. Aristotle &v Τυρρήνων νομίμοις is also quoted (607). It has been conjectured that these quotations may have been taken second-hand from lexicographical works, such as the lexicon to the Comic poets compiled by Pamphilus from that of his predecessor Didymus. This is supported by the fact that on p. 499 Athenaeus twice quotes the comic poet Diphilus; and, between the two quotations, inserts a reference to Aristotle ἐν τῆ Θετταλών πολιτεία to prove that the Thessalians used a feminine form ή λάγυνος³. But a native of a country, in which, as we now know, copies of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία were actually in existence at the time, may well have derived much of his information from the original work. Apart from the British Museum papyrus and the fragments of the Berlin papyrus, both of which came from Egypt, we know of a third copy, which is mentioned in the catalogue of an Egyptian library of the third century A.D. 4.

Harpocration of Alexandria, the lexicographer of the Attic Orators, who is doubtfully ascribed either to the second, or (less probably) to the fourth century of our era, expressly quotes 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία in no less than 50 places. A lost passage in the same treatise is less precisely cited with the phrase ὡς 'Αριστοτέλης ψησί (381). There are nine other πολιτείαι which he mentions by name, those of Arcadia, Elis, Thessaly, Cythnus, Cyprus, Sparta, Massalia, Opus and Pellene. The quotations from the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία are so numerous and so precise, that it may fairly be assumed that they were taken at first-hand from the treatise itself.

CLEMENT of Alexandria (ob. 220 A.D.) quotes the modition of

Pollux viii 62, παράβολον (Frag.³
 Rose, A. P., p. 471, Frag. 499³.
 j; cf. iii 17, τριτοπάτωρ (Frag.³ 415).
 Zündel in Rhein. Mus. 1866, p. 432.

Phocaea and Locri, and refers in more general terms to that of Sparta (Frag. 599, 548, 535); while Aelian (fl. 250 a.d.) tells the story of the usurpation of Peisistratus in language almost identical with that of c. 14 of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

Hesychius of Alexandria, who belongs to the end of the fourth century, or (more probably) to the fifth, is a compiler from earlier authorities, the best of whom is Diogenianus of Heraclea (of the time of Hadrian). The lexicon of Hesychius expressly quotes the Constitution of the Opuntians (Frag. 563), and names Aristotle as the authority for statements respecting Cyrene (528), Corcyra (513) and Sparta (541). The second of these items may, however, be traced back to Zenobius. Not a few articles are ultimately founded on the Aθηναίων πολιτεία, though neither the work is named, nor its author. Such are the articles on ἀδύνατοι (Αθ. πολ. 49 § 4), ἀπὸ συμβόλων δίκαζειν (59 § 6), Βουζύγης (Frag. 386), βουλεύσεως ἔγκλημα (Αθ. πολ. 57 § 3), δήμαρχοι (21 § 5), διαμεμετρημένην ἡμέραν (col. 35, 3), ἱππάς (7 § 4), and ἶππον τροχός (49 § 1). Το the same source may be traced the articles on Διονύσου γάμος and Ἐπιλύκειον (3 § 5), and also on ἔδραι βουλῆς (30 § 4), and χαλκοῦν πινάκιον (63 § 4).

Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople (815—891 A.D.), states that excerpts from the πολιτεῖαι of Aristotle, viz. from those of Thessaly, Achaia, Paros, Lycia and Ceos, were included in the twelfth book of the historical selections of Sopater (sixth cent.). In his Lexicon, the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία is mentioned in the articles on ναυκραρία ('Αθ. πολ. 8 § 3), and ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους (28 § 3): the latter may, however, be traced back to Zenobius. The πολιτείαι of Sparta, Samos and Ithaca are expressly cited (Frag. 586, 575, 509); and Aristotle is named in several articles, including one on πελάται ('Αθ. πολ. 2 § 2). During the embassy 'to the Assyrians' the patriarch perused and epitomised no less than 280 volumes, many of which are now lost; but there is nothing to prove that the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία was included among them.

TZETZES of Constantinople (born c. 1120 A.D.) refers to the πολιτείαι of Orchomenus (Frag.* 505) and Ithaca (504 and 508). Of the last two references the former is also found in the Etymologicum Magnum; so that possibly all three may have been borrowed from earlier sources. The lexicon last named, s.v. iεροποιοί, expressly quotes Aristotle ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθηναίων πολιτεία (c. 54 § 6), and has a short article as δατητής (Frag. 422) which may be traced to Harpocration (c. 56 § 6). It also names Aristotle in connexion with Cumae (Frag. 525), and we know that this article comes ultimately from the Πολιτείαι.

¹ Phot. Bibl. Cod. 161, p. 104 b 38, quoted by Rose, A. P. p. 401, Frag. p. 258. ² Frag. 496, 541, 593, 554.

xxviii EVIDENCE OF ANCIENT AUTHORITIES

Eustathius of Constantinople, archbishop of Thessalonica (who died c. 1198) refers to the πολιτείαι of Sparta (545) and Ithaca (506), and names Aristotle in a passage which comes from the πολιτεία of Thessaly (437). But there is no proof of direct acquaintance with any of the πολιτείαι. His only notice of the Αθηναίων πολιτεία (c. 44 § 1) is borrowed from Telephus of Pergamos who lived under Hadrian and (among other works) wrote on the Laws and Customs, and on the Lawcourts of Athens.

Thus far we have surveyed in chronological order the writers who, either at first or second hand, quote from the Πολιτείαι of Aristotle. We have still to notice a few anonymous citations.

- (1) The unknown author of the ὑπόθεσις to the Areopagiticus of Isocrates, a Christian writer of perhaps the sixth century, is the only person who quotes the anecdote in c. 25 respecting the part ascribed to Themistocles in the overthrow of the Areopagus¹.
- (2) The Scholia to Aristophanes refer to the Aθ. πολ. in no less than thirteen places. They also expressly quote the πολιτείαι of Sparta and Samos, and name Aristotle in connexion with Orchomenos, Corcyra and Cyrene. Many of the Scholia on Aristophanes are derived from Aristophanes of Byzantium and his pupils Callistratus, Aristarchus and Didymus; as well as from the Pergamene scholars, Herodicus and Asclepiades. The earlier Scholia were drawn up in the 3rd century A.D.; while the later Scholia go down as far as the age of Thomas Magister and Triclinius (end of 13th cent.).

The Scholia on Sophocles cite Aristotle for a fact mentioned in 'Aθ. πολ. 60 § 2; those on Euripides quote from the πολιτείαι of Sparta (Frag. 544) and Thessaly (498), and name Aristotle in connexion with terms relating to the πολιτείαι of Cumae (524—5). Those on Homer give us evidence as to the πολιτείαι of Iasos and Samos (503 and 571); those on Pindar cite the πολιτείαι of Sparta, Syracuse and Gela (Frag. 532, 587, 486), and name Aristotle in connexion with Aegina, Rhodes, Crete, Acarnania, Opus and Locri. Those on Plato quote Aristotle for facts which may be traced to the πολιτείαι of Athens (385) and Thessaly (498). Those on Apollonius Rhodius refer to the πολιτείαι of Samos and Samothrace, Sinope and Tegea, Corcyra and Kios in Mysia; those of Theocritus refer to Croton, Ceos and Crete³. The Scholia on

¹ Rose, A. P., p. 423, no. 359; Frag. 404³.

² 'Aθ, πολ. 7 § 1 (*Av. 1354); 15 § 3 (*Ach. 234); 19 § 3 (*Lys. 665), § 4 (Lys. 1153), § 6 (Vesp. 502); 21 § 5 (Nub. 37); c. 28 § 3? (Vesp. 684); 34 § 1 (Ran. 1532), § 3 (Vesp. 157); 34 ult. (Vesp. 157); 54 § 2 (Vesp. 601); col. 32, 8—15 (*Plut. 278); col. 36, 3—9 (Eg.

^{1150).} In four of these places (marked with an asterisk) the title is given in full: 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ.; in two (Vesp. 157, 684) the form is 'Αρ. ἐν πολιτείαις.

³ In the Schol. on Theocr. iv 7 we are told that the Olympic crown έκ της καλλιστούς ή καλλιστεφάνου έλαίας γενόμενος δίδοται, ήτις απέχει σταδίων όκτω ως φασιν (sic) 'Αριστότελης. This is less

Aeschines contain no express mention of Aristotle, but they include several items of information ultimately derived from the 'A θηναίων πολιτεία.

It will be observed that the references to the Holtreau, which have now been enumerated, extend over a period of no less than fifteen centuries, and attest different degrees of acquaintance with the work in many parts of the ancient world, chiefly in great centres of learning, such as Alexandria and Constantinople. In the case of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, the exact degree to which the text of the treatise was known to those who refer to it, may in general be traced in the Testimonia which are printed below the critical notes in the present edition. All the external evidence is in favour of ascribing the Holiteias to Aristotle.

The later literature of the Πολιτεΐοι.

After the revival of learning in Italy it was Francesco Patrizzi who, in the course of a calumnious attack on the personal character and philosophical authority of Aristotle, unconsciously did some little service to the cause which he impugned by investigating the earlier sources of information as to the lost works of Aristotle. In his Discussiones Peripateticae, published in 1571 at Venice, and reprinted ten years later at Basel, he made the first attempt to collect their fragmentary remains. Patrizzi's collection was included in Casaubon's Aristotle (1590), and in 1503 a more comprehensive edition was promised by Casaubon himself. The lost modifical are also mentioned by the learned Selden, but meanwhile Casaubon's promise remained unfulfilled. portance of the fragments was noticed by Niebuhr⁵ and others.

It was not until 1827 that C. F. Neumann, then living at Munich, published his Aristotelis Rerumpublicarum Reliquiae, including fragments from 50 of the πολιτείαι, the number traced to the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία being 59 in all. In 1843 a similar collection was published by H. A. Van Dyck at Utrecht. These were superseded by Carl Müller's edition in the Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, Paris (Didot), 1848, in which the editor says of Neumann's work: qui quidem libellus nullius nobis usus esse potuit: tam supina est auctoris negligentia. The total number of πολιτείαι in this new collection is 95, and the fragments of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία have now risen in number to 74.

This collection served as the foundation for a still more extensive

likely to have been derived from the flavμάσια ἀκούσματα than from the πολιτεία of Elis.

¹ ¹ Λθ. πολ. 28 § 3, 57 § 3, 59 §§ 1, 2. ² Hallam, *Lu. of Europe*, ii 6, ed.

^{1854;} Heitz, Verl. Schr., p. 1.

Note on Diog. Laert. p. 76, ed. 1615.

De jure naturali &c., Opera 1 i 74—5.

Hist. Rom. i 20, p. 12 of 3rd Eng. ed.

work by Valentine Rose. In his Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus (1863), we have 213 fragments, 89 of which are assigned to the 'Aθ. πολ. Rose's second edition of these fragments was included in Vol. v of the Berlin edition of Aristotle (1870), with three new fragments (445, 470, 511) from the πολιτείαι of Delphi, Corcyra and Methone published by a French scholar from a MS of Zenobius discovered on Mount Athos'. Lastly, in 1886 Rose's third edition was published by Teubner; the number of fragments is now 223, and of these 91 are traced to the 'Aθ. πολ., the two new fragments being no. 413 and 429 (corresponding to c. 3 § 5 and 52 § 1).

Meanwhile, in 1869, the fragments had been edited by Emil Heitz, the able author of *Die Verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles* (1865). This edition was practically simultaneous with the second edition by Rose which, although printed in 1867, was not published until 1870.

In the case of the more important $\pi o \lambda i \tau \epsilon \hat{u} a$ and especially in that of Athens, the substance of these fragments has been not unfrequently set forth by modern scholars in various degrees of fulness. Thus Carl Müller (fhg ii 104) supplies an epitome of the Fragments on Athens; and Rose, a brief digest in the form of a table of contents. But the most successful endeavour to give life to these fragmentary remains is to be found in the Appendix to the important work of Oncken on the political teaching of Aristotle. The fragments are there discussed in their historical bearing, and the scattered facts contained in them presented in a consecutive order and in an interesting form. The introduction to the analysis of the fragments closes with some valuable criticisms to the following effect:—

The method of dealing with the history of Athens which was pursued by Aristotle and his pupils must be regarded as marking the beginning of a new epoch. Without in any way undervaluing the influence of the contemporary school of Isocrates, as represented by Ephorus, Theopompus and Androtion, we may say without exaggeration that the picture, not only of the political life of Athens down to the overthrow of her freedom, but also of most of her statesmen, which became permanent in the literary tradition of later ages, was in its leading traits first delineated by the school of Aristotle and his followers.

The analysis concludes with the following remarks on the second part of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία:—

Even a hasty glance at all these details gives one an impression of the extraordinarily valuable store of authentic facts here gathered by the industry of Aristotle. He has presented us with a description of the very subjects which the Athenians themselves did not deem worth the trouble of describing, since the knowledge of these de-

¹ E. Miller, Mélanges de littérature grecque, Paris, 1868; p. 369. ² A. P., p. 402.

⁸ Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles in Historisch-Politischen Umrissen, vol. ii (1875), pp. 410—528.

tails of every-day life was for themselves the merest matter of course. In Aristotle the scientific instinct of the genuine investigator was blended with the natural curiosity of the foreigner; and this double interest served to add a fresh keenness to his perception of what posterity would deem to be best worth knowing. For later generations his wolirela became a veritable treasure-house of accumulated learning. Things that are only incidentally noticed by the orators and poets of the time, as being perfectly familiar to every one, are here narrated, described and elucidated by Aristotle for the benefit of all of those to whom this information was unknown. It was an important and an imperishable service. It was also one which was the natural result of his peculiar method as an investigator. To display the various members of the living body of definite fact, to separate all the complex framework into its component parts, to trace the sequence of a series of results as they came into being, to describe for after ages what was regarded by contemporaries as no less obvious than their daily meat and drink,—to do all this was thoroughly characteristic of Aristotle. It is more than enough to prove the truth of the opinion that Aristotle is above all others the scientific investigator of the Hellenic idea of political life.

Thus far we have dealt with laborious collections of the merest fragments of the Holtzeau, and with one vivid commentary upon the most important of the series. Meanwhile, the original work was deemed to have vanished as completely as the lost decads of Livy. Neumann, in the Prolegomena to his edition of the fragments, laments the loss in the following terms: eheu amissum est in sempiternum pracclarum opus, nisi e palimpsestis quibusdam fortasse eruatur. In the Bibliothèque Orientale of Herbelot (p. 971), mention is made of an Arabic translation of the work, but the hope inspired by this statement remained unfulfilled. To cherish such a hope, even for a moment, was in 1865 denounced as folly.

§ 5. The Berlin Fragments of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

In the year 1880 the interest of scholars was aroused by the announcement that, among the fragments of papyrus found in the Fayoom near the ancient Arsinoe, and acquired for the Egyptian Museum at Berlin, there were two small pages with writing on both sides. They were skilfully deciphered by Blass, and a comparison with other papyri led

¹ The title of the alleged translation is Ketab Siassat Almoden (the book of the government of States). Herbelot's authority is Haji Khalfa, who died in 1658. In Fluegel's ed., vol. v p. 97, no. 10, 203, Haji Khalfa says that, in the book on 'the Government of States,' Aristotle mentions 171 great States. He distinguishes this book from the Politics, and says that the latter was translated into Arabic, which perhaps implies that the 'Government of States' was not. Part of this statement is doubtless derived from the list of Aristotle's writings

in Ibn Abi Useibia, which includes 'a book about the Government of States and the number of the nations, in which he mentions 151 great States' (ed. Müller, 1884, p. 68). As this list is confessedly taken from a Greek catalogue by Ptolemy (see supra p. xvii), we have no right to assume that the Arabs possessed the book. It is not at all the kind of book that was likely to interest them. For the substance of this note I am indebted to Prof. W. Robertson Smith.

2 Heitz, Verl. Schr., p. 230.

to their being provisionally assigned to the second century A.D. The first fragment contained on one side (I a) the long passage in Iambic verse quoted by Aristides from the poems of Solon; on the other (I b), a passage in prose on the archonship of Damasias. The second fragment had on one side (II a) an account of the reforms of Cleisthenes; and on the other (II b), a passage on the ostracism of Megacles and Xanthippus, with some mention of the mines at Maroneia. So imperfect were the indications given by the context that Blass identified Damasias as the archon of 639-8, instead of the archon of 582-1 and 581—o. The institution of the nine archons seemed to be mentioned after the extract from Solon. It thus appeared impossible to attribute the fragments to a historical work written in chronological order, such as that of Ephorus or one of the writers of $A\tau\theta$ $i\delta\epsilon_s$. But Theopompus was known to have closed the tenth book of his Philippica with an excursus on the demagogues of Athens. This (as Blass thought) might well have begun with some account of Dracon and Solon, followed by a digression on the early history of the archonship and by notices of various statesmen such as Megacles, together with some observations on the institution of Ostracism and the reforms of Cleisthenes. It was accordingly conjectured that the newly discovered fragments belonged to Theopompus.

Here the matter rested for a very short time. The article by Blass was published in *Hermes* in October, 1880. The very next number of the *Rheinisches Museum* contained a brilliant contribution by the veteran scholar Bergk, who was then in his 69th year and had just completed the fourth edition of his *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, and whose attention was perhaps mainly drawn to the fragments because they included fresh evidence on the poems of Solon. Bergk pointed out that the passage on Cleisthenes corresponded with a scholium on Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 37. The papyrus as deciphered by Blass had the following letters:

With the help of the Scholium Bergk restored the second and following lines thus:

```
κατ]έσ[τησ]ε δὲ κ[αὶ] δημαρ-
χοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας] ἐπίμελειαν τ[οῖ]ς πρ[ό-
τερον ναυκράροις καὶ τοὺ]ς δήμους ἀντ]ὶ τῶν
ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησε]
```

This Scholium, although introduced by the words 'Aριστοτέλης δὲ π ερὶ Κλεισθένους φησί, had not found its way into either of Rose's previous editions of the fragments, its place having been taken by a less accurate transcript in the lexicon of Harpocration (Rose, 359°); but it is duly cited in the edition by Heitz (no. 19 = 388).

In addition to the proof supplied by this citation, the internal evidence of the style of these scanty fragments was enough to convince Bergk that the prose portions could not have come from any other work than the lost πολιτεῖαι of Aristotle¹. But Bergk could not believe that so long a passage of poetry as the fragment of Solon could have been cited in the ᾿Αθηναίων πολιτεία. He accordingly suggested two alternative solutions: either the poem was an interpolation inserted in a complete copy of the ᾿Αθηναίων πολιτεία by a copyist who desired to illustrate the reforms of Solon by transcribing the poem, or the work consisted of selections from various writers on the constitution of Athens.

The Berlin fragments were further discussed by Landwehr, who published a transcript and a restoration of the text in 1883; which he afterwards revised and corrected in the *Philologus* (Suppl. Bd. v 195). They were also the subject of an able paper by Diels in 1885. According to his view the fragments are simply two loose pages of papyrus filled with transcripts from the $A\theta\eta valwv \pi o\lambda \iota \tau ela$ by some schoolboy of Arsinoe. Damasias is rightly identified as Damasias II, and many other points are discussed in a masterly manner. It is also maintained for the first time that all the four pages belong to the same work, and that the $A\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. of Aristotle. The paper includes a convenient reprint of the various restorations of the fragments, and also a lithographed facsimile.

¹ p. 90, 'Wohl aber erinnert die Behandlungsweise an Aristoteles: selbst ein blödes Auge wird erkennen, dass der Verfasser vollkommen mit seinem Gegenstande vertraut ist, dass er zwischen Wesentlichem und Unwichtigem sehr wohl zu scheiden weiss, dass hier nicht ein buchgelehrter Grammatiker zu uns spricht, sondern ein erfahrener Mann, der mit scharfen Blicke das politische Leben zu betrachten gewohnt war, der sein histo-

rischer Sinn vor jeder Befangenheit des Urtheils bewahrte. Nicht minder erinnert die schlichte und schmucklose, nur auf die Sache gerichtete Darstellung an die Weise des Begründers der Staatswissenschaft. Auf mich wenigstens machten diese Bruchstücke sofort den Eindruck, als hätte ich Reste der Aristotelischen Politie der Athener vor mir.'

Politie der Athener vor mir.'

² Philos. u. Hist. Abhandlungen,
Berlin Acad., 1886, ii pp. 1—57.

§ 6. The British Museum papyrus.

Thus far the student of Aristotle's Πολιτεῖαι had to found his conclusions as to the character of the work solely on meagre fragments laboriously collected from many sources, and on two barely legible and most imperfect scraps of papyrus in the Museum at Berlin, when suddenly, on the morning of Monday, Jan. 19, 1891, the readers of The Times were startled by the announcement that a MS containing the greater portion of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens had been acquired by the British Museum as part of a collection of papyrus rolls from a place in Egypt which, for adequate reasons, it was not expedient to specify more particularly. It was not until the rolls had been examined at the British Museum that it was found that three of them contained what was identified as the text of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

The secret of the discovery had been well kept: and by its first public announcement the interest of scholars at home and abroad was roused to a high pitch of expectation. Only eleven days later, on Friday, Jan. 30th, the printed text appeared under the editorship of Mr F. G. Kenyon, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Assistant in the Department of MSS, British Museum. It was soon discovered that, although the text was described in the preface to the editio princeps as 'in good condition' and requiring 'little emendation', there was a still deeper truth in the editor's fuller statement on a later page:—'There remain not a few passages which still require emendation by conjecture, in some of which the reading of the Ms is completely lost, while in others a few faint traces of letters remain, which will serve as tests of the accuracy of any proposed emendation'. A vast number of conjectures of very various degrees of merit were accordingly proposed by English scholars in the pages of the Athenaeum, and the Academy, and the substance of these, together with the criticisms of continental scholars, were reprinted, with many other suggestions, in successive numbers of the Classical Review (March to July, 1801). Many further contributions to the criticism and elucidation of the treatise have since appeared. A conspectus of the literature of the subject is reserved for a later section (§ 10).

Early in March the Trustees of the British Museum published a Facsimile of the *papyrus*. The immediate, and indeed the permanent, result of this publication was a widely expressed recognition of the remarkable skill with which Mr Kenyon had accomplished the task of deciphering the Ms. In those portions of the Ms which are most easily read in the original, the facsimile is an adequate substitute for the

papyrus. It is mainly, though by no means exclusively, in the places where the papyrus is rubbed, and the remains of the letters only faintly visible, that it is absolutely necessary to resort to the original.

The MS consists of four separate rolls with the letters A, B, Γ , written at the beginning of the first three:

Total length about 18 feet, 8 inches1.

The Ms is written in four hands: (1) extends over Columns 1—12, and is described as 'a small semi-cursive hand, employing a large number of abbreviations of common syllables.'

- (2) begins with Col. 13 and ends in the middle of Col. 20. This is described as an 'uncial of fair size,' plain but not ornamental, employing no contractions, and making a large number of blunders in matters of spelling.
- (3) is a 'straggling' and often ill-formed semi-cursive hand, of larger size than the first. This extends from the middle of Col. 20 to the end of Col. 24; and also includes the mutilated remains of Cols. 31—37.
- (4) closely resembles (1), and 'employs many of the same abbreviations,' but is generally finer and more upright, and possesses some distinctive forms of letters. This extends over Cols. 25—30°.

Abbreviations are not used uniformly by all the four hands. They are chiefly confined to hands (1) and (4), while they are very sparingly used by (3), and not at all by (2). Hence it is obvious that, in restoring the text, it is solely in Cols. 1—12, and 25—30, that we can assume the existence of abbreviations. They can only be admitted within very narrow limits in Cols. 20—24, and 31—37; while they cannot be admitted at all in Cols. 13—20.

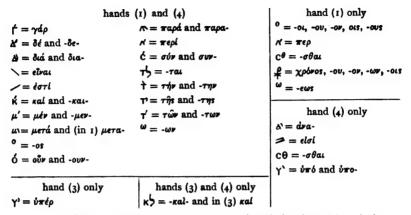
(1) and (4) have many abbreviations in common; but at the same time each of the two has some that are characteristic of itself alone. This will be made clear by the following classified list.

their preface, is refuted by Mr Kenyon (ed. 3 p. xii) whose opinion is justly confirmed by Blass (*Praef.* iv—vii).

Mr Kenyon has already given a general list on the last page of his *Introd*. I have endeavoured to classify this list, and to represent approximately the shapes of the letters used in the papyrus.

According to Pliny (N. H. xiii § 78) the two best kinds of papyrus were thirteen digits in height (13 × 72821 = 10.4653 inches), rather less tall than rolls 1—111, but rather taller than IV.

³ Mr Kenyon's *Introduction*, p. xi. The proposal to identify hands (1) and (4), and hands (2) and (3), made by Kaibel and Wilamowitz on pp. v—vi of



Hands (1) and (4) have not only certain distinctive abbreviations, but they also use with different degrees of frequency the abbreviations that are common to both. Thus the symbol for elva is found fourteen times in (1), and only five times in (4); that for evr four times in (1), and six times in (4); that for our seventy times in (1), and six times in (4); that for -our three times in (1), and sixteen times in (4); that for -os is far more frequent in (1) than in (4). These considerations prevent us from identifying the two hands. There are also certain distinctive differences in the shapes of the letters used by each; and the same remark applies to hands (2) and (3)*.

Final syllables are often omitted in (1) and (4). Thus ϕv^{λ} is found in both hands for $\phi v \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ and $\phi v \lambda \hat{\eta} v$, and $\beta o v^{\lambda}$ is used for all the cases of $\beta o v \lambda \hat{\eta}$ in the singular. Hand (3) has $\chi \omega \hat{\rho}$ for $\chi \hat{\omega} \rho a v$ (col. 22, 2); $\tau \rho \hat{\sigma}$ for $\tau \rho \hat{\sigma} \pi o v$ (ib. 11) and $\alpha \pi o \gamma \rho \hat{\alpha}$ for $\alpha \hat{\tau} \sigma \gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\alpha} s$ (ib. 35). An abbreviation for αv is exceptionally used for $\alpha \hat{v} \tau \hat{\eta} v$ (in col. 9, 8); and a symbol for $\delta \rho a \chi u \hat{\eta}$, found in cols. 21, 35 and 26, 54, is common to hands (2) and (4). Numerals are denoted by the ordinary symbols in all hands alike.

¹ For the details of these statistics, see van Leeuwen's Observationes Palaeographicae in the Dutch edition, pp. 170—7.

² See the alphabets reproduced in

Class. Rev. v 183.

The use of the above abbreviations,

The use of the above abbreviations, and their distribution over the several hands, may be illustrated by the following examples. For convenience, ordinary type is here used, and the words are separated from one another.

Abbreviations in (1), also found in (4):
— σεβη (col. 1, 3); π'χωρησαντ' (1, 20); τα
μ' ο' π τασ αρχασ (1, 35); τ' τ' χρεων αποκοπησ (2, 31); ατιμον \ κ' τ' πολεω (3, 32);

δκα ετ ου γ οιεσθαι δικον \ (4, 6); μεμνητή καυτ (4, 15); π' τ΄ δνεμεσθ τ΄ γην (4, 21); μ' τ' τ' νομων θεσιν (5, 23); ου γ ενδεχετή (7, 2); μπεμνομόσ (7, 14); αρμοδι $^{\circ}$ (7, 25); σ' παντα σ' οισ (8, 21); δ' κα μ' τ' π' το αστυ (9, 4); κ' τ' σ' μαχω (10, 12); \ κ' δικόσ (11, 1), \ τωι π' κλει (11, 27); επει δ' μ' τ' εν σικελ γεγομ'ην δφοραν (11, 46); σ γραψευάσνηγωντή, i.e. συγγράψειν α αν γγωνται (12, 3).

σ γραψεισασηγωστο, τ.ε. συγγραψεισ α ασ γγώνται (12, 3). In (4), also found in (1):— κ'βαλλετο (25, 25); δραχωω (27, 1); αρχοντο (27, 23); π'αιρειται (29, 18); δ'τιθησι (29, 23); μ' τ' βουλ (29, 50); π'τιθενται (30, 41). In (1) alone:—ο=ου in 15 places, ε.g.

Iota adscriptum is hardly ever omitted in (1); hardly ever inserted in (2); (3) and (4) do not follow any fixed rule¹.

et and t are frequently interchanged, especially in (2); some of these mistakes are however corrected by hand (1). But even in (1) we sometimes have i for ei, e.g. πισιστρατος in three places (Col. 5, 28, 33, 37), besides four other instances. In (2) there are as many as 41, e.g. aφιλον for aφείλον (Col. 16, 4); in (3) and (4) there are only four and five respectively. Conversely we have et for t in all the four hands, the number of instances being 14, 11, 15 and 2 respectively. Both of these mistakes are combined in moderniar (Col. 13, 3) and modernias (14, 1; 16, 26)2.

There is nothing resembling a mark of punctuation, except the short horizontal line in the margin (Cols. 1, 40; 2, 4; 7, 15, 30; 11, 5, 31; 13, 15). In some cases this may be a true παραγραφή, às in Col. 1, 40 and 8, 21 f, where it coincides with the natural end of a chapter; in others (as suggested by Blass*) it may denote a corruption; at any rate this appears more probable than van Leeuwen's opinion that it draws attention to an important or striking statement.

There are no breathings or accents, except in expapropur (Col. 3, 9), νομοφυλακείν (3, 26), δήμον? (4, 29), å (12, 3) ήγωνται (13, 11) and αύτου (20, 46). In some of these cases they are apparently added to prevent ambiguity of meaning.

Blunders made by hand (2) are occasionally corrected, apparently by hand (1), or possibly (4). It has been suggested that the transcript was begun by some one who desired a copy for his own use, and, after writing out the first twelve columns, entrusted to others the task of copying the remainder, being content to revise their work and to correct their misspellings and their other mistakes. The editors of the first German edition, Kaibel and von Wilamowitz⁷, hold that all the corrections are due to hand (1) which they identify with (4). To account for the fact that many blunders are left uncorrected, they assume that the

αρει^ο παγ^ο, (2, 9); = or in 44 places, e.g. θητικ^ο, (3, 3); = oι in 8 places, e.g. δισχιλί^ο (10, 17); = oιs once, αλλ^ο (2, 33); = oυs in 10 places, e.g. κλεισθεν^ο, (12, 12)

8); $\kappa \pi$ (8, 9).

In (4) alone:—//=elol (in 20 places, e.g. twice in 27, 11 and 28, 41); $\dot{v} = \dot{v}\pi\dot{v}$ (26, 19, 30; 27, 20; 28, 24); $\sigma \dot{v} = -\sigma \theta u$ in 16 places, e.g. $\delta v = \sigma \theta' (26, 9)$; $\dot{v} = \dot{v}\pi\dot{v}$ in 26, 19 and 30; 27, 20; 28, 24; also $\dot{v} = \dot{v}\pi\dot{v} = \dot{v} = \dot{v}$ places, e.g. àβηναι 30, 3.
In (3) alone: v = ὑπέρ twice 21, 24 and

23, 22 (cf. 22, 44). (3) 1 = Kal (22, 13 bis;

23, 22;) = -και- in αναγκήον (23, 14). χωρ =χώραν (22, 2); τρδ=τρόπον (21, 11); απογρά = απογραφάς 22, 35. Final ν a-bove last letter of word, seven times, cf. p. 151, n.c. κ also=-και· in (4), 27, 17.

1 Van Leeuwen, l. c. p. 165.

² Van Leeuwen, l. c. p. 166.

Praef. p. xi.

4 l.c. p. 166.
5 Mr Kenyon's Introd. last page; and van Leeuwen, l. c. p. 167.

Mr Kenyon's Introduction, p. xi.

1 Praef. p. vii.

text depends on two earlier MSS, one of them much more accurate than the other. Blass however, holds, with apparently greater probability, that there are several correctors: all the four hands correct some of their own mistakes; and one or more of them correct the work of the rest, not to mention the possibility of a revision independent of all the four. The same critic divides the 'corrections' into five groups, the most important of which he prefers to regard as variae lectiones which were recorded as such in the Ms from which our papyrus was copied².

The process by which the papyrus plant was made into material for writing was as follows: the tall stem had its rind stripped off and the pith cut with a sharp instrument into broad slices of extreme thinness and considerable length. These were laid in long strips on a flat board; across these were placed in the opposite direction and touching one another, a number of short strips corresponding in length to the proposed height of the roll. The upper and lower surfaces were made to adhere to one another by means of the slightly glutinous sap of the pith or (failing that) by means of paste. The long scroll thus formed was thereupon smoothed down with an ivory instrument or a shell. The proper side for writing is that on which the horizontal strips allow of the pen running freely without traversing the frequent joinings of the successive parallel strips of papyrus. Thus, the British Museum papyrus of the first three speeches of Hyperides is written entirely on what may be called the 'horizontal' side, i.e. that on which the strips of papyrus run in a horizontal direction. If any writing is added on the back, it may be described as written on the 'vertical' side, that on which the strips run vertically and overlap one another at their edges. After the front of a scroll has been filled, the back is not unfrequently used for some other writing on a totally different subject. For example, the British Museum papyrus of the Funeral Oration of Hyperides has a Greek horoscope on one side, and that the 'horizontal,' or right side; while the speech of Hyperides is written on the 'vertical,' or wrong side. Similarly the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία is written on the vertical, or wrong side, technically called verso (or 'reverse') as opposed to recto. It may be inferred that the text of any author so inscribed on the back of the scroll is not only later in date than that on the other side; but also that it has been copied solely for the private use of the owner, and not for publication or for preservation in a public library 4.

On the horizontal side of the papyrus of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία are

¹ Praef. p. ix.
2 Blass, Praef. pp. viii—xi.
3 Martial xv 209, 'Levis ab aequorea cortex Mareotica concha Fiat: inoffensa

currit harundo via.' Cf. Blümner's Taknologie, i 308-325.

4 U. Wilcken, Hermes 1887, p. 487-492, Recto oder Verso.

the accounts of receipt and expenditure drawn up by a bailiff on a private estate in the eleventh year of Vespasian (from Aug. 78 to June 79 A.D.)1. After (but probably not very long after) the time when the accounts had ceased to be valuable, the other side was used to the extent of a column and a half for the transcription of an argument to the Midias of Demostheness; the latter was then struck out, the roll turned upside down and the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία written on it, beginning at the other end of the roll. The Ms has been assigned to 'the end of the first century of our era or, at latest, the beginning of the second, and this opinion is confirmed by several dated documents of the first and second centuries which have come to light since the first publication of the papyrus.

§ 7. Date and Authorship of the Aθηναίων πολιτεία.

The date of the original composition of the treatise is determined by internal evidence. The system of electing Strategi for special departments of military duty, which is recognised in c. 61 § 1, was introduced after B.C. 334. Hence the work was written later than that date. The latest date expressly quoted in it is the archonship of Cephisophon, B.C. 329-8 (c. 54 § 7). Again, since in c. 46 § 1 mention is made of triremes and quadriremes, and not of quinqueremes, it has been inferred that it was written before B.C. 325-4, the earliest date at which quinqueremes are named in connexion with the navy of Athens4. Further, it is clear that the treatise could not have been composed after 322 B.C.; because, in that case, we should certainly have had some account of the change in the constitution of Athens which was brought about by Antipater in that year. Lastly, the treatise describes the Athenians as still sending officials to Samos (c. 62, 16); in the autumn of B.C. 322 that island ceased to be under the control of Athens. B.C. 322 is also the year of the death of Aristotle: hence, the evidence derived from the treatise itself shews that it was written while Aristotle was still alive; and the reasons above assigned enable us to place its date between B.C. 328 and 325.

We have already traced in chronological order the evidence of all

¹ έτους ενδεκάτου αυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Ούεσπασιάνου Σεβαστοῦ άργυρικὸς λόγος Έπιμάχου Πολυδεύκους λημμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων τών δι' έμοῦ Διδύμου 'Ασπασίου χειριζομένων (in the original there are no accents).

³ Printed in the Dutch ed. of the 'Aθ. πολ., pp. 180—185; and in Mr Kenyon's 3rd ed., pp. 215—219.

⁸ Mr Kenyon's Introd. to ed. 3, p.

xvi.

Mr Cecil Torr in Athenaeum, Feb. 7, 1891; Bruno Keil, Berl. Phil. Woch. 1891, p. 614; J. H. Lipsius, Verhandlungen der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissen. schaften, 28 Feb. 1891, p. 45. See note on 46 § 1.

Bruno Keil, u. s. p. 613.

the ancient authorities who quote the $\Pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \hat{i} a \iota$. We have seen that the work as a whole is assigned to Aristotle by the unanimous voice of antiquity; and it has just been shewn that the $\Lambda \theta \eta \nu a \iota \omega \nu \pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \iota a$ was certainly completed while Aristotle was still alive. In such a case we must necessarily accept the work as Aristotle's, unless internal evidence is conclusive on the other side. The consideration of that evidence turns partly on questions of style, partly on the relations subsisting between the $\Lambda \theta \eta \nu a \iota \omega \nu \pi o \lambda_i \tau \epsilon \iota a$ and the *Politics*. Let us consider the latter point first.

The latest event mentioned in the *Politics* is the death of Philip in B.C. 336. Had the *Politics* been finished even as early as seven years after that date, it would have been completed before the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. But, according to the opinion now prevalent among Aristotelian scholars, it was left incomplete by its author and was not given to the world in his lifetime. Books vii (iv) and viii (v) are more carefully composed than the rest, being specially marked by the avoidance of hiatus. It is possible that these two books represent the author's finished style; it is also possible that they owe their polish to the skill of a pupil of the Peripatetic school'. But in either case they are not of the nature of a popular work, and there is nothing to prove that they were in general circulation during the author's lifetime.

Probably the greater part of the Politics had already been written by the year 336. It has sometimes been supposed that the vast collection of facts relating to the modifical of various Greek states was formed to serve as materials for the theoretical treatment of the subject in the Politics. The Politics, however, were never completed, whereas the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία assumed a finished form more than three years before the death of Aristotle. But it is quite possible that the materials for the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, and for the rest of the series, were collected before the larger part of the Politics was reduced to writing. The same materials would serve for both; but, in the case of the Πολιτείαι, they were embodied in a finished work for popular perusal; in the case of the Politics, they formed part of the preliminary studies for courses of lectures probably confined to the philosopher's immediate circle. Now, as the Politics may have continued to supply the theme for such lectures in and after 334, while the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία was not ready for public perusal until 6 or 8 years later, we need not be surprised to find in the Politics no reference whatsoever to the Holirian. At a time when only fragments of the latter were known to scholars, this fact used to be quoted in proof of the spuriousness of the work. But now that

¹ Shute's History of the Aristotelian Writings, pp. 164-170.

nearly the whole of one of the Hodireiai has been recovered, and its date determined to be later than the latest event noticed in the Politics. no argument against its genuineness can be founded on the fact that the author of the unfinished work says nothing of a popular treatise that had not yet been published while the theoretical work was still in course of preparation.

The question arises whether the Holiteias are ever mentioned in the undisputed works of Aristotle. At the close of the Ethics. when about to state the theme of the ensuing discussion in the Politics, Aristotle speaks of των πολιτειών αι συναγωγαί and also of των συνηγμένων πολιτειών (x 9 §§ 21, 23). The sense of the context of the latter phrase may be expressed as follows: 'First then let us endeavour to review whatever is to some extent valuable in the statements of our predecessors, and then to learn from the constitutions which have been collected (or put into juxtaposition with one another), the causes which are apt to preserve or to destroy states, and the causes which have this effect on the several constitutions.' This promise is sufficiently fulfilled by the review of the various constitutions in Book II, their classification in Books III-VI, and the discussion of the ways in which revolutions may be caused or prevented in Book VIII (v).

Rose, however, in his Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, while regarding the πολιτειών συναγωγαί as existing collections of facts forming materials for the Politics, insists at the same time that Aristotle had not himself written any such work or expressed any intention of writing it. The Politics of Aristotle, he adds, were supplemented in due time by the works on νομοθεσία written by his pupil Theophrastus; but neither Aristotle nor Theophrastus, he contends, ever wrote any work on πολιτείαι. The Πολιτείαι, attributed to Aristotle, are ascribed by Rose to some anonymous Peripatetic who was less of a philosopher than a historian and philologist. Such was Demetrius Phalereus who wrote works $\pi\epsilon\rho\lambda$ της 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας and περί των 'Αθήνησι πολιτειών. Such, again,

1319 b 23, he infers that they are die unter eine gewisse Anzahl von Rubriken vertheilten, verschiedenen Verfassungsformen. But the meaning of ownaywyal in the former of these two passages is determined by Aristotle himself by the use of the word συνδυαζόμενα in the very next line, and συνδυασμοί in the subsequent context. It refers to constitutions which exceptionally combine oligarchic and democratic elements; and this sense has nothing to do with the interpretation of the passage in the Ethics proposed by Heitz. Susemihl (followed by Mr J. A. Stewart) brackets Eth. x 9 §§ 22, 23.

¹ Cf. Newman, Ar. Pol. vol. i pp. 2,

^{214—220.} Rose, A. P. p. 396. Camerarius and Victorius understood πολιτείαι συνηγμέναι as a reference to Aristotle's historical work, a view sup-Ansioue's nistorical work, a view supported by Grant and Stahr, Ar. Pol. (1860) p. 66. Heitz, Verl. Schr. p. 232, quotes the paraphrase of Andronicus: elra συναγαγώντει τὰς πολιτείας θεωρώμεν &ν αὐταῖς ἄ τε φθείρει καὶ ἀ σώζει τὰς πόλεις. From the use of συναγωγαί in Pol. vii (vi) ἐπὶτ., p. 1316 b 40, ἔτι δὲ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰσρημένων ἐπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τοῦπτών, and συναντέον εἰα λλίως in τών τρόπων, and συνακτέον els όλίγα in

was Dicaearchus, whose πολιτείαι were known to Cicero. The author of the Πολιτείαι was (according to Rose) inspired, like Dicaearchus, by the example of Aristotle who, in his Politics, touches on the constitutions of a large number of states. Now that we know that the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία was completed several years before the death of Aristotle, while the Politics was still unfinished, the suggestion that the unknown author of the Πολιτείαι was inspired by the Politics falls to the ground, unless indeed we are to assume that the author was one of the pupils of Aristotle who attended his course on the Politics at some date after his return to Athens (334). If so, it is singular that the name of this remarkably prolific writer should not have been preserved. On the contrary, the name has completely vanished, and in its place we find everywhere the name of Aristotle and of none beside.

The only two that have been seriously suggested as authors of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία are Demetrius Phalereus and Dicaearchus. former is suggested by Rose in his Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, p. 308. Two of the fragments seemed to imply a more aristocratic type of constitution than any that prevailed at Athens before about 317 B.C.; and, on the other hand, the work must have been composed before the number of the Attic tribes was increased from ten to twelve (B.C. 307). The fragments in question are those on θεσμοθετών ανάκρισις (414°) and στρατεία εν τοις επωνύμοις (4693). The inference drawn by Rose is not supported by the context in which we find those fragments in the present work (c. 55 § 1 and c. 53 § 7); and we now know that the treatise was written not between 317 and 307, but between 328 and 325. Rose's suggestion has been recently revived by Schvarcz¹. If any detailed refutation of this view is necessary, it may be noticed that, of all the passages attributed to the work of Demetrius περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας (either by Harpocration, s.v. σκαφηφόροι, Zeùs έρκειος and παράστασις, or by Plutarch, Sol. 23, or by the Scholiast on Arist. Nubes 37, or by other authorities mentioned in Müller's FHG), not one is to be found in the πολιτεία. Indeed, in the very first fragment of the work of Demetrius, the account of κυρία ἐκκλησία is described by Harpocration as less satisfactory than that of 'Aristotle' which is found in c. 43 § 4. Similarly Harpocration, s.v. παράστασις, prefixes to a quotation from Demetrius περὶ νομοθεσίας, a quotation from 'Aristotle' ἐν τῆ 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία which is found in c. 59 § 3; and the Scholiast on Arist. Nubes 37 quotes from both treatises, his quotation from 'Aristotle' being found in c. 21 § 5. (From the other work, περί των 'Αθήνησι πολιτειών or πολιτών, named in Diog. Laert. v 80, not a single fragment has

survived.) To meet these difficulties Schvarcz suggests that, at the time of writing the $\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\hat{\tau}\hat{\omega}\nu$ 'Aθήνησι πολιτεί $\hat{\omega}\nu$, which he practically identifies with the 'Aθηναίων πολιτεία, Demetrius was unacquainted with the facts which he afterwards ascertained by further study in the archives of Athens and embodied in his later work $\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\hat{\tau}\hat{\eta}\hat{s}$ 'Aθήνησι νομοθεσίας. And yet, strange to say, the account of κυρία ἐκκλησία in this 'later work' is in the judgment of Harpocration inferior to that in the treatise which Schvarcz identifies with the 'earlier work' of Demetrius.

It is equally impossible to assign it to Aristotle's pupil, Dicaearchus, for not a single fragment attributed to him by ancient authorities is to be found in the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. Nothing is quoted from his πολιτείαι of Pellene and Corinth, or Sparta and Athens; and the few remains of his antiquarian works περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων and Παναθηναϊκός, have nothing in common with the treatment of those topics in the treatise ascribed to Aristotle.

While in the *Politics* there is no allusion to the Πολιτεῖαι, there are many passages in the 'Aθ. πολ. which, either in thought or expression, are so closely parallel to the *Politics*, as to suggest a common authorship. Such coincidences might of course be due to the retentive memory of a pupil attending the master's lectures on his unfinished and unpublished work; but it seems more natural to ascribe them to a common author. Let us first consider the more general coincidences of thought.

(1) The 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία is the work of one who displays a certain predilection for an aristocratic form of government.

In the *Politics* there is no question as to the author's general sympathies being on the side of an aristocratic government. Aristocracy is to Aristotle an ἀρίστη πολιτεία. It is marked by election for merit; it is distinguished from the perfect state as being a government of men who are only good relatively to the constitution; it is so called because the best rule, or because the best interests of the state are consulted; it is analogous to royalty as a government of the best: it is even preferable to royalty, because under it the good are more than one. Oligarchy, the perverted form of Aristocracy, is inferior to constitutional government (πολιτεία), and to its perverted form, Democracy.

Democracy is described in the Politics as the government of the many in their own interests; it is the perversion of constitutional government; it is akin to tyranny; in its extreme form it is peculiarly apt to pass into tyranny; it is, however, the only possible form of government in large states; and it is more stable than oligarchy. 'Liberty and equality', as well as the 'use of the lot', are dispassionately

described as characteristic of democracy; and suggestions are propounded for the improvement of this form of government'.

The author of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία dwells on the importance of the services rendered by the Areopagus in the times of Dracon (c. 4) and Solon (c. 9), and in the sixteen years immediately succeeding the formation of the confederacy of Delos (c. 23). Cleon is regarded as a demagogue who corrupted the people (c. 28). Nicias, Thucydides (son of Melesias), and Theramenes, are counted among the best statesmen of Athens (c. 28). The writer shows the greatest interest in the constitutional measures proposed by the Four Hundred (c. 29-32); at the same time he does not disguise the atrocities committed by the Thirty (c. 35 end). The restoration of the democracy is described in dispassionate and unenthusiastic terms (c. 38). The defeat of a proposal to reward all who had aided in its restoration is mentioned in language implying that the author did not disapprove of the result.

On the other hand, the transfer of judicial functions from the Bouly to the ἐκκλησία is commended on the ground that 'small bodies are more open to corruption than large ones' (c. 41, l. 28); but this approval is expressed in the mildest terms and does not imply sympathy with democracy as such. It has been quoted as inconsistent with the Politics; but the reason given for the writer's approval of the transfer is in perfect accord with a passage in the Politics (1286 a 30, quoted in note on c. 41 l. 28). There are two periods in which Athens enjoyed a good government:— (1) the 16 years during which the Areopagus was supreme; and (2) the time immediately after the Four Hundred. The only phrase that does not remind one of the writer of the Politics is the reference to the 'forgiving spirit' of democracy in c. 22 § 4:—χρώμενοι τἢ εἰωθυία τοῦ δήμου πραότητι. I am not aware of anything like it in the Politics, but I may observe that it recalls a notable passage in the Republic, and may possibly be a reminiscence of it .

The attitude of the author of the moderate towards Peisistratus and Theramenes is in harmony with what we should expect from the author of the Politics. Both agree that Peisistratus rose to power by attacking the men of the Plain4; unless a certain passage in the Politics is interpolated, both observe that he was summoned before the Areopagus,

*paorns happens to be used just before, but it is there applied to the 'calmness with which condemned criminals go about the world like heroes under democratical government:—ή πραότης ένων τῶν δικασθέντων οὐ κομψή; 4 Pol. 1305 a 23.

¹ For the reff. as to all these points, see Index to Jowett's Politics s. v. Aristocracy and Democracy.

² Cauer, Hat Ar. die Schrift vom

Staate der Athener geschrieben? p. 49.

* p. 558 B (of the 'forgiving spirit' of democracy), ή συγγνώμη και οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν σμικρολογία αὐτῆς. The term

and that he was twice exiled from Athens'. When recommending 'the constitution that gives predominance to the moderately wealthy class' (1296 a 38), Aristotle adds that 'only one of those who had played a leading part in the affairs of Greece had encouraged the introduction of this form'. As to the person meant there is much diversity of opinion; but whether (with Mr Newman) we identify him with Theramenes, or (as Dr Jowett prefers) with Solon, we have in either case a complete agreement with the 'Aθηναίων πολιτεία, though this does not exhaust the question. Again, the description of Ostracism and its object is 'to a considerable extent in harmony with that given in the Politics'. The account of the policy of Aristides is less favourable than we should expect (see c. 24), 'inasmuch as he is said to have converted a citizenbody largely consisting of peasants into an urban citizen-body subsisting on pay and exercising a despotic authority over the subject states, and thus to have contributed to the establishment of an extreme democracy'. We are taught, however, in the Politics (1292 b 41-1293 a 6) to 'connect the establishment of a τελευταία δημοκρατία with a great increase in the size of the city and with the provision of pay'; and we also know that the opinion of Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, on the policy of Aristides, 'was not an altogether favourable one' (Plut. Aristid. c. 25)2.

While the two works are in general agreement on the points above mentioned, there are certain apparent discrepancies that must now be (1) The 'Draconian Constitution' of the πολιτεία is in conflict with the passage in the Politics (1274 b 15) which states that Dracon 'adapted his laws to a constitution that already existed'; but the 'Draconian Constitution' has been vigorously attacked on its own merits, while the passage in the Politics is of doubtful genuineness. Again, the πολιτεία states that Peisistratus reigned for 19 years; the Politics (1315 b 31) makes his reign last for 17, but the whole of the context of the latter passage is bracketed by Susemihl in his 2nd and 3rd editions. In a disputed passage of the πολιτεία, Themistocles co-operates with Ephialtes for the curtailment of the power of the Areopagus: in a possibly interpolated chapter of the Politics (ii 12), the place of Themistocles is taken by Pericles, but not without protest on the part of critics, even before the discovery of the πολιτεία. In the πολιτεία (c. 21 § 6) we are told that Cleisthenes 'allowed every one to retain his γένος and φρατρία and his (hereditary) priesthood according to his ancestral rights'; in a perfectly genuine passage of the Politics (1319 b 23) it is implied that Cleisthenes 'increased the number of the phratries' and 'converted a number of private worships into a few

Pol. 1315 b 21, 31.
 Mr Newman in Class. Rev. v 162 b.

public ones'. But these passages may be readily reconciled with one another if we consider that the passage in the πολιτεία refers to those who were already citizens; that in the *Politics* to the νεοπολίται.

It has been pointed out by Mr Macan that 'the ideas underlying the second part of the work are conspicuously Aristotelian. The distinction between $\tilde{a}\rho\chi\epsilon\nu$ and $\tilde{a}\rho\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ and its relation to the franchise; the definition and essence of citizenship (1275 a 22, and b 22)...; the theory of citizenship in the *Politics*, especially in Bk III ad init. might seem to be presupposed in the treatment of the $a\rho\chi\alpha\iota$ in the work under consideration'.

The comparison we have endeavoured to draw between the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία and the Politics cannot perhaps be better concluded than by a striking example of identity of thought and language in the two works. In 'Aθ. πολ. c. 16 we read of Peisistratus: τοις απόροις προεδάνειζε χρήματα πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, ώστε διατρέφεσθαι γεωργοῦντας. τοῦτο δ' έποίει δυοίν χάριν, ίνα μήτε έν τῷ ἄστει διατρίβωσιν άλλα διεσπαρμένοι κατά την χώραν, και όπως εύποροῦντες των μετρίων και πρός τοις ίδιοις όντες μήτ' επιθυμώσι μήτε σχολάζωσιν επιμελείσθαι τών κοινών. In the *Politics* we are told that (even under a democracy) it is advisable to provide the poor (τοὺς ἀπόρους) with capital, and encourage them to work (τρέπειν ἐπ' ἐργασίας 1320 b 8); and that it is characteristic of an oligarchy and a tyranny to drive the people out of the city and disperse them (1311 a 14). We learn elsewhere that the best material for a democracy is an agricultural population; for being poor they have no leisure (ἄσχολος), and therefore seldom attend the assembly; and, not having the necessaries of life, they are always at their work ($\pi \rho \hat{o}_s$ $\tau \hat{o}_s$ έργοις διατρίβουσι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὖκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι, 1318 b 14); lastly, that while mechanics or traders or labourers are apt to frequent the city and find it easy to attend the assembly, the agricultural class (of vewgyourres) do not attend meetings, or equally feel the need of assembling together, because they are scattered over the country (δια) τὸ διεσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, 1319 a 30). It would be difficult to imagine a more complete series of parallelisms in expression as well as thought.

Next, as to the language and style of the treatise. The vocabulary includes nine words that are not found elsewhere: these fall into two groups, (1) technical expressions, viz. ἐπιζημίωσις (45, 9, quoted from a law), ἐπτετηρίς (54, 29), ἐπτάχους (col. 34, 32), προδρομεύω (49, 6), and προεδρικός (59, 6); (2) words compounded with two prepositions, viz. ἐπεισκαλῶ and ἐπείσκλητος (30, 22—23); προσαναζητῶ (29, 16); προδιασπείρω (14, 23). The technical terms need no defence; ἐπτετηρὶς is exactly analogous to

τριετηρὶς and πεντετηρίς, and ἐπτάχους to δίχους and ἐξάχους which occur elsewhere. Of the compound words the first three occur in quotations from public documents, and the last is supported by the analogy of προδιαβάλλειν, προδιασύρειν and προδιαχωρεῖν in the undisputed works. Double compounds are in fact characteristic of Aristotle; in the *Index Aristotelicus*, out of nine words compounded with ἐπεισ- one is found in Aristotle alone, and two others are first found in his pages; while, among the compounds with προσανα- and προσαπο-, two are found in Aristotle alone, and five are used by no earlier writer.

Among words that are not found in the *Index Aristotelicus* may be mentioned: κυαμεύειν, ἀνακράζειν, βῆμα, ἀντιστασιώτης, ὁμοφρονήσαντες (14, 8), ἀγηλατεῖν (20, 8). Of these ἀγηλατεῖν is obviously quoted from Herodotus; and ὁμοφρονήσαντες, which occurs four times in Herodotus (though not in the same historical connexion), comes immediately after a word borrowed from that historian. The rest are part of the necessary vocabulary of the subject, and their non-appearance in the undisputed works is merely accidental. Exception has been taken to συμβουλεύειν (c. 30, 14) as non-Aristotelian, and τούτων χάριν (29, 25) and ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν (49, 26) have been described as apparently un-Aristotelian²; but the last of these is cited from a law, and the other two are also in quotations; so that here at any rate we have no right to demand adherence to Aristotelian usage.

Among the compound verbs that are not found in any contemporary writer are καταφατίζειν, ἐπιδιανέμειν, ἐξαπορεῖν, συναρέσκεσθαι and παραστρατηγηθῆναι; and, among technical terms, ζευγίσιον, ὀστρακοφορία, ἀφέσιμος (ἡμέρα), εὐσημία, βάλανος, ἐμπήκτης, ἐπιστύλιον, ἐκθύματα (?), and ἐναγίσματα. The word προδανείζειν, which has been quoted as only used by later writers, is actually found in contemporary decrees ; and τριακοντόριον, which has been described as an 'entirely new word', is to be seen in contemporary inscriptions . μεμψιμοιρία is not found in Aristotle, but he uses μεμψίμοιρος.

Lists of 'un-Aristotelian words and phrases' have been collected by various scholars in the *Classical Review*; and many of the items in such a list will call for notice in the course of the commentary. Attention has also been drawn to the absence of certain turns of expression characteristic of the undisputed writings of Aristotle: thus in the πολιτεία

Gomperz, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Classe, Wien, 1891, no. xi.

² Class. Rev, v 273. ³ The decree of Stratocles preserved in [Plut.] 852 B; and another inser. relating to Lycurgus in CIA ii 162 c 7 and 9 (cf. Class. Rev. vi 255 a).

⁴ Besides the inscr. of B.C. 325/4 quoted on 56, 20, we have one of 330/29 in which the word occurs twice:—cf. Boeckh's Servivagen. D. 202.

wrkunden, p. 393.

5 v 123 (J. B. Mayor), 184 and 272 (H. Richards); 'rare words', io., 229 (E. J. Chinnock). See also Greek Index.

'there is a good deal about democracy, but we miss the technical terms ἐσχάτη, νοτάτη, τελευταία, ἄκρατος, δημοκρατία. Nothing is ἄτοπον, and no person or thing is either σπουδαίος οr φαῦλος'. But, however acute such criticism may be, and undoubtedly is, much of its point is removed, and its edge appreciably blunted, by a frank recognition of the necessary distinction that separates the style of a popular manual like the πολιτεία from that of a philosophical investigation like the Politics.

To a similar cause we may ascribe the differences which may be noticed in the degree to which certain particles and conjunctions are used in the πολιτεία as compared with the undisputed works already known to us. Of the particles, ye is not used at all, and consequently γοῦν does not occur, τοι occurs only once in μέντοι (28, 35) where its existence is solely due to a probable, but not perfectly certain, emenπερ is found only in καθάπερ, καίπερ, δσπερ, δσοσπερ and ώσπερ. μην is only used in οὐ μην followed by ἀλλά. δη is rather rare, but is sometimes found after a demonstrative pronoun, once after a superlative (κάλλιστα δή 40, 17); and in several instances where τε is followed by καὶ δτ' καί; ἐπειδη is rare, while ἐπειδαν is common. Of the conjunctions, our is never used except in mer our (hence it cannot be accepted in c. 43, 15, where καθ ην οὖν καθίζει has been conjecturally proposed). ἄρα, τοίνυν, τοίγαρ, and τε γάρ, are not found. ἀλλὰ occurs some thirty times, but always after a negative. καὶ always follows διό, and nearly always follows $\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$, when used in the sense of $\delta\iota\delta$; $\delta\nu$ is found about ten times; on seventeen times; and ones ar twice.

In the undisputed works, γε and οὖν and τε γὰρ are common; ἄρα is rare in the Politics; τούνν, μέντοι and καίτοι frequent in the Metaphysics, Physics and Politics; yet, in the Rhetoric, μέντοι is found only four times; καίτοι only five. μὴν is used not only after οὖ (as in the πολιτεία), but also after ἀλλά; οὖ μὴν ἀλλά, though only found once (except in quotations) in the Rhetoric (1361 a 29), is not infrequent in the Politics (e.g. 1284 b 4, 1262 a, 1264 a, 1290 b) as in the πολιτεία. The argumentative sense of δὴ is common, but δὴ is never found after a superlative (as once in the πολιτεία); as a variation on καὶ δὴ καὶ (which also occurs in the πολιτεία) we have καὶ followed (but never immediately followed) by δή; ὅθεν is followed by καὶ in Pol. 1384 a 11, ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καί; and δώ by καὶ in 1301 b 39. After final conjunctions, such as ἴνα and ὅπως, whether the tense of the principal verb be present or not, the optative is hardly ever used, but almost invariably the subjunctive. Now that ἴνα μὴ συμμιγεῖν τι has been withdrawn from

¹ Class. Rev. v 273 b (H. Richards). ² Cf. van Herwerden's Index Dictionis, s.v. 'Particulae.'

³ The exceptions are *Pol.* 1320 a 35, and *Eth.* 1117 b 9—12. See Eucken, *De Particularum usu*, p. 53. This work

In the above statement such divergences as have been noticed may be fairly attributed to the different character of the works compared. There is clearly less scope for a multiplicity of particles, or of illative conjunctions (such as ov and τov and doa), in a consecutive exposition of constitutional history and antiquities, than in the course of a philosophic discussion.

In a review of the πολιτεία it has been well observed by the latest editor of the Politics, that 'the style differs much from the style of the recognised works of Aristotle. It is a clear and precise, though a rather bald style, a style which has not the pregnancy which we associate with the style of Aristotle, and is also comparatively free from the ambiguities and irregularities which beset it'. But 'the work before us is a narrative and descriptive work addressed apparently...to the world at large, not to the pupils for whom the recognised works of Aristotle were probably designed, and it is not likely that it would be written in the same style'. The treatise is in fact the sole representative of the more popular class of writings attributed to Aristotle, and it enables us for the first time to appreciate the justice of some of the ancient encomiums on Aristotle's style, which have hitherto been hard to reconcile with that of his abstruser works. Thus Cicero speaks of his flumen orationis aureum*, and his dicendi incredibilis copia and suavitas*; and similar phrases are found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Quintilian⁶. The encomium in Cicero's Academica in particular may indeed owe its exaggerated form to a desire to point the contrast between the style of Aristotle and the style of the Stoics; but the general purport of these eulogies is enough to prove that, at a time when the abstruser writings of Aristotle were imperfectly known, his style enjoyed the reputation of being marked by a singular charm and

has also been used for other details in this paragraph.

1 Eucken, p. 55.

Meisterhans, Gr. d. Att. Inschriften,

p. 212.

8 Mr Newman in *Class. Rev.* v 159.

⁴ Acad. Prior. ii 119.

⁵ Topica i 3.

Grote's Ar. i 43—47; the passages are quoted at length in my note on the Orator of Cic., § 62.

richness and variety. This language has been generally explained as applicable to the lost dialogues of Aristotle; but there seems no sufficient reason for refusing to recognise it as holding good in the case of other popular works, ascribed to the same author. Such a work was the $\lambda \theta \eta \nu \alpha \omega \omega \tau$ and the style of that work may be fairly described as on the whole smooth and flowing, and severely graceful.

It is perhaps even more than this. It is observed by Blass that its composition is marked by a high degree of attention to laws of rhythm similar to those adopted by Isocrates, and generally approved in the third book of the *Rhetoric*. Within the compass of a single sentence we repeatedly find a series of five to twelve or more syllables immediately followed by another of identical, or nearly identical, rhythm. Many examples of this have been noticed but a single instance of an exceptionally striking character may perhaps suffice for the present purpose (c. 55 § 4):—

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(ἐπειδὰν) δὲ παράσχηται τοὺς μάρτυρας 
ἐπ-ερωτῷ, 'τούτου βούλεται τις κατηγορεῖν;' 
κᾶν μὲν ἢ τις κατήγορος κτλ.
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Here the first word is followed by a double series of nine syllables, passing off into a double series of eight; and, within each pair of sequences, the quantities of all the syllables correspond.

The general avoidance of hiatus in this treatise implies that it is a finished work prepared for popular perusal and not a mere series of memoranda (or ὑπομνήματα) for personal use. This point was observed by Blass even in the scanty remains preserved in the Berlin fragments, and also by Mr Newman in the case of the work as a whole. It has since been investigated more minutely by Mr J. W. Headlam in the Classical Review.

(2) The exceptions are very unevenly distributed. A list of all that occur in the first part (cc. 1—41) shows that, at the beginning, clear and undoubted exceptions are very rare: in cc. 1—14 § 3 (omitting c. 7, 21—30), there are only five. In the second part, the first few pages are as free as any in the first part; then cases become more

¹ Blass, Praef. xvi-xxv.

Also after η, el and μη.

frequent, and at the end the rule is almost completely neglected. The author had to insert so many technical expressions that he gave up troubling about the matter. In the first part the more striking exceptions often occur directly after a quotation (c. 32 § 1). In the first part at least, no conjectural emendation should be accepted which violates hiatus.

The rule is much laxer than that of the school of Isocrates. Hence the work was not written by any member of that school. On the other hand there is considerable evidence that it is from the hand of Aristotle himself, for the usage in this matter is very nearly the same as that of some of his best authenticated works1.

While it cannot have been written by any of the Isocratean school it exhibits the same familiarity with the works of Isocrates as that displayed by Aristotle himself. A passage that reminds us of the Gorgias is introduced by the characteristic rives, which is Aristotle's favourite way of referring to Plato in the Politics.

Thus far I have endeavoured to state the internal evidence in favour of accepting the treatise as being substantially the work of Aristotle. It is impossible, however, to ignore the fact that not a few highly competent scholars at home and abroad hesitate to accept it as such 4. Doubtless, in its manner of dealing with matters of history and particularly of chronology, side by side with much minuteness of detail on the subject of dates, there is evidence of occasional carelessness. There is sometimes a certain lack of intellectual force and vigour. And, further, there is an absence of those long and tangled sentences in which Aristotle, as we have hitherto known him, reviews and discusses a rapid succession of difficulties, doubts, and contradictions amid frequent irregularities of construction and amid repeated violations of his own rule against the use of parenthesis (Rhet. iii 5 § 7).

Much, perhaps too much, has been made of such points, and in consequence some have been disposed to regard the treatise as simply a product of the Peripatetic School, the work of some pupil writing with or without the general guidance and direction of Aristotle. It must, however, be remembered that, even in the case of works which are without question accepted as Aristotle's, it is extremely difficult to determine how far they were actually composed by him in the form in which they have reached us; how far they are merely notes of his oral teaching, not given to the world in his lifetime, but revised and edited after his death by the industry and devotion of his pupils and successors. Of the usually accepted works of Aristotle it is doubtful whether any one, as a whole, passed beyond the limits of the lecture-room during

¹ Class. Rev. v 270-² See notes on 26 § 2 ult., and 35 § 4 ult., and Newman in Class. Rev. v 160—1.

See note on 26, 23 χείρουτ γενέσθαι.

⁴ e. g. the Dutch editors; also F. Cauer and F. Rühl; and in England Mr H. Richards and several other contributors to the Classical Review.

the life of its author. 'Portions of the Metaphysics and de Caelo, some at least of the Parva Naturalis, the two books περὶ φιλίαs, now included in the Nicomachean Ethics, and the two books on the ideal state, Politics vii (iv) and viii (v), may have first seen the light in some other form during the lifetime of Aristotle.' On the other hand, the Πολιτεῖαι (like the Dialogues) 'would have been very likely to see the light early, for they were on a subject of far greater general interest than most of Aristotle's works...It could only be through his Dialogues and Πολιτεῖαι that he could hope to be immediately known to a wide circle of non-philosophic readers. If he were during his lifetime something more than the revered teacher of a limited circle of pupils, we may safely assume that the publication took place."

The above remarks are quoted from the work of an Aristotelian scholar of the highest promise, whose History of the Aristotelian Writings was published in 1888, after his own death, and several years before the discovery of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. The inference there drawn on grounds of a priori probability, as regards the Πολιτείαι in general, is conclusively confirmed by the internal evidence of the date of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία in particular. It was certainly written, and probably published, before the death of Aristotle.

I may also appeal to the same unimpeachable testimony as to the exact degree of value to be attached to the evidence afforded by the avoidance of *hiatus*:—

'Wherever it occurs, we have a work, or a portion of a work, in exactly the state which was given to it by the author who threw it into its present form. As to whether this author was or was not Aristotle himself, a good deal may be said on either side.'

On the one hand, 'the Aristotle whom we know shows the most absolute contempt for all matters of style,' and seems little likely to have adopted the Isocratean-rule of avoiding hiatus. On the other, there is 'nothing wonderful or difficult in keeping one style for oral lectures and another for published books. Still less wonderful would it be if there was a wide difference to be found between mere notes for such lectures and deliberately finished publications³.'

Assuming, as we fairly may, that the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία was a work of Aristotelian origin, it may still remain uncertain whether it was prepared for publication by the great teacher himself, or by some unknown and unnamed pupil who was skilled in certain graces of style that were apt to win the popular ear. The latter hypothesis might help to account for certain divergencies from the diction of the generally accepted works of Aristotle. To the interposition of such an editor we might perhaps attribute the general smoothness of style that marks its composition.

¹ Shute, History of the Aristotelian ² Shute, p. 23. Writings, p. 23. ³ Shute, p. 165 f.

To the same source we might possibly trace certain inaccuracies of historical statement that tend to impair the authority of the work. But even Aristotle himself may have been quite capable of making a mistake in matters of history. The 'master of those who know' was not necessarily omniscient.

It must also be admitted that works like the Πολιτεΐαι, owing to the miscellaneous character of their contents, were, in their transmission from age to age, peculiarly liable to interpolation. It has even been suggested that, like the *History of Animals* and the *iστορία*ι generally, 'they represent not any fixed work of Aristotle or of anyone else, but merely a continuously open note-book'. The 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία may have suffered to some extent from this cause of corruption.

The difficulties as to the authorship of the treatise appear to be fairly met by an eminent Transatlantic scholar who expresses his opinion as follows:

'We are compelled to believe, from many indications, that it was written mainly by Aristotle, with perhaps the help of a pupil who prepared certain of the less important passages, the padding as it were; the work was then revised, but not rewritten, by him. If we are ready to maintain—a proposition by no means self-evident—that the main body of the writings current as Aristotle's are the genuine works of the master in their original form, and that, accordingly, they are the only norm by which everything else is to be tested, we may still account for the "non-Aristotelian" peculiarities of the language of the 'Admalur rolitela as due, in part, to the fact that the historical sources (epigraphic and literary) are often given in verbal quotations, or at least in paraphrases that retain original forms of expression; due in part, perhaps, to the stylistic idiosyncrasies of an assistant whose work was incorporated with the master's, and finally to the most significant fact that the work was intended not for the scientific inner circle, but for the general reader'...

'The evidence, internal and external, of essentially Aristotelian authorship, as well as authority, seems so overwhelming, that, as between the two alternatives, one should prefer to modify his conceptions of Aristotle than reject this treatise. As Diels² has pointedly phrased it:—Diese' Aθηναίων πολιτεία [ist] nicht nur echt aristotelisch sondern aristotelischer als die meisten der uns erhaltenen Lehrbücher an welcher sich jene Skeptiker halten'².

If we now revert to the evidence of ancient writers who, either directly or indirectly, quote the $A\theta\eta\nu\alpha\dot{\omega}\nu$ $\pi o\lambda\iota\tau\dot{\omega}\dot{\alpha}$ as the work of Aristotle, we find that, out of 56 fragments in which the $A\theta\eta\nu\dot{\alpha}\dot{\omega}\nu$ $\pi o\lambda\iota\tau\dot{\omega}\dot{\alpha}$ is expressly mentioned, 53 are found in our Ms; of the remaining three, one (Frag. 385) belongs to the lost beginning, one (463) to the mutilated end; the third (447) is an inaccurate transcript of c. 54 § 2. Of the 35 fragments in which Aristotle is named without any express mention of the work, 25 are found in the Ms; of the remainder, three belong to the lost beginning (381, 384, and the new fragment on p. 253,

Shute, p. 72.
 Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos., iv, p. 479.
 Prof. J. H. Wright, The Date of Cylon, p. 22 f.

l. 50); seven probably do not come from this work at all (382, 386, 392, 399, 401, 415, and part of 394); one (456) may possibly have come from the mutilated end of the work; and one (396) is a misquotation of the text, which can readily be brought into harmony with it. Thus, of the total number of 93 fragments (of which 86 are probably genuine references to this work), 78 are found in the MS, and all the rest are satisfactorily accounted for 1. More than 50 of the fragments of the πολιτεία are preserved by Harpocration alone, and all of these are found in the MS.

Lastly, the Berlin fragments are all here. These fragments correspond to the following passages in the text:

- I a begins before δουλευόντων and ends with ανδρών, c. 12, 26—52.
- I b begins before apxorta and ends with $\chi \rho \epsilon a$, c. 13, 4—22.
- II a begins before 'Αθηναίοι and ends after φυλής ἐκάστης, c. 21, 18—c. 22, 10.
- II b begins before $\pi \pi \pi \alpha \rho \chi \sigma \sigma$ and ends after $\tau \rho i \eta \rho \epsilon i \varsigma$, c. 22, 19—37.

In I a the long Iambic passage is written as consecutive prose, and I b is less complete than II a and b. Hence it is difficult to found any calculation on leaf I. But the contents of leaf II are equivalent to 44 lines of print in the present edition. Hence one page is equivalent to about 22 (say 24) lines of print. The number of lines of print now lost between the bottom of leaf I and the top of leaf II is 240 (4+30+26+44+18+38+39+23+18). Thus it is not improbable that the lost portion is equivalent to 10 pages, and that the Ms was made up of gatherings of 12 pages each. The number of lines in our printed text preceding I a is 245, which would take up only 10 pages. Hence the first two pages of the lost Ms to which the Berlin fragments belong, were either left blank, or they actually contained the beginning of the treatise. If the latter, then the amount of the $\Delta\theta$.

§ 8. Authorities followed in the Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

The only authors actually named by the writer are Solon and Herodotus. From Solon he quotes a large number of verses, most of them already familiar to us through Aristides, who shows no proof of any acquaintance with the poems of Solon, beyond that which he derived from the present work. The writer's debt to Herodotus is far larger than appears at first sight. He only mentions the historian once (c. 14), but he closely follows him in the account of Peisistratus and Cleisthenes (cc. 14, 15, 20), though not without interesting variations. He also borrows from Thucydides, while deliberately differing from him on several important points in the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (c. 18). He coincides with the historian in many parts of his narrative of the revolution of the Four Hundred (cc. 29, 33); but the

¹ The same facts have been duly stated by Mr Kenyon in his *Introduction*, p. xv; revised in ed. 3, p. xvi.

coincidence is not complete, and the writer quotes original documents which are not quoted by the historian. As regards XENOPHON, we find a close resemblance in the account of the speech of Theramenes (c. 36) and elsewhere; at the same time, the divergences are sufficiently numerous to suggest that the authority followed here was the same as that followed at a later date by Diodorus Siculus. This authority has sometimes been supposed to have been the Hellenica of Theopompus1; it has also been suggested that the writer owes to another work of Theopompus, the tenth book of his Philippica, his list of the Athenian demagogues, and his portrait of Cleon. It is just possible that the exaggerated account of the generosity of Cimon, which appeared in that work, is tacitly corrected in c. 27 § 3. But there is reason to believe that Theopompus did not publish his work until 324, after Alexander's departure from India; if so, it was later than the πολιτεία. common source, followed by Diodorus as well as the writer, was more probably Ephorus, who is expressly mentioned by Diodorus².

As regards the writer's relation to the various writers of $\Lambda \tau \theta i \delta \epsilon_s$, there is no trace of any indebtedness to Hellanicus, whose carelessness on points of chronology would have been enough to prevent his being trusted by a writer who usually aims at being precise in matters of chronological detail. To CLEIDEMUS, the next in order of time, we may probably attribute the Ionism in c. 14 § 4, where the form παραιβατούσης appears to be an echo of παραιβατήσασαν in Cleidemus' description of the stately woman who assumed the garb of Athene and rode in the chariot of Peisistratus on the occasion of his first restoration to Athens. The account of the disciplinary powers entrusted to the Areopagus (c. § 6), bears some resemblance to a passage attributed to Phanodemus; but a statement to the same effect is attributed to a writer of the next generation to that of Aristotle, namely Philochorus, who may, however, have borrowed his phraseology from Phanodemus. In any case, the resemblance between the passage in the πολιτεία and that attributed to 'Phanodemus and Philochorus' is not sufficiently close to make it quite certain that the writer was following Phanodemus.

ANDROTION may be identified with the person attacked in the 22nd speech of Demosthenes; he may therefore be placed earlier than the age of Aristotle. If so, he is closely followed in the account of the ostracism of Hipparchus son of Charmus (22 § 3); and the statement as to the number of the συγγραφείς in c. 29 § 2 is in accordance

See note on p. 12 a.

¹ Th. Reinach's *Transl.* of 'Aθ. πολ., p xxiv.

p xxiv.
² xiv 11 and 22; Bauer, Forschungen,
p. 155. Theopompus, in Pollux, v 43.

Thuc. i 97, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς.

with that of Androtion. But the writer differs from Androtion as to the nature of Solon's $\sigma \epsilon \omega \sigma \acute{a} \chi \theta \epsilon \omega$, without going out of his way to controvert it. Here, as sometimes elsewhere, he is only tacitly polemical.

The most famous of the writers of ${}^{\circ}A\tau\theta i\delta\epsilon s$, Philochorus, belongs to the age after that of Aristotle, and has several points in common with the writer of the $\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i a$. As has been shown by Professor Wright, it is not improbable that he actually quoted the latter and accepted it as the work of Aristotle¹.

On the relations subsisting between the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία and the *Atthidographi*, I may be allowed to quote some criticisms for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr W. L. Newman.

It is remarkable that while, in the *Politics*, there is little to remind us of the writings of the *Atthidographi*, in the πολιτεία there is much. This indeed holds good of the Πολιτείαι generally. No doubt it is not unnatural that the 'Constitutions' ascribed to Aristotle, containing as they do sketches of local history, should follow the model furnished by local histories like the *Atthides*; still it is strange that, if Aristotle was the author of these 'Constitutions,' he should be so little influenced by the *Atthides* in the *Politics*, if indeed he is so at all. Readers of the πολιτεία, on the contrary, find it hard to avoid the suspicion that some *Atthis* has been largely used by the writer, very possibly the *Atthis* of Androtion. We may note the following resemblances between the 'Aθ. πολ. and the other Πολιτεΐαι ascribed to Aristotle on the one hand, and the writings of the *Atthidographi* on the other:—

- (1) The Aθ. πολ. is up to the mark of the last new historical fashion in respect of chronological exactitude. No doubt the effort to be chronologically exact is traceable early in the development of Greek historical literature. Thucydides knows the date of the fall of Troy (i 12), and the approximate date of the founding of Melos (v 112). Still the passion for chronological exactitude increased during the fourth century B.C. and later; for instance, Ephorus (Frag. 9 a) and Callisthenes knew that Troy was taken on the 23rd of Thargelion. As to Timaeus see Diod. v 1 and Polyb. xii 10. Nothing of this care for exactness in dates appears in the Politics or in other recognised writings of Aristotle. The writer of the Aθ. πολ., again, often dates by archons, but Aristotle never does so in the Politics. This dating by archons was perhaps no new thing in historical writing; some think that Hellanicus reckoned by archons, but here again we have an Atthidographic feature. Androtion and Philochorus reckoned by archons (Busolt, Gr. Gesch. i 363, note 4); see also Philoch. Frag. 52 (where Philochorus knows in whose archonship at Athens Homer flourished) and Androt. Frag. 46.
- (2) The ' $\Lambda\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. and other Constitutions ascribed to Aristotle resemble the *Atthides* in the interest they show in the origin of words and familiar phrases. See ' $\Lambda\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. c. 2, 5; 6, 12; 13, 25; 21, 6 and 21; 45, 7 &c.; and Aristotle's Constitutions (*Frag*⁸. 477, 484, 488, 491, 495, 512, 514, 519, 536, 562, 580, 582, 595, 596); and compare Androtion, *Frag*. 28—29, 33: Phanodem. *Frag*. 1, 13, 14: Ister, *Frag*. 28, 32, 35, 39, 43, 52, 57: Philoch. *Frag*. 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 16, 42, 48 and many others. The interest which the ' $\Lambda\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. and the other Constitutions show in these matters is a good deal more marked than that which we trace in Aristotle's recognised works, and the same may be said of

¹ American Journal of Philology, xii 310 f.; supra, p. xix f.

(3) the interest which the 'Aθ. πολ. and other Constitutions share with the *Atthides* in (A) the origin of institutions and the like, and (B) the explanation of proverbs.

As to (A), compare 'A θ . $\pi o \lambda$. c. 8, 3 and passim, and Aristotle's Constitutions, Frag. 475, 479, 501, 511, 519, with Philoch. Frag. 51, 56, 66, 189.

As to (B), see Aθ. πολ. c. 16, 18; 21, 6 &c., and Aristotle's Constitutions, Frag. 8
487, 505, 513, 523, 528, 545, 558, 559, 571, 584, 591, 592. Demon, one of the Atthidographi, wrote a book about Proverbs (Müller, FHG i 379).

In choosing his authorities and in deciding between them when they differ, the author is guided by the consideration of the comparative probability of the accounts before him. He repels the calumnies against Solon (6) and Theramenes (28); and, in the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, gives an adequate reason for not accepting an opinion sanctioned by Thucydides (18 § 4). On the other hand, he is himself far from infallible as a historian. There is much confusion in the chronology of the years between the archonship of Solon and that of Damasias II (p. 50); and in that of the times of Peisistratus (p. 56). The presence of Themistocles in Athens in 462 seems impossible to reconcile with the chronology of his later years suggested by the data in Thucydides (p. 101); and there are several grave inaccuracies in the brief allusion to the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusae (p. 129).

Besides relying on the testimony of Solon's poems, the writer draws inferences from popular poetry such as the *scolium* in honour of Cedon and that on the baffled heroes of Leipsydrium (cc. 19, 20). He quotes archaeological evidence derived from the $\kappa \acute{\nu} \rho \beta \epsilon_{k}$ of Solon (7 § 1), from the prae-Solonian coinage (c. 10), and from a relief and inscription on the Acropolis (7 § 4). He alludes to proverbial phrases, $\chi \omega \rho \acute{\nu} \iota \nu \acute{\epsilon}$ (16 § 6) and $\mu \gamma \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu} \lambda \delta \kappa \rho \iota \nu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu}$ (21 § 2). He also takes special pains in quoting official documents.

The decrees proposed by Aristion (14 § 1) and Themistocles (22 § 7) are noticed in general terms; that proposed by Pericles in 451—0 (26 ult.), is expressly quoted. The official documents cited in extenso are those connected with the revolution of the Four Hundred in 413; viz. the motion of Pythodorus for the appointment of 30 συγγραφεῖs, with the amendment by Cleitophon; the formal record of the preliminary

dv, and none of ὅπως with the subjunctive. In view of this fact it is clear that in 29, 18 ὅπως ἀκούσωντες is only a copyist's mistake for ὅπως ἀν. This is noticed by Prof. Wright in The Nation, I May, 1891, p. 383. It must not, however, be inferred that ὅπως c. fut. is not found in inscriptions: on the contrary it is very common (Meisterhans, note 1705²).

¹ In these quotations we find a minute but not uninteresting proof of his fidelity: in the whole work, out of 17 instances of $\delta\pi\omega s$ with subjunctive or with future indicative, we have only two of $\delta\pi\omega s$ with the subjunctive (29, 24, and 30, 20); both of these occur in decrees of the fifth century, and the inscriptions of that century give us 16 instances of $\delta\pi\omega s$

proposals and of the constitution drawn up by the συγγραφείς (c. 29); with the ultimate and the provisional constitutions drawn up by the hundred Commissioners (cc. 30, 31). We have also the terms of the reconciliation effected between the oligarchical and democratic parties in 403 (c. 39). These documents were presumably preserved among the archives of the State in the Metroon; but they probably owed their publication not only to their historical importance, but also to their including typical forms of oligarchical constitutions which afforded suitable themes for discussion among students of the theory of politics. The writer's evident interest in the detailed history of the period between B.C. 413 and 403 is one of the considerations in favour of identifying him with the author of the Politics. In the latter Aristotle selects the Revolution of the Four Hundred as a typical instance of a revolution effected by fraud on the part of those who, when the deception is over, still endeavour to retain the government by force (1304 b 12, quoted on c. 29, 8). Elsewhere, while discussing revolutions in oligarchies arising within the governing class, he mentions, as first of the two types of the oligarchical demagogue, 'one who practises on the oligarchs themselves; for, although the oligarchy are quite a small number, there may be a demagogue among them, as at Athens the party of Charicles predominated among the Thirty, that of Phrynichus in the Four Hundred' (1305 b 24-27). It is, however, only fair to add that neither Phrynichus nor Charicles is mentioned in the πολιτεία.

In the absence of direct historical evidence, the writer's favourite form of argument is that indicated by Mr Macan in an interesting contribution to the Journal of Hellenic Studies. 'The author has a source of knowledge, or rather a method of reconstruction, to take the place of direct testimony, tradition or evidence. This method consists in a process of inference from the present to the past, from existing circumstances to their presumable antecedents, from a given state of institutions to a former condition of the same'.' As instances in which the author mentions the employment of this method by others, we have (1) the oaths of the nine Archons (3 § 3); and (2) the property qualification of the $i\pi\pi\epsilon is$ (7 § 4). He uses it himself in cases such as the following: (1) the sacral marriage of the $\beta a\sigma i\lambda \nu \nu a$ (3 § 5); (2) the Solonian method of appointing officials (8 § 1); (3) the institution of the oi $\kappa a\tau a$ $\delta i\mu \nu u s$ $\delta \nu a \nu a$ $\delta \nu a \nu a$ $\delta \nu a$ Peisistratus (16 § 5); and (4) the motive for the institution of ostracism by Cleisthenes (22 § 3).

¹ J. H. S. 1891, p. 37.
2 ib. p. 38. For some of the 'signals οf this method,' cf. note on 8 § 1, p. 30, δθεν έτι διαμένει.

§ 9. Abstract of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

The work is divided into two parts, (I) a Sketch of the Constitutional History of Athens down to the Restoration of the Democracy in 403 B.C. (cc. 1—41); and (II) a detailed analysis of the machinery of the Constitution between 328 and 325 B.C. (c. 42 to the end). The first has been well described as a 'Primer of Constitutional History'; the second, as a 'Citizen's Handbook.'

Part 1, in its complete form, comprised an account of the 'original constitution' of Athens, and of the eleven changes through which it successively passed (c. 41). Accordingly, in the following abstract, we have to deal with a series of twelve constitutions.

(1) The constitution in the time of Ion. The original constitution of Athens was an absolute monarchy. In process of time, owing to some of the hereditary line of kings being feeble in war, Ion, the son of Apollo by the daughter of an Attic king, was summoned to their aid, and invested with military command. Such was the origin of the office of Polemarch, which was second to that of Basileus in order of date (3 \ 2). In the days of Ion, the people were divided into four tribes, with four $\phi\nu\lambda o\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon$ or 'tribal kings' (41, 6-9). To Apollo's son, the first Polemarch, the Athenians owed the name of Ionians and the worship of Apollo $\pi a\tau\rho\hat{\varphi}$ (frag. 381^2).

(2) The constitution in the time of Theseus. Under Theseus, we are simply told that the constitution exhibited a slight divergence from absolute monarchy (41, 10; and frag. 384³).

[About 1088 B.C., on the death of Codrus, and the accession of his son Medon, the kingly power ceased to be hereditary. Henceforth the kings were elected for life from members of the royal house.]2 By the side of the King, the Polemarch was already in existence as commander in the time of war; and in the reign either of Medon, or his son Acastus, a third office, that of Archon, came into being, and was endowed with some of the royal prerogatives by the descendants of Codrus (3 § 3). In process of time the name of Archon was transferred from the third officer of State to the first [c. 753/2 B.C.]. The chief Archon was elected [from the royal house], but his term of office was limited to ten years (3 § 1 end), while the title of King, with the privilege of attending to certain religious duties, was assigned to another archon, called the Basileus. It was not until the three primary offices of State, those of Archon, Polemarch and Basileus, had become annual [c. 683/2 B.C.], that their number was increased by the institution of the six Thesmothetae, whose duty it was to record and preserve all legal decisions with a view to their being enforced against transgressors of the law (3 § 4). In the course of time the Archons were elected by the Council of the Areopagus (8 § 2) under qualifications of birth and wealth (3 § 1), while the Areopagus itself was composed of those who had filled the office of Archon.

Such items generally represent the traditional accounts of Attic history accepted (whether rightly or wrongly) by the Athenians themselves.—The dates in this paragraph depend mainly on the *Marmor Parium* (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, i 404¹).

¹ Cambridge Review, 20 Feb. 1891, p. 212 a.

p. 212 a.

² Throughout this abstract, dates and other items derived from sources extraneous to the treatise itself are distinguished by being placed within brackets.

It was the duty of the Areopagus to maintain the supremacy of law, to inflict personal punishments and fines, and to administer the State in general (3 § 6).

[In an Olympic year between 636 and 624 B.C.] an attempt to seize despotic power was made by a young nobleman named Cylon [who had been a victor in the Olympic games of 640]. The attempt was unsuccessful: the adherents of Cylon were put to death under the authority of the Archon Megacles, of the house of the Alcmaeonidae, who violated their right of sanctuary and thus brought a curse on Athens and his descendants (Heracl. Epit. § 4).

The constitution at this time was thoroughly oligarchical. There was a conflict between the various orders in the State: the land was in the hands of a few; discontent prevailed among the poor, who, if they failed to pay their rent, became the slaves of the rich (c. 2).

(3) The Constitution of Dracon. It was with a view to providing a remedy for these evils that (in 621 B.C.) the first code of law was drawn up by DRACON (41, 11). The franchise was at this time possessed by all who could provide their own equipment for war. It was these who elected the Archons and other principal officers of State; and out of their own body a Council of 401 members was appointed by lot from among those who had attained the age of 30. Members of the Council were liable to fines varying with their social status. The Council of the Areopagus continued to maintain the supremacy of law and the efficient discharge of the duties assigned to the officers of State; it also received formal complaints from persons aggrieved by the infringement of any statute (c. 4).

In due time the friends of the exiled members of Cylon's party acquired sufficient power to compel the Alemaeonidae to submit to a trial before a special court of 300 citizens selected from the noblest families of Athens. They were found guilty; the dead bodies of the offenders were cast out, and their surviving relatives condemned to perpetual exile. Athens was further purified from the curse of sacrilege by Epimenides (c. 1).

(4) The Constitution of Solon. Dracon's legislation having failed to remedy the wrongs of the poor, the conflict of the orders broke out afresh and was not allayed until [c. 594 B.C.] both parties agreed on choosing SOLON as mediator and as Archon (5 § 2). Solon cancelled all existing debts, whether public or private; and for the future he made it illegal to lend money on the security of the person of the debtor (6 § 1). With the exception of the laws on homicide, the code of Dracon was repealed, and a new code published. The people were divided into four classes, Pentacosiomedimni, Hippeis, Zeugitae, and Thetes; the various offices' of State being now assigned to the first three classes in proportion to the amount at which they were severally rated, while the fourth class had only the right of taking part in the public Assembly and in the Law-courts (c. 7). The nine Archons were now appointed by lot, out of forty selected candidates, nominated to the number of ten by each of the four tribes. A Council of 400 was also constituted, 100 from each tribe. The Areopagus, which still retained the duty of supervising the laws and maintaining the constitution in general, was now empowered to try cases of treason (c. 8). In Solon's constitution the specially democratical elements were:—(1) the prohibition of loans on the security of the person; (2) the privilege of every citizen to claim legal satisfaction on behalf of any one who was wronged; and (3) the right of appeal to the law-courts. The power of voting in the law-courts made the com-

¹ On the date of Epimenides, see p. 3, and cf. Prof. Wright's *Date of Cylon*, pp. 70 and 74, where the visit of Epi-

menides, as well as the trial of the Alcmaeonidae, is conjecturally assigned to 615 B.C.

mons master of the constitution (c. 9). Solon also introduced a new standard of coinage, and of weights and measures (c. 10). His legislation, however, did not prove acceptable to either of the two great parties in the State. Finding himself beset and harassed by both, and declining to make himself despot at the expense of either, he withdrew for ten years to Egypt (c. 11).

When he had gone abroad, although the State was still disturbed by divisions, they lived in peace for four years; but, in the next year, and again four years later, their divisions prevented the election of an Archon. After another term of four years (?), the choice fell on Damasias [582], who succeeded in remaining in office for two years and two months. The interval of civil strife was closed by an agreement to elect ten Archons from the several orders in the State, five from the Eupatridae, three from the Agrocci, and two from the Demiurgi. But the general discontent was not allayed. Some of the rich had lost their wealth; others had lost their political power; a few besides were inspired by personal ambition. At this time the three parties of the Shore, the Plain and the Highlands, representing the moderate, the oligarchical and the democratic spirit respectively, were under the leadership of Megacles, Lycurgus, and Peisistratus. The party of Peisistratus was reinforced by those whom Solon's legislation had deprived of the debts due to them, and also by persons whose dubious birth gave them an uncertain claim to the rights of citizenship (c. 13). These struggles found their issue in the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons.

(5) The tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons. Peisistratus, who had won distinction in the war against Megara, persuaded the people to grant him the protection of a body-guard, and with the aid of the latter seized the Acropolis (560 B.C.). He ruled in a constitutional spirit; but, five years later, he was expelled by a coalition between the parties of Megacles and Lycurgus. Eleven(?) years afterwards he was restored by the aid of Megacles on condition of marrying his daughter (14). This condition was only nominally fulfilled; and, about six years later, he was once more expelled. He withdrew to Macedonia, where he acquired money and mercenary troops. Ten years subsequently, with the help of Thebes, of Lygdamis of Naxos, and the Knights of Eretria, he recovered his power and disarmed his subjects (15). His rule, however, was mild and humane. To encourage agriculture he advanced money to the poorer classes, with a view to their staying in the country and looking after their own affairs instead of coming into the town and taking part in public business. With the same object he instituted 'local justices,' and himself visited various parts of the country, thus making it unnecessary for the tenants to neglect their farms by bringing their grievances to Athens. Besides this, the cultivation of the soil promoted an increase in his revenues (16).

Peisistratus died in 527/6 B.C., having held actual possession of his power for nineteen out of the thirty-three years that had elapsed since he had originally established himself as 'tyrant' (c. 17). He was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, who at first ruled in their father's spirit; but, when Hipparchus had been slain in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (c. 18), the rule of Hippias became more severe. Three years afterwards (c. 19 § 2) he was expelled by Cleomenes, king of Sparta (in the spring of 510 B.C.).

(6) The Reforms of Cleisthenes. After the overthrow of the tyranny the rival leaders in the State were Isagoras, an adherent of the tyrants, and CLEISTHENES, of the house of the Alcmaeonidae. Isagoras invited the aid of Cleomenes. Thereupon Cleisthenes withdrew, while Cleomenes vainly endeavoured to supersede the Council and to set up a body of 300 partisans of Isagoras in its place. Cleisthenes soon returned, and became leader of the people (c. 20). In 508 B.C. he distributed the population

into ten tribes instead of the existing four; and instituted a Council of 500 (fifty out of each of the ten new tribes), in place of that of 400 (100 out of each of the four tribes). He also made the deme the unit of his social organisation, combined the demes into groups (τριττύες), and assigned these groups to the several tribes in such a manner that each tribe had three groups allotted to it, one from the urban or v suburban district, one from the coast, and one from the interior (c. 21). The reforms of Cleisthenes made the constitution more democratic than that of Solon. Among the laws now passed was that concerning Ostracism, which was at first intended to serve as a safeguard against the reestablishment of a tyranny. In 504 B.C. [or, more probably, in 501], the oath, which was still in use in the writer's time, was first imposed on the Council. The Generals were elected according to tribes, one from each tribe (22 § 2). The law of Ostracism was enforced for the first time in 488/7. two years after Marathon, the person ostracised being Hipparchus son of Charmus (§ 4); he was followed in 487/6 by Megacles [a nephew of Cleisthenes], by Xanthippus [the father of Pericles] in 485/4, and about 484/3 by Aristides. Meanwhile, in 487/6, for the first time since the establishment of the tyranny, the nine Archons were appointed by lot out of 500 [or more probably, 100] candidates selected by the demes. In 483/2, on the discovery of certain silver mines in Attica, Themistocles persuaded the people to lend the proceeds to the hundred wealthiest men in Attica, and thus brought about the building of the hundred triremes, with which the battle of Salamis was won [480].

- (7) The supremacy of the Areopagus. Thus far the growth of the democracy had been advancing with the gradual growth of Athens; but, after the Persian wars, the Council of the Areopagus once more assumed the control of the State. It owed this high position, however, not to any formal decree, but to the spirited action it had taken in connexion with the battle of Salamis. When the Generals were unable to cope with the crisis, it was the Areopagus that provided pay for the crews, and thus ensured the manning of the fleet and the gaining of the victory (23 § 1). The leaders of the people at this time were ARISTIDES and THEMISTOCLES. On the establishment of the Confederacy of Delos, Aristides assessed the amount to be paid to the common fund by the allies of Athens, beginning with the year 478/7 (§ 5). By his advice the inhabitants of Attica left the rural districts and settled in the city, on the assurance that all of them would be able to maintain themselves by the discharge of military duties or by taking part in public affairs, and would thus secure the control of the league. Thus it was that Athens came to adopt the policy of oppressing her allies, from which Chios, Lesbos and Samos alone were exempt.
- (8) The restored and developed democracy. The supremacy of the Areopagus lasted for about seventeen years (478 to 462 inclusive). The power of the people was meanwhile increasing, and EPHIALTES, on becoming their leader, attacked the Areopagus, by depriving it of all the more recent privileges by which it had attained the control of the constitution, transferring some of them to the Council of Five Hundred, and others to the Assembly and the Law-courts (462 B.C.). In this revolution he was aided by Themistocles (25).

Thereupon the administration of the State became more and more lax owing to the rivalries that arose between successive aspirants for popular favour. At this time the aristocratical party had no real chief, although their leader was Cimon, who was comparatively young for that position, and had been rather late in entering on public life. In 457/6 the office of Archon was thrown open to the Zeugitae. In 453/2 the thirty 'local justices' were restored; and in 451/0, on the proposal of Pericles, it was enacted that the franchise should be limited to those who were of citizen blood by both

parents (26). Under Pericles, the constitution became still more democratic. He deprived the Areopagus of some of its ancient privileges, and also prompted Athens to aim at the empire of the sea (27 § 1). The Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431—) inured the people to military service, and led to their assuming the administration of the State (§ 2). Pericles was also the first to provide pay for serving in the Law-courts (§ 3).

So long as he was leader of the people, public affairs were managed comparatively well; at his death there was a great change for the worse (28 § 1). It was then that, for the first time, in the person of Cleon, the people had for their leader one who was of no reputation among the upper classes (§ 2); on the other side, the leader of the aristocracy was Nicias. These two were succeeded by Cleophon and Theramenes respectively. It was Cleophon who was the first to provide each citizen with the grant of two obols for a seat in the theatre (§ 3); and the series of demagogues, who succeeded him, owed their position to their recklessness of language, and to their readiness to gratify the immediate desires of the populace (§ 4). Of the leaders of the aristocratical party, Nicias and Thucydides (son of Melesias) are justly esteemed as statesmen. Concerning Theramenes there is a conflict of opinion; but, on calm reflexion, it is clear that, so far from subverting every kind of constitution, he really supported each in turn, so long as it was faithful to the laws; thus proving that, like a good citizen, he was capable of living in contentment under any form of government, while he could never be a party to unconstitutional conduct, but on the contrary was always its resolute foe (§ 5)1.

(9) The revolution of the Four Hundred. After the failure of the Sicilian expedition [Sept. 413], when the power of Sparta had been increased by her alliance with Persia, Athens was compelled to abolish her democracy and to accept the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred. At this crisis it was proposed by Pythodorus that the popular Assembly should elect a Committee of thirty in all, to draw up proposals for the public safety; and that any other person might make such proposals as he pleased, so that the people might decide on whatever course it thought fit (29 §§ 1, 2). An amendment moved [and probably carried] by Cleitophon made it an instruction to the Committee to take into consideration the constitution of Cleisthenes in drawing up their report (§ 3). The Committee reported in favour of the Prytanes being compelled to put to the vote any motion for the public safety (instead of exercising their own discretion in the matter). They also proposed the abolition of all indictments for illegal motions, all impeachments before the Council or the Assembly, and all citations before the Law-courts, so that nothing should hinder any citizen from offering such counsel as he thought fit. If any person attempted, either by fine or citation or prosecution, to prevent such counsel being given, he was to be summarily brought before the Generals and delivered up to execution (§ 4). They further drew up the following form of constitution: - The revenues were to be spent solely on the conduct of the war. So long as the war lasted, no officers of State were to receive any pay except the nine Archons and the Prytanes. The franchise (including the right of making treaties) was to be entrusted to not less than Five Thousand of the citizens who were best able to serve the State. The list of the Five Thousand was to be drawn up by a Commission of one hundred formed by electing ten out of each of the tribes (§ 5).

When these proposals had been ratified, the [provisionally acting body of] 'Five Thousand' elected from among their own members the hundred Commissioners for

to which Theramenes belonged, see Dr Jackson's article on Socrates in Encycl. Brit. ed. 9.

¹ There is a monograph on Theramenes by Dr Carl Pöhlig (Teubner, 1877). On the party of 'moderate oligarchs'

drawing up the constitution. The Commissioners proposed for the future a Council, which was to be in power for a year at a time, and to include certain officers of State (about 100 in all) as members ex officio. The Council was to appoint these out of a larger number of selected candidates chosen out of the members of the Council for the time being. All other offices were to be filled by lot (30 § 2). There were to be four Councils of four hundred each, such four Councils serving in turn, for a year each, in an order to be determined by lot (§ 3). Members of the Council absent without leave were to be fined (§ 6).

For the immediate present, there was to be a Council of Four Hundred (as in the constitution of Solon), forty from each tribe, appointed out of a larger number selected by the members of the several tribes. This Council was to appoint the officers of State, and to have complete discretion in questions of legislation, official audits, &c.; but was to have no power to alter the new constitution (31 § 1). Military officers were to be elected provisionally by the 'Five Thousand,' but ultimately by the Council (§ 2). No office, except that of a General or a member of the Council, was to be held more than once (§ 3).

About the end of May, 411, the existing Council was dissolved; and on June 7 the Four Hundred entered on office. An oligarchical constitution was thus established nearly a century after the expulsion of the tyrants (510). The leaders of the Revolution were Peisander, Antiphon and Theramenes. The Four Hundred sent envoys to Sparta, proposing the termination of the war on the basis of uti possidetis; but, as the envoys declined to surrender the maritime supremacy of Athens, Sparta refused to come to terms (c. 32).

(10) The restored Democracy. The defeat of Athens in the naval battle of Eretria, and the consequent loss of Euboea, led the people to depose the Four Hundred, after they had been in power for four months (May to August, 411); and to entrust the management of affairs to the Five Thousand, a body consisting of all citizens capable of providing a military equipment. No pay was to be given for any public office. This revolution was led by Aristocrates and Theramenes, both of whom disapproved of the Four Hundred for keeping all the power in their own hands, and not referring anything to the Five Thousand. The constitution at this time appears to have worked excellently, inasmuch as it was a time of war and the franchise was entrusted to those who provided a military equipment (c. 33).

[After the victories in the Hellespont in 410] the people soon deprived the Five Thousand of their exclusive right to the franchise. In 406 the victory of Arginusae was won, but that victory was attended with the following results: (1) Under the misleading influence of passionate appeals to the feelings of the people, all the Generals who had won that victory had their fate sealed by a single verdict (see note on pp. 129—130); and (2), when Sparta proposed to evacuate Decelea, Cleophon protested that she should be required to surrender all the cities that owed allegiance to her (34 § 1). Athens soon had good reason to regret her mistake. In 405 she was vanquished at Aegospotami; and Lysander became master of Athens and established the rule of the Thirty (§ 2).

(11) The despotic government of the Thirty and of the Ten. The THIRTY, instead of framing a constitution, appointed a Council of five hundred, out of a large number of selected candidates; associated with themselves ten officials in the Peiraeus, eleven superintendents of the prison, and three hundred attendants; and, with the help of these, kept the city completely under their own control. At first they acted with moderation: they professed to restore the ancient constitution; repealed the laws of Ephialtes curtailing the privileges of the Areopagus; and abolished the limitations

to the right of bequest granted by Solon. But, as soon as they had established themselves in power, they proceeded to put to death those who were eminent for wealth or birth or reputation; and, within a short time, the number of their victims rose to 1,500 (c. 35). Alarmed, however, by the indignant protests and the ever increasing popularity of Theramenes, they offered to draw up a list of 3,000 who were to receive the franchise. Theramenes was still dissatisfied; the list was withheld, and, when published, was constantly liable to arbitrary alterations (c. 36).

Meanwhile, winter set in, and the Thirty were repulsed in their attack on Thrasybulus, who, with the exiles of the democratic party, had taken possession of the fort of Phyle. The Thirty now resolved on disarming the people and getting rid of Theramenes. For the latter purpose they compelled the Council to pass two proposals, (1) giving the Thirty power to put to death any person not included in the list of the 3,000; (2) preventing any one from enjoying the franchise if he had taken part in demolishing the fort of Eetioneia or had in any way opposed the Four Hundred. Theramenes had done both. After putting him to death, they disarmed all the people except the 3,000; and proceeded to further extremities of cruelty and crime (37).

After this, Thrasybulus and his soldiers occupied Munichia and defeated the partisans of the Thirty. The party of the city retreated to Athens; and, on the next day, held a meeting in the market-place, deposed the Thirty and elected Ten of the citizens as commissioners with full powers to bring the war to a conclusion. The TEN did nothing of the kind; they sent to Sparta to ask for aid and to borrow funds. Finding that this was resented by those who possessed the franchise, and fearing they might be deposed in consequence, they arrested a citizen of the highest repute and put him to death. They thus strengthened their position, and they were further supported by the Spartan harmost Callibius and his Peloponnesians, and by certain of the Knights. The party of the Peiraeus, however, were soon joined by all the people, and began to get the upper hand in the struggle. Thereupon, the party of the city deposed the Ten, and elected in their place another body of the same number, consisting of men of the highest character, among whom was Rhinon (who was afterwards elected one of the Generals). Under the management of this new body of Ten, and with the aid of Pausanias and ten Commissioners from Sparta, terms of reconciliation were drawn up and the democratic party returned to Athens (c. 38).

The terms were as follows: All who had remained in Athens might reside at Eleusis, while retaining their property and their full rights as citizens (35 § 1). The temple at Eleusis was to be common ground for both parties; but, except at the season of the Mysteries, the settlers at Eleusis were not to enter Athens, or the residents in Athens to visit Eleusis. The settlers at Eleusis were to contribute their share to the federal fund (§ 2). If any one killed or wounded another, trials for homicide were to be held, as of old (§ 5). Lastly, there was to be a general amnesty towards all persons, except the Thirty, the Ten (who immediately succeeded them), the Eleven, and the Ten who had ruled in the Peiraeus; and even these were not to be excluded, if they rendered an account of their office (§ 6).

A prominent part was played at this time by Archinus:—(1) He accelerated the date for the closing of the list of settlers at Eleusis (40 § 1); (2) he successfully resisted the proposal of Thrasybulus to confer the franchise on all who had aided in the restoration of the democracy; and (3) he insisted on the penalty of death being inflicted on one who attempted to violate the amnesty (§ 2). The funds which the Thirty had borrowed from Sparta for their own purposes, were repaid out of the

public treasury (§ 3). A further reconciliation was effected with the settlers at Eleusis in B.C. 401/0 (§ 4).

(12) The restored and extreme Democracy. The constitution established in B.C. 403 remained in force until the time when the work was written (B.C. 328-325) with ever-increasing accessions to the power of the people. The people had made itself master of everything, and administered all the affairs of State by means of the decrees of the Assembly and the decisions of the Law-courts. In the latter, no less than in the former, the people ruled supreme. Even the judicial decisions formerly in the hands of the Council were transferred to the people, a course which the writer approves on the ground that small bodies are more liable to corruption than large ones (41 § 2). At first it was decided not to provide pay for attendance at the Assembly; but, as its members were habitually absent, an allowance of one obol a day was introduced by Agyrrhius, to be increased to two obols by Heracleides, and to three by Agyrrhius himself (§ 3).

Part II, which describes the machinery of the 'existing Constitution,' under the general heads of (i) the Franchise (c. 42), (ii) Legislature (43-45), (iii) Administration (46-62), and (iv) Judicature (63 to end), may from one point of view be regarded as entirely concerned with a single subject, being an account of ai apxai, the 'posts of power or service, honour or emolument, for which the Athenian citizen becomes eligible or qualified sooner or later,' when once the franchise is conferred on him. It may be divided into four sections (i) the conditions of the franchise (c. 42); (ii) the exercise of the full franchise in the ἐγκύκλιοι ἀρχαί (cc. 43-62), first the κληρωταί, the Council with sundry other authorities (43-54), and the Archons (55-59). From these may be detached (iii) the χειροτονηταὶ ἀρχαί, or ἀρχαὶ πρὸς πόλεμον (61), and (iv) the Dikasteria (63 to end), placed here because they are permanent and not concerned with administration (ή διοίκησις), although recruited by the Lot (Mr Macan, J. H. S., xii 21). Or, again, we may for convenience use apxai in the narrower sense, and divide the second part into three main portions under the head of (i) πολιτεία (c. 42); (ii) ἀρχαί (cc. 42-62); (iii) δικαστήρια (cc. 62 to end).

In (i) we have first an account of the method of enrolling citizens, with interesting details as to the military training of youthful citizens between the ages of 18 and 20 (c. 42). In (ii) the foremost place is occupied by the administrative functions of the Council and of the officials who act in concert with it (43-49); while the exxlyola is only briefly dealt with in connexion with the πρυτάνειs and πρόεδροι in c. 43 and c. 44. Then follow certain other officials appointed by lot, with some account of the public Arbitrators (50-54), and the nine Archons (55-59), with a detailed statement of the duties of the Archon (56), the Basileus (57), the Polemarch (58) and the Thesmothetae (59) respectively. Next come the άθλοθέται, with some notice of the Sacred Olives (60). Thus far for officials appointed by lot. Next in order we have the military officers (61), who have already been briefly mentioned with other officials elected by show of hands (43 § 1). This portion of the work closes with a chapter on Salaries (62). The remainder is entirely concerned with the Law-courts, and, in particular, with the way by which the dicasts were allotted to the several courts, the method of voting, the measurement of time during the proceedings, and lastly the arrangements for paying the dicasts when their duties were over.

A large amount of the contents of the Second Part was already known to us in a fragmentary way, through the quotations preserved by grammarians and lexicographers; but it is a signal advantage to have before us the source of all these quotations with the opportunity of testing every statement by the light of its immediate context. We are thus at last able to deal with a first-hand authority for the Constitutional Antiquities of Athens. Whatever hesitation there may necessarily be as to the historic value of certain details in the First Part of the treatise, especially in cases where the writer is describing the institutions of a distant past, which had left behind it no contemporary records except a single chapter from the code of Dracon, with the laws and poems of Solon; or where his account refuses to be reconciled with that of writers such as Thucydides and Xenophon; there can be no question as to the great importance and the completely trustworthy character of the Second Part, with its terse and clear description of the machinery of the State towards the close of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. And the value of all this is unimpaired by any doubts that have been entertained as to the authorship of the work.

§ 10. Conspectus of the Literature of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία.

(The order in each division is mainly chronological except in B III and IV, where it is alphabetical.)

- (A) Published before the discovery of the Papyrus in the British Museum.
- (1) Aristotelis rerum publicarum reliquias collegit C. P. Neumann. Heidelberg, 1827.
- (2) Heraclidis politiarum quae extant recensuit F. G. Schneidewin. Göttingen, 1847.
- (3) Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum collegit C. Müller; vol. II pp. 102—107; Heraclides, ib. 208—224; Paris (Didot), 1848.
- (4) Valentini Bose Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, Leipzig, 1863, [quoted in this book as Rose, A. P.].
- (5) Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles, von Emil Heitz, Leipzig (Teubner), 1865.
- (6) Fragmenta Aristotelis collegit disposuit illustravit Aemilius Heitz, Paris (Didot), Nov. 1868.
- (7) Aristotelis Opera; edidit Academia Regia Borussica. vol. v Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum *Fragmenta* collegit **Valentinus Bose**, pp. 1535—1571 [quoted as Rose, 343² to 568²],—Index Aristotelicus, Bonitz. Berlin (Reimer), 1870.
- (8) W. Oncken, Die Staatslehre der Ar. in historisch-politischen Umrissen, vol. 2, esp. pp. 410—528 (Engelmann) Leipzig, 1875.
- (9) Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum Fragmenta collegit Valentinus Rose, pp. 258—386 [quoted as Rose, 3813 to 6113], Leipzig (Teubner), 1886.

On the Berlin Fragments.

(10) F. Blass, Hermes, 1880, xv 366. (11) Th. Bergk, Rheinisches Museum, 1881, xxxvii p. 87. (12) H. Landwehr, (a) de pappro Berolinensi, no. 163, Berlin, 1883; (b) papprum Berol. commentario adiecto edidit, Gotha, 1883; and (c) in Philologus Suppl. v 100-196. (13) H. Diels, Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, mit 2 Tafeln, Mai 1885, ii pp. 1-57.

(B) Published after the discovery of the Papyrus.

(I) EDITIONS.

(1) Aristotle On the Constitution of Athens, edited by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Assistant in the Department of Mss, British Museum. Printed by Order of the Trustees of the Museum (Preface dated 31 Dec. 1890), 1st ed. Jan. 30, 1891; 2nd ed. Feb.; 3rd and revised ed. 25 Jan. 1892.

Preliminary notice of discovery in the Times, 19 Jan. (reprinted in Classical Review, v 70); Reviews of 1st or 2nd ed.:—in Times, 30 Jan. '91; Athenaeum, 4 April, p. 434—6; Saturday Review, 21 March, p. 358; Edinburgh Rev., April, p. 470—494; Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique, pp. 133—9; and elsewhere: also in signed (or acknowledged) articles by Mr Macan, Mr F. T. Richards, Prof. Tyrrell, Prof. Gildersleeve and Prof. J. H. Wright; M. Dareste, M. Haussoullier and M. Weil; Prof. Blass, Prof. Diels, Prof. Bruno Keil, P. Meyer, and G. J. Schneider (see under their respective names in B III). Review of 3rd ed. in Academy, 8 June '92. Descriptive article (signed K) in Review of Reviews, 14 Feb. '91, with reduced facsimile of col. 29 and 30.

(2) Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. Autotype Facaimile ed. 22 Plates, 20 × 15 inches. Folio; ed. 1, March, '01; ed. 2 in the same year.

20 x 15 inches. Folio; ed. 1, March, '91; ed. 2 in the same year.

Reviews in Times, 4 March, '91; Athenaeum, 4 April, p. 434—436, and elsewhere.

- (3) 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία έκδιδομένη έπι τη βάσει της δευτέρας άγγλικης τοῦ Κ. Κένυον έκδόσεως. **Α. 'Αγαθόνικος**. (Barth and Christ) Athens; 1891.
- (4) Aristotele, la Costituzione degli Ateniesi, testo greco, versione italiana, introduzione e note di C. Ferrini. (Hoepli) Milan [rev. in Athenaeum, 5 Sept. '91, p. 317].
- (5) Aristotelis Πολιτεία 'Αθηναίων, ediderunt G. Katbel et U. de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, '91. ed. 1, July; ed. 2, September (Weidmann) Berlin [reviewed in Berl. Philol. Wochenschr., 1892, p. 453 (F. Cauer); Neue Philol. Rundschau, '92, p. 210 (P. Meyer); Lit. Centralblatt, '92, n. 2, p. 56; Revue des études grecques iv 405 (Weil); Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, '91, p. 1639 (Gomperz); and elsewhere].
- (6) Aristotelis quae fertur 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. Post Kenyonem recensuerunt H. van Herwerden et J. van Leeuwen; accedunt MSTI Apographum, Observationes Palaeographicae cum Tabulis iv, Indices Locupletissimi; (Sijthoff) Leyden, '91 [reviewed in Berl. Philol. Wochenschr., 1892, pp. 613, 649; Class. Rev. vi 20—24; Neue Philol. Rundschau, '92, p. 210 (P. Meyer); and elsewhere].
- (7) Aristotelis Πολιτεία 'Αθηναίων, edidit P. Blass (Teubner) Leipzig, Jan. 1892 [reviewed in Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol. no. 38; and elsewhere].
- (8) a school-edition of c. 1—41, by Karl Hude of Copenhagen (Teubner, Leipzig, Dec. 1892).

Editions have also been promised by

(Q) H. Diels (Berlin); (10) B. Haussoullier (Paris).

(II) TRANSLATIONS.

English. (1) with Introduction and Notes (and Facsimile of first eleven lines of col. 10) by F. G. Kenyon, M.A. (Bell) London, July, 1891. (2) E. Poste, M.A., Fellow of Oriel Coll., Oxford; (Macmillan) London, July, '91; ed. 2, Dec. '92. (3) T. J. Dymes, B.A., late Scholar of Lincoln Coll., Oxford; (Seeley) London, 1891.

German. (4) G. Kaibel u. A. Kiessling, two editions in 1891; (Trübner) Strassburg. (5) F. Poland (Langenscheidt) Berlin, '91. (6) M. Erdmann (Neumann) Leipzig, 1892. (7) H. Hagen see in III (31).

French. (8) Th. Reinach (Hachette) Paris; (9) B. Haussoullier (Bouillon) Paris, Nov. 1891.

Italian. (10) C. Perrini (Hoepli) Milan ; (11) C. O. Zuretti (Loescher) Turin.

Russian. (12) Belajew, Kasan; (13) anonymous translation in Journ. d. kais. russ. Ministeriums d. Volksaufklärung, Jul.—Aug. '91.

Polish. (14) L. Cwiklinski, Krakau, Nov. '92.

(Several of the above Translations are reviewed in the Athenaeum, 5 Sept. '91, p. 316, and by Mr F. T. Richards in the Academy, 15 Aug., '91, p. 137.)

(III) SIGNED (OR ACKNOWLEDGED) CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS &c.

(ems. = emendations)

(1) Adam, J., On Solon in c. 12 § 5 πρω ανταράξας πιαρ έξειλεν γάλα. Academy, (2) Allen, P. D., Prof. Wright's paper in 1888, on the date 14 March, '91, p. 259. of Cylon; The Nation, 5 March, '91, p. 197. (3) Bauer, A., (a) Vortrag in Graz, 18 Feb.; Wissenschaftliche Rundschau der Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten, no. 97, 103, 109. (b) Preussische Jahrbücher, vol. 68, part 1. See also IV (1). (4) Bernardakis, G., Έπιστολή περί τής πολ. 'Αθ. τοῦ 'Αρ., ἀνατύπωσις τής 'Εφημερίδος, Athens, '91. (5) Benn, A. W., On c. 25, Academy, 14 March, '91, p. 259, (6) Blass, P., Review in Litterarische Centralblatt, 28 Feb. 301-4 (with numerous emendations, reprinted in Class, Rev. v 175). See also ed. in 1 (7). (7) Brieger, A., die Verfassungsgeschichte von Athen, nach Aristoteles' neu angefundener Schrift, Unsere Zeit, ii 18-36, '91. (9) Burnet, J., ems. in Class. Rev. (8) Brooks, E. H., ems. in Class. Rev. v 182. ▼ 107, 117. (10) Bury, J. B., ems. in Academy, 7 March, '91, p. 234; Athenaeum, p. 344; (= Class. Rev. v 175). (11) Busolt, G., 'zur Gesetzgebung Drakons,' (12) Butcher, S. H., c. 13, 21, Class. Rev. v Philologus, vol. 50, pp. 393-400. (13) Bywater, I., ems. in Academy, 14 Feb. '91, p. 163-4 (= Class. Rev. (14) Campbell, Lewis, ems. in Class. Rev. v 105-, 119. (15) Chinnock, E. J., 'Rare Words,' Class. Rev. v 229. (16) Cholodniak, J., General article in Journal d. k. Russ. Min. der Volksaufklärung, May '91, p. 58-70 (in Russian). (17) Comparetti, D., Nuova Antologia, xxvi 3, vol. 34, fasc. 13. (18) Cox, Rev. Sir G. W., 'Aristotle as an Historian,' Academy, July-Aug. '92, pp. 52, 111, 152, 171. (19) Crusius, O., 'die Schrift vom Staate der Athener, und Aristoteles über die Demokratie,' Philologus, vol. 50, pp. 173-8. (20) Curtius, E., Berl. Arch. Gesellschaft (Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift, '91, p. 27). (21) Dareste, B., (a) Séances et travaux de l'Acad. des Sciences Morales et Politiques, '91, p. 341-364 (abstract of Part ii); (22) De-Sanctis, G., 'Studi sull' (b) Journal des Savants, May, '91, p. 257-273. 'Aθ. πολ.,' Kivista di filologia, vol. xx p. 147—163. (23) Diels, H., (a) Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, '91, no. 7, p. 239-242; no. 24, p. 878; (b) Archiv f. Geschichte der Philosophie, iv 478; (c) On Epimenides, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, '91, p. 387. (24) Ellis, Robinson, ems. in Class. Rev. v 181-2. (25) Fraenkel, M., (a) Zeitschrift f. Geschichtswissenschaft, '91, p. 164-7; (b) Rh. Mus. xlvii 473. (26) Gennadios, A., 'Ακρόπολιs, Athens, 18 March—2 April (Class. Rev. v 274). Gerts, M. C., (a) Filologiske Tidskrift, '91, p. 252-5; (b) Jahrb. f. Philologie, '91, p. 192. (28) Gildersleeve, B., Rev. in American Journal of Philology, xii 97, cf. ib. i 458, iv 92, on Solon in c. 12 § 5, #plv dvarapáfas. (29) Giles, P., English Historical Review, April, '92. (30) Gompers, Th., (a) 'Aristoteles u. seine neuentdeckte Schrift,' Deutsche Rundschau, xvii 219, May, '91; (b) 'Ueber das neuentdeckte Werk des Ar., U. die Verdächtiger seiner Echtheit,' Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie, no. xi (3) [both printed separately]; (c) Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, '91, no. 24, p. 877; no. 45, p. 1639. See also IV (5). (31) Hagen, H., trans. in Schweizerische Rundschau, '91, no. 4-6. (32) Harberton, Lord, On c. 35 § 1, Class. Rev. vi 123. (33) Hardie, W. R., 'The diairnral' (c. 53), Class. Rev. v 164. (34) Hartman, J. J., general descriptive article in De Nederlandsche Spectator, 14 March, '91. (35) Haskins, C. E., em. (20, 5) Class. Rev. v 111 b. (36) Haussoullier, B., (a) Revue des Études Grecques, no. 12 (belated no. for Dec. 1890), p. 475; (b) Revue Critique, '91, no. 10, p. 181-6; '92, no. 10, p. 179-183; (c) Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres, '91, Feb. 13 and 20; (d) (37) Havell, H. L., 'The Great Discovery,' Mac-Revue de Philologie, xv 2, p. 98 f. millan's Mag., March, '91, p. 392-400. (38) Headlam, J. W., (a) 'The Constitution of Draco' (c. 4), Class. Rev. v 166-9; (b) 'On the use of the hiatus in the Hodurela,' ib. 270-2; (c) 'Notes on Early Athenian History (i) The Council: ἐφέται and ναύκραροι,' ib. vi 249-253, and (ii) 'The Council,' ib. 293-8. See also IV (8). (39) Herwerden, H. van, (a) Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift, '91, pp. 322, 418, 610; (b) Mnemosyne, '91, p. 168. See also ed. in 1 (6). (40) Hicks, R. D., ems. Camb. Philol. Soc. Proc., 12 Feb. '91, p. 10; Class. Rev. v 111 a, 116 b. (41) Hill, G. F., c. 25, Class. Rev. v 169; 176. (42) Holzinger, 'Aristoteles' athenische Politie und die Heraklidischen Excerpte,' Philologus, vol. 50, p. 436-446. (43) House-(44) Houtsma, E. O., Berl. Philol. man, A. E., em. in Class. Rev. v 110 a. (45) Hude, C., 'Coniecturae Aristotelicae,' Filolo-Wochenschr., 27 Jun. '91, p. 801. giske Tidskrift, '91, p. 248-251. (46) Hultsch, F., 'Das Pheidonische Masssystem,' Jahrb. für Philol., '91, p. 262-4. (47) Immisch, O., On c. 41, Berl. Philol. Wochenschr., '91, p. 707. (48) Jackson, H., ems. in Camb. Philol. Soc. Proc., 12 Feb. '91; Class. Rev. v 105-, 122. (49) Kaibel, G., article in Nord und Süd, (50) Keil, Bruno, (a) rev. of Mr Kenyon's ed. in Apr. '91, p. 80—92; cf. 1 (5). Berl. Philol. Wochenschr., '91, 25 April-16 May; also separately printed, pp. 56; (b) rev. of van Herwerden and van Leeuwen's ed., ib. '92, pp. 613, 649. Cf. IV (10). (51) Kenyon, F. G., (a) 'New Readings,' Class. Rev. v 269-; (b) 'Recent Literature, ' ib. 332. See also edd. in 1 (1). (52) Kontos, K. S., (a) Le Spectateur (Athens), 13 Apr. '91; (b) 'Αθηνα, iii 289-400; (c) Στοά, i 44. (53) Lacon, B., 'Ημέρα (54) Lean, W. S., Academy, 7 March, '91, p. 234. (Athens). (55) Leeuwen, J. van, (a) Mnemosyne, xix 2, April, '91, reprinted in Class. Rev. v 224; (b) Verslagen en Medeelingen der Kon. Acad. v. Wett. afd. 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(67) Oman, C. W., paper read at meeting of Historical Society, 19 Nov. '91 (Academy, 28 Nov., p. 483). (68) Pals, E., Rivista di Filologia, xix 557-569. (60) Pantaridis, φιλολογικόν παράρτημα της Έστίας, 1891. (70) Papabasileios, 'Aθηνα, ii 278-288. (71) Paton, W. B., (a) Athenaeum, 21 Feb. '91, p. 251, and Class. Rev. v 105-, 175-, 225; (b) 'The Attic Phratries,' ib. 221. (72) Platt, A., (73) Poland, P., Jahrb. für Philol. '91, ems. in Class. Rev. v 109, 175-, 185. (74) Radinger, C., Philologus, vol. 50, pp. 229, 400, 468. р. 259-262. (75) Reinach, Th., (a) 'Trois Passages du livre d'A. &c.' (on cc. 4, 8, 25) Académie des Inscr. &c., 5 June, '91; Revue Critique, n. 24; (b) 'La Constitution de Dracon et la Constitution de l'an 411,' Revue des Études Grecques, '91, p. 82; (c) 'Aristote ou Critias ?,' ib. 143-158. (76) Richards, F. T., (a) Rev. of Mr Kenyon's ed. in Academy, 14 Feb. '91, p. 165-7; (b) Rev. of Bauer's Forschungen and of Mr Kenyon's and Mr Poste's Translations, ib. 15 Aug. '91, p. 137-8; (c) Letter, ib. 13 Aug. '92, p. 133, mainly on discrepancies between Politics and 'Aθ. πολ. (77) Richards, Herbert [quoted in critical notes by surname only], (a) ems. in Academy, 14 Feb. '91, p. 163-4; and 18 Apr. p. 371; (b) ems. in Class. Rev. v 105-, 122, 175, 224, 334; (c) 'Unaristotelian words and phrases,' ib. 184, 272. Ridgeway, W., Academy, 21 Feb. '91, p. 186-7 (Class. Rev. v 109). See also Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards, pp. 306, 324. (70) Ruehl, F., (a) Rhein, Mus., '91, p. 426-464; (b) Wochenschr. für klass. Philol., '92, no. 1; cf. (128). Rutherford, G., (a) 'The New Aristotle Papyrus in its bearings on Textual Criticism,' Class. Rev. v 89-91; (b) ems. ib. 105-, 175. (81) Saint-Hilaire, B., Revue (82) Sandys, J. E., (a) ems. in Academy, 7 Feb. '91, p. 137 Bleue, 21 March, '91. (Class. Rev. v 105-); (b) ems. &c. Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc., 26 Feb. '91, p. 14 (with additions in Class. Rev. v 119-120). (83) Schneider, G. J., Review of Mr Kenyon's ed. in Wochenschr. für klass. Philol., 29 Apr. - 20 May, '91, pp. 371, 498, 528, 544. (84) Schoell, R., Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage, no. 106-109; Sonderabdruck der 41 Philol.-Versammlung in München, Mai '91 (J. G. Cotta) Munich. Schvarcz, J., Ungarische Revue, Apr. '91. See also IV (12). (86) Sidgwick, A., enis. in Class. Rev. v 105-. (87) Stewart, J. A., em. in Academy, 7 March, 'q1, p. (88) Smith, Cecil, Ostracism of Xanthippus, Class. Rev. 234 (Class. Rev. v 179). (89) Smith, J. A., em. in Academy, 14 Feb. (Class. Rev. v 118). Szanto, E., Wochenschr. für klass. Philol., '91, p. 761. (91) Thompson, E. S., (a) em. in Class. Rev. v 223, 224-; 277; (b) The Draconian Constitution, ib. 336; (c) Date of the Expulsion of the Pisistratids, ib. vi 181; (d) Age of the dias-(92) Torr, Cecil, (a) on the date, Athenaeum, 7 Feb. (Class. Rev. Tnral. ib. 182. v 119 note); (b) on 51 § 4, Class. Rev. v 117; (c) on the στρατηγοί in c. 61, ib. p. 119; (d) on c. 54, the Delian festival, ib. 277. (93) Tyrrell, R. Y., (a) ems. in Academy, 28 Feb. '91, p. 210; 7 March, p. 234 (Class. Rev. v 175-); (b) 'The New Papyri,' Quarterly Review, April, '91, p. 320-350. (94) Vanderkindere, Revue Belgique, March, '91. (95) Wachsmuth, C., 'zur Topographie von Athen,' Rheinisches Museum, '91, Heft 2. (96) Walker, E. M., Chronology of 462-445 B.C., Class. Rev. vi 95. (97) Wardale, J. B., Class. Rev. v 273. (98) Weil, H., Journal des Savants, April, '91, p. 197. (99) Whibley, L., (a) on cc. 22, 23, 28, Class. Rev. v 168-9; (b) em. ib. 180; (c) on the Authorship, ib. 223. (100) Wright, J. H., (a) Review of Mr Kenyon's ed. in The Nation, 7 May, '91; (b) 'Did Philochorus quote the 'A0. wol. as Aristotle's?', American Journal of Philology, xii 3, 310-318. (c) 'The Date of Cylon,' a Study in early Athenian history, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, iii 1892. Also reprinted, pp. 80 (Ginn and Co.) Boston. (101) Wyse, W., (a) ems. in Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc. for Feb. 12, '91; also in Athenaeum, Feb. 14 and 21, and Academy, 21 Feb. p. 186 (Class. Rev. v 105-); (b) ems. in Class. Rev. v 225—; (c) notes, ib. 122, 224, 274—6, 335—6; (d) on προδανείζειν, 16 § 2, ib. vi

Many of the following articles appeared at a later date than the above:-

(102) Bérard, J., Aristote, La Constitution d'Athènes, (Extrait) Paris. (103) Betge, popular article in Gegenwart, '91, no. 29. (104) Buseskul, (a) on cc. 4 and 25, Journ. d. Min. der Volksaufkl.; noticed in Berl. Phil. Woch., 8 Oct. '92, p. 1289; (b) in Russ. hist. Rundschau, ii 221-239 (both in Russian). (105) Cauer, Paul, Aristoteles Urteil über die Demokratie, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. '92, p. 581-593. Cavassa, P., Discorso in Annuario dell' Istituto di studi superiori in Firenze, pp. 20, '92. (107) Derewirki, A., (in Russian) Charkow, '91. (108) Dimitsas, M. G., Έλλάς, iii 4 (109) Duemmler, P., Die'Aθ. πολ. des Kritias, in Hermes, '92, p. P· 357-379-260-280. (110) Ferrini, C., Rendiconto dell' Ist. lombardo, ser. ii, vol. xxiv, fasc. (111) Pontana, G., On Aristides in Aθ. πολ., pp. 26, (Tedeschi) Verona. 8--9. (112) Fraccaroli, G., due versi di Solone (c. 12, 28), in Rivista di Filologia, xxi, p. (113) Goodell, T. W., 'Ar. on the Athenian Arbitrators' in Amer. Journ. (114) Grunsel, J., (Friedrich) Leipzig. of Philology, xii 319-326. (115) Hertz, M. C., On c. 38, Jahrb. f. Philol., '91, p. 192. (116) Hude, K., On the murder of Hipparchus (where Ar. differs from Thuc. he is probably following Androtion), Jahrb. (117) Knoke, P., popular article in Grenzboten, '91, no. f. Philol., '92, p. 171-6. (118) Köhler, U., (A) On Heracleides of Clazomenae, Hermes, '92, p. 68 f. (B) Die Zeiten der Herrschaft des Peisistratos; Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, 7 April, '92, pp. 339-343; a not entirely accurate abstract in Berl. Phil. Woch., 13 Aug. p. 1053-6. [(a) The account of Peisistratus in cc. 14, 15 is primarily derived from Hdt. i 59-64, combined (but not harmonised) with other sources of information. The second exile lasted 10 years; the first ruparels 5; and the first exile and the second and third reparels, 6 years each. This result was probably obtained by deducting the 10 years of the second exile from the 33 years of c. 17, and dividing the remainder (23) into four approximately equal parts, thus making the ruparvis last for 17 years in all, and the exile for 16 years. The 19 years of tuparris in c. 17 § 1, which are inconsistent with this, are obtained (as already suggested on p. 76 a) by deducting the 17 years of the rule of the Peisistratidae (c. 19 ult.) from the 36 years assigned by Hdt. to the rule of Peisistratus and his sons. (The connexion of Peisistratus with Rhaecelus explains the offer of Amyntas I to allow Hippias to settle at the neighbouring town of Anthemûs, Hdt. v 94.) (b) The author's method of combining different sources of information is further illustrated by comparing his account of Cleisthenes (c. 20-21) with that of Hdt. (The beginning of the ordors is placed by Köhler before 508/7, and the reforms of Cleisthenes in 507/6.) (c) In the figures given in c. 24 the main stress is laid on the total, 20,000 (cf. Arist. Vesp. 706-8), not on the details; it is an exaggeration to put the number of the ἀρχαί ἐνδημοι and ύπερόριοι at 700 each; and the estimate of 2500 hoplites and 20 guardships properly belongs to the time of the battle of Tanagra. A body as numerous as the 2,000 φρουροί must have held office for more than a year. (d) c. 25 describes the censorial powers of the Areopagus as $\epsilon\pi i\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha$, whereas, in cc. 3, 4, 8, these powers are described as having belonged to it from the earliest times. Hence we may infer that c. 25 is founded on a different account of the historical development of the powers of the Areopagus to that followed in the previous chapters. Further, it is more probable that Ephialtes, in his attack on the Areopagus, cooperated with Pericles than with Themistocles. The story about the latter in c. 25 is a läppische, chronologische unmögliche Ersählung, probably borrowed from some such writer as Stesimbrotus.]

(119) Kurse, P., Westermann's Monatshefte, Nov. '91, p. 281-4. (120) Mahaffy, J. P., obiter dicta in Problems in Greek History, pp. 84, 87, 89, 96, 122, 128. Melber, J., Aristoteles 'Abyvalus modirela u. die bisher darüber erschienene Litteratur in Blätter für das bayerische Gymnasialwesen xxviii 1, p. 29-44 (Class. Rev. vi (122) Meyer, P., (a) der neue Ar. u. die Schule, in Gymnasium, '92, no. 2-3; (b) Reviews in Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen, XLVI 144-155. (123) Muller, H. C., in Eddas iv, pp. 76 ff, and Kenyon, ibid. 137, Leyden, '92. (124)Munro, J. A. R., 'The Chronology of Themistocles' career,' Class. Rev. vi 333 f. (125) Wissen, H., die Staatschriften des Ar. in Rhein. Mus. '92, vol. 47, pp. 161-206 (holds that the Holireias were intended to lead up to the publication of a code for the dominions of Alexander, and also to serve as a series of hand-books for the use of Macedonian diplomatists. The article is ably criticised by Bruno Keil, die Solonische Verfassung, p. 127-150). (126) Piccolomini, Aeneas, In Aristot. et Herodam animadv. criticae, in Rivista di filologia, xx p. 456-264, Turin, 1892. (127) Postgate, J. P., em. ήλάσατε for dáσατε, in c. 5, 16 (Class. Rev. v 109). (128) Ruehl, P., Der Staat der Athener und kein Ende, in Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. Bd., 18, pp. 675-706; also reprinted (Teubner) Leipzig. [Rev. in Neue Philol. Rundschau, '92, no. 15, p. 229 (P. Meyer); Woch. f. kl. Philol. '92, no. 35, p. 949 (G. J. Schneider); Berl. Phil. Woch. 15 Oct. p. 1317 (Schöffer). 'Fassen wir des Ergebniss meines ersten Aufsatzes (79) und das der vorstehenden weiteren Ausführungen zusammen, so ergibt sich die neue Schrift als ein Werk, das sich sehr nahe an die aristotelische ' $\Lambda\theta$. π o λ . anschloss, stellenweise fast oder ganz wörtlich, das ihr manche feine, echt aristotelische Wendung verdankte, das sie aber einerseits an vielen Stellen zusammenzog, anderseits dagegen auch erweiterte und möglicherweise auch einzelne Partien durch andere ersetzte' (p. 700). He holds that the editor of the work was 'Herakleides Lembos' (p. 701 f.).] (129) Schöffer, Val. von, (a) On the date of the 'AO. wol. in Introd. to Bürgerschaft u. Volksversammlung zu Athen, I, Moscow, '91 (in Russian), Berl. Phil. Woch. 8 Oct. '92, p. 1290; (b) Reviews in (130) Schultz, H., Russ. Phil. Rundschau, Berl. Phil. Woch. 8 and 15 Oct. '92. (131) Stern, E. v., die neuentdeckte 'Aθ. πολ. des Ar. ii p. 33-44 (in Russian). pp. 42 (Abdruck aus B. II der Annal. der hist.-phil. Ges.), in Russian, Odessa, '92; [attacks the views of Schvarcz, Rühl and Cauer, Berl. Phil. Woch. 8 Oct. '92, p. (132) Szanto, E., sur drakonischen Gesetzgebung, in Arch.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, XV 2, p. 180-2. (133) Tacchi-Venturi, Civiltà Cattolica, (134) Zielinski, Th., on c. 4, in Russ. Phil. Rundschau, i 2, p. xii no. 995—6. 125 f. (in Russian). (135) Zingerle, A., Zeitschrift f. d. Oesterr. Gymn. xliii 207 f.

(IV) SEPARATE WORKS.

- (1) Bauer, A., Litterarische u. historische Forschungen zu Aristoteles' 'Αθ. πολ. (C. H. Beck) Munich, pp. 190, May '91. (Rev. in Athenaeum, 5 Sept. '91, p. 317; Academy, 15 Aug. '91, p. 137; Berl. Phil. Woch. 15 Oct. '92, p. 1321, Schöffer; and elsewhere.) [In three parts: (1) On the relations of Ar. to the historical literature of Greece; (2) historical results derived from the 'Αθ. πολ.; (3) Chronological tables, drawn up in accordance with the dates given in the 'Αθ. πολ.]
- (2) Cassel, Paulus, Vom neuen Aristoteles u. seiner Tendenz (Bibliograph. Bureau) Berlin, '91. (Rev. in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 15 Oct. '92, p. 1320, Schöffer; and elsewhere.) [An unscholarly pamphlet, describing the ideal of the author of the ' $A\theta$. $\pi o \lambda$. as 'die alte, erbliche, patriarchalische, gewissenhafte, königliche Verfassung.']
 - (3) Cauer, Pr., 'Hat Aristoteles die Schrift vom Staate der Athener geschrieben?

- ihr Ursprung und ihr Wert für die ältere athenische Geschichte,' (Göschen) Stuttgart, pp. 78, '91. (Rev. in Academy, 6 June '91, p. 540; Athenaeum, 5 Sept. '91, p. 317; Deutsche Litteratur-Zeitung, p. 878, Diels; Litt. Centralblatt, p. 1120; Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil. no. 28, Szanto; Gymn. p. 567, P. Meyer; Berl. Phil. Woch. '92, p. 1288, Schöffer; and elsewhere.) [Argues against the treatise being the work of Aristotle.]
- (4) Droysen, H., Vorläusige Bemerkungen zu Aristoteles' 'Αθ. πολ., Oster Programm des königstädt. Gymn. (Gärtner) Berlin, '91. [Mainly chronological.]
- (5) Gompers, Th., Die Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener und ihr neuester Beurtheiler, (Holder) Vienna, '91. [A polemical pamphlet directed mainly against Dr Franz Rühl's article in Rheinisches Museum, xlvi 426.]
- (6) Hagfors, E., de praepositionum in Ar. Politicis et in A θ . wol. usu, Helsingfors Dissertation, pp. 130 (Mayer u. Müller, Berlin, '92). [Rev. in Woch. f. kl. Philol. '92, p. 997. The net result of this elaborate statistical investigation is that, in the prepositions, the writer finds nothing in the A θ . π 0 λ divergent from the usage in the Politics. On the other hand, there is little in the use of prepositions in the former that is distinctively characteristic of Aristotle. This is limited to the use of $\xi \xi d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}$; (for $\xi r d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}$), $\xi \xi i \pi a \rho \chi \hat{\eta}$ s, and of $\pi \epsilon \rho l \tau v a$. The conclusion is:—'quantum ex praepositionum usu concludere licet, ille liber ab Aristotle polest esse conscriptus.']
- (7) Hammond, B. E., Greek Constitutions, (a sketch including fresh details from the 'A θ . $\pi o \lambda$.) pp. 68 (E. Johnson) Cambridge, '91:
- (8) Headlam, J. W., Appendix to Historical Essay, Election by Lot at Athens, pp. 183-190, (University Press) Cambridge, '91. See also III (38).
- (9) Herrog, E., Zur Litteratur über den Staat der Athener, pp. 83 (Fues) Tübingen, Nov. '92. (1) On [Xen.] 'Aθ. πολ.; (2) on Ar. 'Aθ. πολ. c. 4.
- (10) Kell, Bruno, Die Solonische Verfassung nach Aristoteles, pp. 248 (Gärtner) Berlin, Nov. '92. *[Ar. was engaged in the preparation of the Politics from about 350 to 335 B.C. It was apparently after this that he put into shape the materials collected for his Πολιτεῖαι, the redaction of the 'Αθ. πολ. falling between 329 and 325. In its polemical passages and elsewhere, it shows the influence of the 'Ατθιs of Androtion, besides other traces of further research subsequent to the preparation of the Politics. It was intended for publication, as is proved by the elaborate style of certain portions, by the attention paid to rhythm at the ends of the sentences, by the avoidance of hiatus, and by other indications of deliberate purpose and methodical plan. The work did not, however, receive the author's finishing touches, and was probably not given to the world until after his death.—The text of chaps. 5–13 is printed with critical notes, followed by a commentary on each chapter, together with many valuable remarks on the work as a whole. Among the restorations of the text here proposed are c. 9, 11 δπως π(ερl) τῆς κρίσε[ως δ δ]ῆ[μος ἢ κ]/φρος, c. 10, 5 παρ' δ[λί]γον, c. 11, 10 γενέσθαι τὴν [νέαν] τάξιν, c. 11, 12 ἢ σ[χεδὸν ἀ]παράλλα[κτον].]
- (11) Meyer, Peter, Des Aristoteles' Politik u. die ' $\Lambda\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$., nebst einer Litteratur-Uebersicht, pp. 72 (Cohen) Bonn, '91. (Rev. in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 8 Oct. '92, p. 1291, Schöffer; and elsewhere.) [Gives some useful parallel passages from the *Politics*; but goes too far in contending that *Politics* ii 12 and c. 4 of ' $\Lambda\theta$. $\pi o\lambda$. are both equally authoritative.]
- (12) Schvarcs, Julius, 'Aristoteles u. die 'Aθ. πολ.,' 1 Abtheilung des Werkes Die Demokratie, pp. 25 (Friedrich) Leipzig, '91. [Ascribes the treatise to Demetrius Phalereus.]
- (13) Schjott, P. Aristoteles om Athens Statsforfatning. Christiania, '91, Dybwad. (Rev. by B in Lit. Centralblatt, no. 29, p. 1025.)
 - (14) Wright, J. H. The Date of Cylon, (Reprint of III (100 c), 1892); noticed

in Academy, 11 June, '92, p. 570; Class. Rev. vi 457; Berl. Phil. Woch. '92, p. 1555; and elsewhere. [Places the attempt of Cylon between 636 and 624 B.C., and the trial and banishment of the Alcmaeonidae, and the visit of Epimenides, in 615.]

The principal books of reference used in preparing the commentary are: (a) the Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, quoted as CIA; with E. L. Hicks, Gk. Historical Inscriptions, and Dittenberger's Sylloge; also von Hartel's Studien über Attisches Staatsrecht u. Urkundenwesen (1878), and Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, ed. 2 (1888).

- (b) the *Index Aristotelicus* of Bonitz; and the editions (or translations) of the *Politics* by Susemihl, Jowett, Newman and others; also the various editions of the *Fragments*.
- (c) the Greek lexicographers, esp. Bekker's Anecdota, vol. i; Etymologicum Magnum (Gaisford); Harpocration (Dindorf); Hesychius (Schmidt); Photius (ed. Porson, revised by Dobree, 1822, who printed as Appendix the Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense; Dobree's transcript of the latter was also published posthumously in 1834); also id. (ed. Naber, 1864—5); Pollux (Bekker); and Suidas (Bernhardy).
- (d) in Gk. History:—Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, also C. Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, quoted as FHG:—among modern writers, Thirlwall, Grote (ed. 1862 in 8 vols), Curtius (ed. Ward), Duncker, Busolt, Holm, Abbott; also Gilbert's Beiträge. In Chronology, Eusebius (ed. Schoene, 1866—75); and the Marmor Parium in Müller's FHG; also Clinton's Fasti, and Peter's Zeittafeln.
- (e) in Antiquities and Law: (1) Boeckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, ed. 2, 1851, ed. 3 (by Fränkel) 1886; also the translations of ed. 1 by Sir Geo. Cornewall (2) the new edition of Lewis 1828, 1842; of ed. 2 by Lamb, Boston, U.S., 1857. K. F. Hormann's Lehrbuch der Griechischen Antiquitäten 1. (3) Meier u. Schoemann, der Attische Process, 1824, ed. Lipsius 1881-6; also Lipsius, in Verhandlungen d. k. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften, '91, p. 41-69. (4) G. F. Schoemann, Antiquities of Greece, vol. i translated by Hardy and Mann, 1880. (5) Gilbert, Griechische Staatsalterthümer, 1881-5 (new ed., and English trans. of vol. i in preparation). Busolt, Die Griechischen Alterthümer, 1887 (ed. 2, '92), and Stengel, Sakralalterthümer, 1890, both in Iwan Müller's Handbuch. (7) A. Mommsen, Heortologie, 1864. (8) Smith, Dict. of Gk. and Roman Antiquities, ed. Wayte and Marindin (with Appendix on 'A θ . $\pi o\lambda$.). (9) Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiquités. Haussoullier, la Vie Municipale en Attique, 1884; Hauvette-Besnault, les Stratèges Athéniens, 1885; A. Martin, les Cavaliers Ath., 1887; Dürrbach, L'Orateur Lycurgue, 1890, and other monographs in the same series. (II) Philippi, Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Attischen Bürgerrechtes (1870), and Der Arcopag und die Epheten, 1874. (12) Frankel, die attischen Geschworenengerichte, 1877. (13) Schulthess, Vormund-(14) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Aus Kydathen, in 'Philol. Untersuchungen,' 1880. (15) Dissertations by Thumser, de Civium Atheniensium muneribus, 1880; Kornitzer, De Scribis Publicis, 1883; Haederli, Astynomen u. Agoranomen, 1886; Panako, de Magistratibus Atticis, qui saeculo A. C. quarto pecunias publicas curabant, i, 1890; and others. (16) Articles in Philological Journals, &c.

was published in Nov. 1892, too late to be of use in the present work.

¹ Vol. I, Part ii, Der Athenische Staat wa und seine Geschichte, edited by Thumser, be

lxxvi ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CRITICAL NOTES

§ 11. Abbreviations used in the critical notes, &-c.

SIGLARIUM.

Papyri Londinensis lectiones litterae 'unciales' indicant;
[] quae in papyro prius, ut videtur, fuerunt, nunc autem evanuerunt;
< > quae in papyro per errorem omissa, propter sensum addenda sunt;
[] quae in papyro scripta, ut aliena omittenda sunt:

+ obelus lectionem corruptam designat;

* asteriscus coniecturas non antea ab editore prolatas.

Editiones.

 $K^1 = \text{Kenyonis ed. prima}; \quad K^2 \text{ secunda}; \quad K^3 \text{ tertia};$ $K \cdot W^1 = \text{Kaibel et von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, ed. prima}; \quad K \cdot W^3, \text{ ed. altera};$ $H \cdot L = \text{van Herwerden et van Leeuwen};$ E = Blass.

§ 12. List of Illustrations.

In Frontispiece. Fig. 1; Heliastic πινάκιον, from Daremberg and Saglio's Dict. des Antiquités, iii 190, fig. 2410; first published by M. Rayet, Annuaire de l'Association des Études Grecques, 1878, p. 206. See note on p. 235.

Fig. 2 and 3; two bronze counters, probably used in the allotment of citizens to the several heliastic divisions. On the obverse, four owls and two sprays of olive, encircled with the word θες μοθετων. On the reverse, fig. 2 (from the Berlin Museum) bears the letter E; fig. 3 (published in *Parnassos*, Athens, 1883), the letter A. From Daremberg and Saglio, *l.c.*, fig. 2411, 2412. See note on p. 236 b.

Fig. 4 and 5; heliastic $\sigma \nu \mu \beta o \lambda a$. On the obverse, a copy of the design on a $\tau \rho \iota \omega \beta o \lambda o \nu$,—an owl surrounded with two sprays of olive, and AOH in fig. 4, Θ only in fig. 5. On the other side, a letter, probably denoting one of the heliastic sections. See note on p. 240 b. From Daremberg and Saglio, l.c., fig. 2413, 2414,

Fig. 6 and 7; bronze $\psi \hat{\eta} \phi \omega_1$ used for voting, found at Athens (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1887, xi 210). From Daremberg and Saglio, *l.c.*, fig. 2415—6. See note on p. 246.

On p. 39; Aeginetan Didrachmon; Berlin Cabinet, Friedländer u. Sallet, Beschreibung, no. 2. From Baumeister's Denkmäler, fig. 1010.

Ibid. and Title-page. Early Attic Tetradrachmon; Berlin Cabinet, u.s., no. 54. From Baumeister's Denkmäler, fig. 1013.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 2 b, l. 17 from end: read 'either as early as 636 or as late as 624.'

p. 7, l. 3: dele asterisk.

p. 133, in critical note on 35, 5: read Hespasews K, K-W.

ADDENDA TO INTROD. AND COMMENTARY Ixxvii

ADDENDA.

Introduction, p. xii. The sketch on pp. ix—xii is perhaps needlessly limited to the literature of the theory of government. A survey of 'political literature', if interpreted in its wider sense, might have included some account of the de Pace and the Areopagiticus of Isocrates. Of these two political pamphlets the first advises Athens to abandon the Empire of the Sea; the second commends the earlier mode of appointing the officers of State by election (alpeais) rather than by lot $(\kappa\lambda h \rho \omega \sigma is)$, and pleads for the restoration of the censorial power once wielded by the Council of the Areopagus. Both of these works may be ascribed to the year 355 B.C., and both have important points of contact with the 'Ahmalum moltrela, which was written nearly 30 years later. Some of these points are noticed in Bruno Keil's Solon. Verf., pp. 78 ff, 215 &c.

p. 1. The observations of Blass on the rhythm of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία are perhaps unduly fanciful. In the extreme case quoted in the text the metrical correspondence is possibly due to accident alone. The central clause of the sentence is a quotation, τούτου βούλεται τις κατηγορεῦν; and it is difficult to believe that, in the language used immediately before and after this clause, the writer was consciously guided by the metrical value of the successive syllables of the quotation itself. One may also fairly mistrust a theory which leads its exponent to print the trisyllabic Πειραιῶν in c. 35 § 1, while everywhere else he prefers the quadrisyllabic Πειραιέων. A more cautious and sober view is that of Bruno Keil, l.c., p. 36, who observes:— 'die Unfertigkeit des Aristotelischen Buches lässt eine Rhythmik in dem Umfange, wie Blass sie annimmt, m. E. überhaupt gar nicht suchen'. Elsewhere, p. 33, he makes the interesting remark: 'das Tempo der Sprache unseres Buches ist im ganzen ein schnelles'.

Commentary, p. 9 (c. 3, 25): βουκολαίον κτλ] Cf. Bruno Keil, in Berl. Phil. Woch. 21 May, 1892, p. 652 f.

p. 14 (c. 4, 6): ταμίας] The earliest inscription in which the ταμίαι are mentioned belongs to the first half of the sixth century, CIA iv 373³³⁶, p. 199, οἱ ταμίαι τάδε χαλκία κτλ. Cf. J. H. S. ix 125.

p. 28 (c. 7, 23): Διφίλου 'Δνθεμίων] Bruno Keil, Solon. Verf., p. 67, identifies with this monument a work of art mentioned in CIA, ii 742 A 12 (Catalogi signorum ex aere factorum), early in the second half of the 4th century:—ἀνάθημα 'Ανθεμίων[οι...] κυνήν έχει καὶ λό[γχην] νεὶ λό[φον]. He accordingly infers that the monument may be described as ἀνάθημα 'Ανθεμίωνοι, εἰκὼν Διφίλου. Köhler describes the age of these Catalogi as ultimis decenniis saeculi quarti non multo antiquior. But the work of art itself may easily have been very much older, some of the rest in the list having certain portions missing. Cf. Boeckh, ii 311², 279².

p. 79 f (c. 21, 12): 8ulvuqua]. Add, Milchhoefer's Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes, with Map, Reimer, Berlin, Oct. '92; and Szanto, Hermes, '92, p. 312.

p. 134 a (c. 35, 9): 'Εφιάλτου και 'Αρχαστράτου] Bruno Keil, Solon. Verf., p. 54, proposes to identify Archestratus with the mover of the last amendment in the decree concerning Chalcis, CIA iv 1, p. 12 n. 27 a, 70, 'Αρχέστρατο[ε] εἶπε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ ['Α]ντικλῆς: τὰς [δ]ὲ εὐθύνας Χαλκιδεῦ[σ]ι κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν Χαλκίδι καθάπερ 'Αθήνησιν 'Αθηναίοις, πλὴν φυγῆς και θανάτου και ἀτιμίας. περὶ δὲ τούτων ἔφεσιν εἶναι 'Αθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἡλιαίαν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου. The spirit of this proposal harmonises with the policy of Ephialtes.

Addenda Notulis Criticis. Bm=Blass, Mitteilungen aus Papyrus-handschriften, in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, Oct. 1892, pp. 571—5. Lectionum harum ipsa papyro inspecta prolatarum exemplar Blassii ipsius benevolentiae acceptum refero; ex eisdem nonnullas ab eodem impertitas in editione capitum 1—41 in textum nuperrime recepit Hude. Recensentur infra etiam coniecturae quaedam, quas nuper proposuit Bruno Kati

2, 2 $\hat{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma \hat{\alpha}\rho$ [$\tau \hat{\sigma}\tau \epsilon$]: $\hat{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma \hat{\alpha}\rho$ $\alpha \hat{\nu}\tau(\hat{\omega}\nu)$ Bm (Hude).

3, 6 ἐξ [ἀρχ]ῆ[s ἦν] a J W Headlam prolatum accepi et defendi : καὶ π[άτ]ριος [ἦν] Bm (Hude). 10 [τὴν ἀρχήν σημεῖον] δ': [ταότ(ην)] τεκμήρι(ον) δ' Bm (Hude). 11 ὀμνύουσι [καθάπερ] : ὀμνύουσι[ν ισο]περ Wessely et Bm (Hude). 14 ὁποτέρως ποτ' ἔχει μικρόν, ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις : ἀποτέρως ποτ' ἔχει, μικρόν ἄν παραλλάττοι τοῖς χρόνοις Bm (Hude). 17 [μόνον τὰ ἐπίθ]ετα : π[ερ] ἐπ[ί]θετα (περ[αίνειν] ἐπίθετα?) Bm. 22 πλείων [ἢ] ἐνιαύσιος. [οὐτοι] μὲν οὖν χρ(όνον) : πλείων ἐνιαυσίας. [τ]ῷ μὲν οὖν χρ(όνφ) Bm, coll. Pl. Leg. 779 D οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐνιαυσίας (Hude).

4, 10 διε[γγν]ā[σθαι]: διε[γγν]ār, cautionem (vel sponsionem) exigere, Bm (Hude); idem coniecerat Fränkel, Rhein. Mus. xlvii 473, sed alio sensu, spondere. 12 π(αρα)σχομένους cum Blassio conieceram: δεχομένους Κ, Κ-W, (participio cum

ξνους constructo) Bm (Hude).
 5, 8 ἐσορῶντ' Naber (Hude).
 13 οὖπερ < εἰσὺν > Hude.
 9 καὶ γὰρ †ἐπελαύνει

5, 8 εσορώντ' Naber (Hude).

9 καὶ γὰρ †ἐπελαύνει καὶ πρὸτ: 'καινομένην' (de Attica, pereuntem), ἐν ἢ (H1) πρὸτ Bm (Hude).

17 ἐν μετρίοισι τι... θε Bm; recte igitur τίθεσθε proposuerat Platt.

21 την τε φι[λο-χρημ]ατίαν (quod coniecerat Kontos) Bm, qui usitatam lectionem φιλαργυρίαν cum litterarum vestigiis non congruere arbitratur, sed spatium litteris tribus phm paullo angustius esse confitetur.

6, 15 ἀπεχθέσθαι < έλέσθαι > Hude, hiatu sine causa admisso. 18 καταρρυ-

παίν[ε]ιν: καταρρυπήναι Gertz (Hude), hiatu admisso.

- 7, 7 κατεκύρωσεν (δὲ τοὺς νόμους): κατέκλησεν (ICEN iam antea Wessely) Bm; 'machte fest', 'gab Geltung', Hude; sed explicandum potius leges suas intra centum annorum spatium inclusit.

 9 τιμήμα[τα δι]είλεν: τιμήματι [δι]είλεν Wessely, Bm (Hude).

 11 τὰς μ[ἐν οὖ]ν ἀρχὰς: κ(αὶ) τὰς μἐν ἀρχὰς (spatio inter Με et N vacuo relicto) Bm (Hude).
- 8, 21 [κal] τd $\tau \epsilon$ $d\lambda \lambda a$: [$\dot{\tau}$] τd $\tau \epsilon$ $d\lambda \lambda a$ Bm (Hude). 24 [$\tau o\hat{v}$ * $\pi \rho d\tau \tau$] $\epsilon \sigma \theta (au)$ Bm (Hude); idem coniecerat Tyrrell.

9, 11 $\delta\pi\omega$ s $\pi(\epsilon\rho l)$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ s $\kappa\rho l\sigma\epsilon[\omega$ s δ $\delta]\hat{\eta}[\mu$ os $\hat{\eta}$ $\kappa]\hat{\nu}\rho$ os Keil.

- 10, 2 ποιήσαι κ; ποιήσα[ι] Βm. 5 παρ' δ[λ[]γον Κεί]. 6 ην δ' δ άρχαῖος χαρακτήρ διδράχμου. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ <τά> σταθμά πρὸς τ[δ] νόμισμα, τ[ρ]εῖς καὶ <τετταράκοντα ἐπαυξήσας εἰς τὰς> ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας Κεί], Solon. Verf. p. 166. 8 ἐξήκοντα: ὀγδοήκοντα Gertz (Hude). 9 [α] μναῖ: [αὶ γ'] μναῖ Bm, supra versum hastam numeri signum prodentem cerni posse testatus: αὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἰκοσι (κ γ' Gertz) μναῖ Hude.
- 11, 10 An γενέσθαι τὴν [νέαν] τάξιν? Keil. 12 ἢ σ[χεδδν d]παράλλακτον Keil; ἢ μ[ικ]ρ[δ]ν παραλλάξ[ειν Bm, et deinceps δθε]ν [d]μφοτέρους. 13 συστά[ντι]: συστά[ντ]α Bm (Hude).

12, 14 ocos: oros Hude. 51 ppagalar' & Hude. 54 πολλαίσω: πολληισ[ι]ν Bm (πολλησω Hude).

16, 17 7à: TÒ H-L (Bm). 18 πα[ττά]λφ: ἐπιμελῶs Hude, quod obiter con-27 ἐθ[ρυ]λλ[εῖ]το: ἐνθύμι(ον) ἢν Bm (Hude), qui lectionem novam idem ieceram. ac ένεθυμοῦντο valere dicit, sed exspectares potius ένεκωμιάζετο. **31** [προηρείτο]: 35 $\xi \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \nu < \dot{\epsilon} \nu > [\tau \hat{\eta} \dot{a} \rho \chi \hat{\eta}, \kappa(al)] \delta \tau' \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \alpha : \dot{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \nu,$ $[\epsilon]\beta[oύλ]\epsilon[το]$ Bm (Hude). $[\kappa(\alpha l) \delta \dot{\eta}] \kappa(\alpha l) \delta \tau' \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \omega \text{ Bm (Hude)}.$

42 'Αθηναίω[ν] Κ (Bm). Bm. 18, 19 $\tau(\hat{\omega}\nu)$ [λοιπ $\hat{\omega}\nu$]: $\tau(\hat{\omega}\nu)$ 17, 4 $\ell \phi [\epsilon \nu \gamma] \epsilon \nu \gamma \dot{a} \rho$: $\ell \phi [\epsilon \nu] \gamma \epsilon \gamma (\dot{a} \rho)$ Bm.

[$d\lambda\lambda$] $\omega\nu$ K (Bm).

19. 20 δθεν εὐπόρησαν κτλ: ὅτι εὔποροι ἦσαν χρημάτων, <ἀποβλέποντες> hiatu bis admisso Hude.

21, 3 < την πολιτείαν ώδε κατέστησεν >. * * πρώτον μεν οὖν <συν >ένειμε Hude.
22, 42 ἀτίμουν: ἀτίμοις Hude.
24, 11 τῶν τελῶν [καὶ] < τῶν ἀπὸ > τῶν συμμά-χων Hude.
19 ἀλλαι δὲ < δέκα > νῆες αὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀγουσαι, <έχουσαι > Hude.

28, 16 ταις δρμαις < χαριζόμενος > J B Mayor (Hude).
29, 7 τοξύ 'Επ:]ζ[ήλου]: τοξύ 'Αναφλ]υ[σ]τίου Bm (Hude), demi potius quam patris nomine etiam alias usurpato, c. 28, 22, c. 34, 27, c. 38, 22; Pythodorum igitur non Epizeli filium tribus Aegeidis sed Anaphlystium quendam tribus Antiochidis fuisse

censet B. 8 τ(δν) βασιλέα Bm.

31, 19 [τοι̂s] αὐτοι̂s : τοι̂s ἀστοι̂s κ3 (Bm). 32, 16 ὑπακου[σά]ντων: ὑποκουόντων (H-L) Bm.

36, 13 πολύν μέν χρόνον ύπερεβάλλοντο <έκφέρειν Gertz>—, δτε δὲ καὶ ξδοξεν αὐτοῖς \llbracket έκφέρειν \rrbracket , τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλειψαν τῶν <έ $\gamma>$ γεγραμμένων, τοὺς δ' ἀντενέγραψαν τῶν ξέωθεν Hude.

38,7 *έπε[στελλον]—μεταπε[μπόμ]ενοι : ἐπε[μ]πο[ν]—μεταπεμπόμενοι Bm (Hude). 39. 24 τοὺς δ' έν τῷ ἄστει ἐν τοῖς < ἐν τῷ ἄστει τοῖς> τὰ <αὐτὰ> τιμήματα παρε-

χομένοις Gertz (Hude).

41, 3 🔅 🔅 δοκοῦσι δὲ δικαίως [[τοῦ δήμου]] λαβεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν (π[ο]λιτ[ι]αν Bm), Hude. 27 $< \dot{a} \nu > \epsilon \lambda \eta \lambda \dot{\nu} \theta a \sigma \iota \nu$ Hude.

42, 11 éàr: нам (deleto н) вт. 43, 15 καθίζευ: ΚΔθίΖΕΙ Bm.

47, 12 $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ els $<\gamma'>$ $\xi[\tau\eta]$ $\pi \epsilon \pi \rho \alpha \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\alpha}$: $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ els $[\iota'$ $\xi\tau]\eta$ π . Bm. 14 [δφειλε]τών ἐν[αντίον]: δλ[λε]N[.....], άλλ(ων) ἐναντίον <math>Bm.17 [οσου] αν πρίηται: a αν 30 τὰ γραμματ[εῖα τὰ] τὰς καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα: τὰ γρυμ-Toloras Bm. ματεία κ (i.e. κ = κατά) τὰς καταβολάς ἀναγεγραμμένα Bm, coll. v. 20.

48, 5 διπλ[οῦν ά]νάγκη: διπλά[σιον ά]νάγκη Bm. 8 τὰ χρ[ήματα]: τὰς τ[ιμὰ]ς Bm. 16 d[$\gamma o \rho | a \hat{s}$: AN AIC (ante AIC vinculi vestigium litteram κ vel λ vel χ indicantis) Bm, qui $d \sigma [a \delta \iota \kappa | a s \rho e b l a tionum causa, dubitanter conicit. 21 <math>\tau \delta$ $\langle \tau \epsilon \rangle [a \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \hat{\upsilon}]$: $\tau \delta [\theta' a \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \hat{\upsilon}]$, $a \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \hat{\upsilon}$ per se spatium non implet, Bm. 25 $\{\dot{\tau} \kappa | \gamma \rho \dot{\sigma} \phi \epsilon \iota \}$ $\{\dot{\tau} \dot{\upsilon} \gamma \rho \dot{\sigma} \phi \epsilon \iota \}$ Bm, spatio sex litteris apto.

49, 1 f καλον [[ππον έχ]ων: καλ[ω]ν [τροφεύ]ς ων Bm, numero plurali cum con-

έπι Κηφισοφώντος άρχοντος Bm, confessus Ηφαιστίων in πεντετηρίδα mutationem nusquam alias commemorari. 36 καὶ τοῦ[ν]ομα.

55, 2 [πραγμάτ]ων, spatio non sufficiente: [ἀπάντ]ων Βm. **3** [είρη]ται:

[προε]ίρητα[ι mavult Bm.

56, 21 $[\tau \hat{\eta} s \ \tau \epsilon]$: $[\tau \hat{\eta}] s$ (littera producta) Bm. 30 els τ[ò δι]καστήριο»: els δ[ι]καστήριον Bm.

57, 2 [τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οθε] ὁ δῆμοε χειροτονεῖ: τῶν ἐπ. ὧ]ν ὁ δ. χ. Bm. δικάζο[υσιν] ἐν ἰερ[ῶι] καὶ ὑπαί[θ]ριοι, coll. v. 29 εἰς τὸ ἰερόν, Bm, notas quasdam fallaces, non litterarum vestigia vera, superesse arbitratus. ν(όμος ε]μβαλεῖν Βm. 28 δ[ίκαιον έ]μβαλείν:

61, 27 και άλλον της [τοῦ "Α]μμωνος: και ν[ῦν] της (superscr.) [τοῦ "Α]μμωνος mavult Bm.

62, 5 $\delta[\eta\mu\delta\tau]$ as: $\delta\eta\mu[\sigma\nu]$ s Bm. 63, 18 $\pi\nu\delta\kappa\omega\tau$: $[\kappa\alpha\lambda]$ - $\pi\nu\delta\kappa\omega\tau$, suadente spatio, Bm.

Pag. 31, 18 κα[λεῖ εἰς τὸ κ]ληρωτήριον: κληρ[οῖ κατὰ κ]ληρωτήριον Bm. 24 [ἀρχων]: literae primae hasta superest, legendum igitur [κῆρνξ], Bm. ὑπάρχει—25 εἰς [ω]ν [αὐτῶ]ν: ὑπάρχει—εἰς τὸν (Wessely) κ[λῆρο]ν, sortitions iam antea paratus est, aut sortem iam antea duxit, Bm, eἰς τὸν [ἀριθμὸ]ν sensui magis congruere confessus. 26 εθλη]χ[ως ξλ[κ]ει [βάλανο]ν ἐκ τῆς ὑδρίας: Εἰλκγς.....Ει κτλ, supra quattuor litteras primas ελκ (ut videtur) scriptum, Bm, cui nihil sensul mum obtigit: scribendum fortasse ἐλκύσ[ας αἰρ]εῖ. 27 καὶ ὁρ[ε]ξας αὐτή[ν, οὐκ ἰδ]ὼν τὸ γράμμα, δ[εἰ]κννοιν πρ[ῶτον αὐτὸ] τῷ ἀρχοντι Bm. 30 ὅπου: ΟΙΟΥ Bm, coll. ν. 32. 36 δσ' &ν dei [μ]ξλλη: ΟCΑΝΠΕΡ (deleto N) κτλ, ὅσαπερ [ἀν μ]ξλλη Bm, quod exspectabant κ...

Pag. 32, 1 ἐκάσ|του| ειχ: ἐκάσ|του είληχ|ό|s Bm. 4 post γράμμα ει, coniciendum igitur ἐ[στίν], Bm. 17—27 τοῖς δ' ἀπολιλα]γ[χ]ανουσ[ι]ν ἀποδιδ[όασιν] οἱ ἐμπ[ή]κτ[αι (εΜΠΕΠ. ΚΤ.. fortasse per errorem scripto) | τὰ] πινάκια. οἱ δὲ ὑπη[ρέται] οἱ δημοσια[κοὶ (?) | τῆ]ς φυλῆς ἐκάστης π[αραδι]δόασιν τὰ κ[ηβώτια ἐν ἐπὶ τὸ δικα[στήρ]ων ἔκαστον, ἐ[ν] οἶ[ς] | ἔνεστιν τὰ ὀνόματ[α τῆς] φυλῆς τὰ δντ[α | ἐν ἐκάστη τ[ῶν δἰκα[στηρί]ων. παραδιδόασι | δὲ τοῖς εἰληχ[όσιν ἀποδ]ιδόναι τοῖς δικασήταῖς ἐν ἐκάστω [δἰκα[στηρί]ων απαραδιδόασι | δὲ τοῖς εἰληχ[όσιν ἀποδ]ιδόναι τοῖς δικασήταῖς ἐν ἐκάστω [δὶκαστηρί]ων ἀριθμῶς τὰ | πινάκια, [ἴν'? (post πινάκια τ, ut videtur, superscriptum) ἐ]κ τοῦ[των σκο]ποῦντες ἀποδιβώσι τὸν [μισ]θόν. Bm. In v. 22 τὰ [ἀνόμ]α[τα quondam conieceram, sed postea τὰ [πιν]ά[κια] praetuli. 28—35 κατὰ δικαστήριον (pin ilitera ο super ι scripta). τί[θεται δ'] ἐν τῷ πρ[ώτω τῆων | δικαστηρ[ων κ(αλ]] κλ[ηρωτή]ρια καὶ κ[ύβ]οι [χ]αλκοῖ | ἐν οῖς ἐπιγέγραπται [τὰ χρώματα τῶν δικ[αστηρίων] | καὶ ἔτεροι κύ[βοι], ἐν οῖς ἐστιν] τῶν ἀρ[χῶ]ν τ[ὰ δ]νόματα ἐπι[γεγ]ρ[α]μμε[να. οἱ λαχ]όντες [δὲ] τῶν [θεσιμ]ο[θετῶν χωρις ἐκα[τέρο]νς τοὺς κύβου ἐμβο[ά]λλουσιν, ὁ μὲν τ[ῶν δικαστ]ηρ[ίων εἰς ἐν κληρω[τ[ή]ριον, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀρχ[ῶν εἰς ἔτερ]ον — —

Pag. 33; 33^a et 33^b, composita a K-W (B), vix revera coniuncta fuisse putat Bm; 33^a et 34^c potius componenda: cumque primum 34^c et 35^a, deinde 35^a et 35^b, denique 35 et 36 coniuncta sint, fragmenta in hunc ordinem redigenda:—32, 33^b, 34^{ab} (cum 33^b coniunctum), 33^a+34^c, 35, 36, 37.

Pag. 35, 1 τῶν λ]όγων Β: Ν]ΟΜΟΝ Κ³; ΝΟΜΟΝ (itaque in v. 2 ἢ μαρ[τυρίαν]) Βm. 7—8 Ποσε[ϥδεῶνοι Βm. 12—13 κατηγ]οροι ἔσ $\frac{1}{3}$ νενδο[v]ν Bm.

Pag. 36, 5 [μ]ή [τινε]ς ὑπο[β]άλλωνται non recte: [μ]ἡ [πρ]οῦπο[βάλλωνται (K-W) substitui potest, Bm. 17 πιε[ξει]: πιε[ζ]ων satis clare apparet, Bm. 28 λα-βόντες [ὑ]πηρέτ[ας (non iam inserto δύ') Bm. 24 [ἐξε]ρῶσι έ[πὶ] ἀβαἰκα Bm. Cf. Arist. Vesp. 993, φέρ' ἐξεράσω (τὰς ψήφους). 27 [καὶ] τὰ πλήρη δῆλ(α), λ supra λη scriptum, Bm.

APISTOTE A OYS ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

1. — [Μ]ύρωνος καθ' ίερῶν ὀμόσαντες ἀριστίνδην. καταγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἄγο[υ]ς [αὐτ]οὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν,

Ι 1 ΚΑΤΑΓΝω CΘ ENTOC. Sensui repugnat καθαρθέντος, etenim tunc temporis erat τὸ ἄγος καταγνωσθέν tantum, nondum autem καθαρθέν. 2 αὐτοί scripsi; quod cum verbis in altero membro (το γένος αυτών) satis apte quadrat; cf. Paus. i 25, 3 αυτοί τε ol ἀποκτείναντες ένομίσθησαν και οι έξ ἐκείνων ἐναγες τής θεοῦ. Idem scripserunt κ-w et κ³ Kirchhoffium et Kontum secuti. νεκροί quondam κ, ol verpol H-L, sed articulo quem desideramus spatium non sufficit, et in ipsa papyro litterae T potius quam p apparet vestigium.

TESTIMONIA. 1 Capitis primi partem deperditam in compendium redactam conservat Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Frag. 611, 23): τοὺς μετὰ Κύλωνος (Κύκλωνος codices meliores) διὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς θεοῦ πεφευγότας οἱ περὶ Μεγακλέα άπέκτειναν, και τούς δράσαντας ώς έναγεις ήλαυνον.

I. Cylon's attempt to establish a tyranny, and its consequences.

Muperos Myron of Phlya is mentioned by Plutarch alone, Sol. 12, as the accuser of the Alcmaeonidae who were involved in the curse of Cylon. At a later time one of the Alcmaeonidae, named Λεωβώτης, had his revenge for this act of a member of the deme of Phlya by bringing a charge of high treason against a distinguished member of that deme, Themistocles (Plut. Them. 23; cf. ib. 1 § 3). Busolt, Griechische Geschichte, 1885, i 508.
καθ' lepŵν σμόσαντες] Cf. decree quoted in c. 29 (at end), δμόσαντες καθ'

ιερών τελείων.

dριστίνδην] cannot be taken with καθ' lepων δμόσαντες, but must go with some such verb as edicator in the earlier part of the sentence. We may perhaps infer from Plutarch Sol. 12 that the sentence ran as

Filluraria 301. 13 that the semente ian as follows: [εδίκαζον δὲ τριακόσιοι κατηγοροῦντος] Μύρωνος καθ' leρῶν όμοσαντες αριστίνδην. According to Plutarch the Alcmaeonidae were tried by a court consisting of 300 persons selected from the noblest families (δικαζόντων άριστίνδην). The number is confirmed by its being identical with that of the Boule of the partisans of Isagoras which Cleomenes king of Sparta endeavoured to establish at Athens in a subsequent attack on the Alcmaeonidae (Hdt. v 72). For apartu-

one cf. c. 3, l. 2.

καταγνωσθέντος του άγους] 'The charge of sacrilege having been made good' by the sentence of condemnation passed by the court.

έκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν] The same incident is mentioned in Plutarch l. c., and Thuc. l. c. In the latter it seems to be more closely connected with the second expulsion of the trayers (in 508 B.C.), than with the first.

The principal ancient authorities on the affair of Cylon are as follows. Hdt. v 71, ην Κύλων τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἀνηρ 'Ολυμπιονίκης. ούτος έπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δε έταιρηίην των ήλικιωτέων καταλαβείν την ακρόπολιν έπειρήθη, ού δυνάμενος δε επικρατήσαι ίκετης ίζετο πρός τό άγαλμα. τούτους ανιστάσι μέν ol πρυτάνιες των ναυκράρων (al. ναυκραριέων), οίπερ ένεμον τότε τὰς 'Αθήνας, ὑπεγγύους

ji

3 τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἔφυγεν ἀειφυγίαν. Ἐ[πι]μενίδης δ' ὁ Κρης ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάθηρε τὴν πόλιν.

πλην θανάτου φονεύσαι δε αύτους αίτιη έχει 'Αλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρό τῆς Πεισι-στράτου ηλικίης ἐγένετο. The above account is unduly favourable to the Alcmaeonidae. It is materially corrected by Thucydides, i 126 § 2, Κύλων ήν 'Ολυμπιονίκης, άνηρ 'Αθηναίος των πάλαι εύγενής τε και δυνατός... ὁ δέ...κατέλαβε την άκρόπολυ ώς έπι τυραννίδι... § 6 οι δέ μετά τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως είχον σίτου τε καί δδατος άπορία. ὁ μέν οδν Κύλων καί ὁ άδελφὸς αὐτοῦ έκδιδράσκουσιν οί δ' άλλοι ώς έπιέζοντο και τινες και απέθνησκον ύπο τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Ικέται τον έν τη ακροπόλει. αναστήσαντες δε αύτους οι των 'Αθηναίων επιτετραμμένοι την τους οι των Δοημαιων επιτετραμμενοι την φυλακήν, ώς έώρων άποθνήσκοντας έν τῷ lepῷ ἐφ΄ ῷ μηδέν κακὸν ποιήσουσω άπα-γαγόντες ἀπέκτευαν. § 7 καθεξυμένους δέ τωας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν [ἐν τοῖς βωμοίς] έν τη παρόδω διεχρήσαντο. και από τούτου έναγεις και άλιτήριοι της θεου έκεινοι τούτου έναγεις και αλιτηριοί της δεου έκεινοι τε έκαλοῦντο και το γένος το απ' έκεινων. ήλασαν μέν οδυ και οι 'Αθηναίοι τους έναγεις τούτους, ήλασε δέ και Κλεομένης δ Λακεδαιμόνιος ύστερον μετά 'Αθηναίων στασιαζόντων (Β.C. 508), τούς τε ζώντας έλαθνοντες και τών τεθνεώτων τά όστα άνελόντες έξέβαλον. Plutarch, Solon 12, supplies us with the following narrative which has several points of contact with the account in the text. το δε Κυλώνειον άγος ήδη μεν έκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε την πόλιν, έξ οῦ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ίκετεύοντας την θεών Μεγακλής ὁ άρχωι έπι δίκη κατελθείν ξπεισεν έξάψαντας δέ τοῦ έδους κρόκην κλωστήν και ταύτης έχομένους, ώς έγένοντο περί τας σεμνάς θεας καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως της κρόκης βαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλής καὶ οἰ συνάρχοντες, ώς της θεού την Ικεσίαν άπολεγομένης και τους μέν έξω κατέλευσαν, ol δέ τοις βωμοίς προσφυγόντες απεσφάγησαν μόνοι δ' άφείθησαν οι τάς γυναίκας αύτων ίκετεύσαντες. έκ τούτου δέ κληθέντες ένα-γεις έμισούντο, και των Κυλωνείων οι περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ήσαν ίσχυροί και στασιάζοντες del διετέλουν πρός τούς από τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ήδη δόξαν έχων ο Σόλων παρήλθεν els μέσον αμα τοις άριστοις των 'Αθηναίων, και δεόμενος και διδάσκων έπεισε τούς έναγεις λεγομένους δίκην ύποσχειν καί κριθήναι τριακοσίων αριστίνδην δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δέ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγορούντος εάλωσαν οι άνδρες, και μετέστησαν οι ζώντες των δ' αποθανόντων τούς νεκρούς

ανορύξαντες έξέρριψαν ύπερ τους δρους. ταύταις δε ταις ταραχαις και Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οι 'Αθηναίοι και Ζαλαμίνος έξέπεσον αιθις. και φόβοι τινες έκ δεισιδαιμονίας άμα και φάσματα κατείχε την πόλιν, οι τε μάντεις άγη και μιασμούς δεομένους καθαρμών προφαίνεσθαι διά τών Ιερών ήγόρευον. οιτω δη μετάπεμπτος αυτοίς ήκεν έκ Κρήτης 'Επιμενίδης ... έλθών δε και τῷ Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλω πολλά προσυπειργάσατο και προωδοποίησεν αυτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας... τὸ δε μέγιστον, ίλασμοις τισι και καθαρμοίς και ἰδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας και καθοσιώσας την πόλιν ύπήκουν τοῦ δικαίου και μαλλον εὐπειθή πρὸς δμόνοιαν κατέστησε.

The date of the Olympic victory of Cylon is 640 B.C. Sex. Julius Africanus cylon is 640 s.c. Sex. Junus Africanus (early in 3rd century A.D.), as quoted in the Chronicon of Eusebius, i p. 145=198, has, under Ol. 35, 1=B.c. 640, Recursum Cylon Atheniensis, is qui tyrannidem affectavit. Plutarch l.c. implies that Epimenides visited Athens, in connexion with the expiation of the curse of nexion with the explation of the cars of Cylon, shortly before the legislation of Solon (archon 504 B.C.). Hence the attempt of Cylon has generally been placed of Dracon (621 B.C.). Thus after the date of Dracon (621 B.C.). cydides, i 126, 3, places Cylon's attempt to seize the tyranny in an Olympic year. It has therefore been assigned to the Olympic years 620 (Clinton and Peter), 616 (Duncker), 612 (Corsini). But Herodotus l.c. describes the partisans of Cylon as an έταιρηλη των ήλικιωτέων, which points to a company of young men. Hence it has been suggested that the attempt was made at an earlier date, before the time of Dracon. It has accordingly been assigned to various Olympic years between 640 and ozo B.C., either as early as 636 or as late as 626 (Busolt, Gricchische Geschichte, 1885, i 498 note 8, and 505). The same opinion was maintained by Prof. John H. Wright as reported in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1888, p. xxvi. His arguments were drawn from the language of Herodotus, Thucy-dides and the other authorities on this incident; from considerations of the probable age of Megacles and the date of Cylon's father-in-law, Theagenes of Megara. He also urged that 'the adoption of the earlier date lent unexpected coherence and significance to certain phenomena in early Attic history, the episode thus being one of the important steps in the social

2. μετά δὲ ταῦτα συνέβη στασιάσαι τούς τε γνωρίμους καὶ τὸ

II 1 CTACIACAI fortasse in AIACTHCAI mutandum, idem suspicantur H-L coll. Arist. Vesp. 41 τον δήμον ήμων βούλεται διιστάναι; alioqui τον δήμον secludendum.

and political development of Athens, and not an unrelated event.' This opinion is confirmed by the text which clearly implies that the affair of Cylon preceded the date of Dracon.

louyer decouplar] Plat. Leg. 871 D, 877 C, 88 αισφυγίαν τικ. Leg. 6/1 Δ, 877 C, 881 BD, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν, 877 E, (όταν) ἐν ἀειφυγία τις φεύγη. Plut. Sol. 24, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφυγία τὴν ἐαυτῶν. Photius, s. v. μαστῆρες: των ἀειφυγίαν φυ-

γαδευθέντων.

'Επιμενίδης] The purification of Athens by Epimenides is generally assigned to B.C. 596—5, shortly before the archonship of Solon in 594—3 (Clinton, Fasti, and Busolt, i 509). These dates are consistent with the account in Plutarch and were possibly suggested by it, or derived from some common source, such as Hermippus of Alexandria, quoted in Plut. Sol. 11. The chronology of the life of Epimenides is however extremely uncertain. Diogenes Laertius, i 111, quotes Phlegon as stating that Epimenides returned to Crete and died not long after at the age of 157. He adds that Xenophanes made him die at the age of 154, and the Cretans at 299. (But the Cretans, as we know on the authority of Epimenides himself, 'are always liars.') Suidas puts his birth in Ol. 30 (about 659 B.C.), and describes him as an old man at the time of the purification, which he places in Ol. 44 (B.C. 604—), corrected by Bernhardy into Ol. 46 (B.C. 596—). At the latter date he would have been 63.

On the other hand, Plato, Leg. 642 D,

698 c, describes him as coming to Athens and offering expiatory sacrifices in 500 B.C. This account is rejected by Bentley and Grote. The former says of Plato: 'that great Man did not tie himself in his Discourses to Exactness of Time' (Phalaris, p. 58); the latter regards the statement in the Laws as 'a remarkable example of carelessness in chronology' (H. G., c. 10, ii 294). The sacrifices ascribed to Epimenides by Plato may, indeed, be connected with the outbreak of a plague attested by an inscription of about 500 B.C. (CIA i 475, Busolt i 509), but this is not enough to warrant our placing the prophet a century later than the age of Solon.

Thus we have two accounts of the date

of Epimenides, (1) that represented by

Plato, placing him about 500 B.C.; (2) that represented hitherto by no earlier authority than Hermippus, placing him about 600 B.C. (2) is supported by the text, which mentions his visit immediately after an account of a trial assigned by Plutarch to the time of Solon. The discrepancy between the two accounts is crepancy between the two accounts is explained by Diels as arising from the fact that Plato is referring to the Epimenides of literature and not to the Epimenides of history. The Theogony ascribed to Epimenides was written under Orphic influence shortly before the Persian was and the story of the protracted sian wars; and the story of the protracted sleep of Epimenides, which lasted for a whole century, was a fiction designed at the same time to give currency to the poetical fabrications ascribed to him. curse of Cylon was originally expiated through the banishment of the Alcmaeonidae and the purification of Athens by Epimenides about 600 B.C. In the following century the Alcmaeonidae re-turned and about 508 B.C., after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, when Cleisthenes, the Alcmaeonid, was the foremost man in the state, the influence of the exiles led to a revival of the memory of the ancient crime. At such a time as this the story of Epimenides was naturally revived by the opponents of Cleisthenes, and his oracles invented as part of their and his oracles invented as part of their machinations against the guilty race of the Alcmaeonidae (Diels, Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, April 16, 1891, part xxi; abstract in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, p. 766).

And rootrous either 'thereupon,' or 'besides.' 'Ent rootrous in the former sense = µerà raôra has hitherto been found only in the spurious works (Enclen.

found only in the spurious works (Eucken, Sprachgebrauch des Ar., p. 51). The latter sense (practerea) is on the whole preserable, and is sound in Rhet. ii 6, 1384 a 9. Cf. Pol. ii 9, 1271 a 39, en τοις βασιλεύσιν ή ναυαρχία έτέρα βασιλεία

καθέστηκεν.

έκάθηρε] For the details of this purifi-cation, see Plut. Sol. 12 ad fin. (καθαρμοιs), and Diogenes Laertius i 110.

The conflict of the classes before the times of Dracon and Solon.

мета тайта] i.e. after the affair of Cylon, which must have been the main

πλήθος πολύν χρόνον [[τὸν δήμον]]. ἦν γὰρ [τότε] ἡ πόλιτεία τ[οῖς 2 τε] ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικὴ πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐδούλευον οἱ πένητε[ς τ]οῖς πλουσίοις καὶ αὐτοὶ [καὶ τ]ὰ τέκνα καὶ αὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο 5 πελάται καὶ ἐκτημόροι κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν [εἰ]ργά-

2 τον δήμον secluserunt K, K-W, H-L, B: defendit J E B Mayor. 5 κ'? ταγτ ή τωι ταύτης γάρ τής μισθώσεως H-L. είργαζοντο H-L.

TESTIMONIA. 5 πελάται και ἐκτημόροι. *Photius s. v. πελάται 2 Aristotelem nominat. Cf. schol. in Plat. Ευτλγράτ. p. 327; Pollux iv 165 ἐκτημόριοι (ἐκτημόριοι codices, emendavit Jungermann; ἐκτημόριοι Cobet Pollucis sui in margine) δὲ παρὰ τοῦς ᾿Αττικοῦς, id. iii 82; Plut. Sol. 13 (Rose, Ar. Frag. 351², 389³).

subject of the previous chapter; although, in the part that has been preserved, the narrative of its consequences is brought down to the time of Epimenides (and Solon).

For the general sense, cf. Plut. Sol. 13 init., οι δ' 'Αθηναίοι τῆς Κυλωνείου πεπαυμένης ταραχῆς και μεθεστώτων...τῶν ἐναγῶν, τὴν παλαιὰν αδθις στάσιν ὑπὲς τῆς πολιτείας ἐστασίαζον, ὅσας ἡ χώρα διαφορὰς εἶχεν, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη τῆς πόλεως δια-

στάσης. In the editio princeps τον δημον was regarded as 'superfluous,' and as 'probably a gloss upon το πληθοι.' The text was thereupon defended by Professor Mayor as follows: 'when Cobet removes glosses from late texts, he can appeal to scholia, in which even common words are explained. Readers and scribes in Egypt, say 100 A.D., needed no such helps: again $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta os$ is not coextensive with $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu os$, and is elsewhere found in close connexion with it (20 § 1; 21 § 1). Here of $\gamma \nu \dot{\omega}$ - $\rho \mu \rho \dot{\omega}$ and $\tau \dot{\delta} \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta \sigma s$ are the factions whose struggles convulse τον δήμον. For στασιάζω is here transitive. Otherwise πολύν χρόνον must have been placed just before or just after στασιάσαι. In the manuscript reading it separates the complex subject of the verb from the object and keeps the reader in suspense.' Mr Kenyon, in his third ed., replies that ' $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu \sigma$ does not seem to be used in this treatise as denoting the whole state except with the collateral sense that the state was a democracy.' Even in c. 14 § 1, ἐπαναστὰς ...τῷ δήμω, and 15 § 3, παρελόμενος τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα, 'there is the sense of an attack on the democracy by a despot.' He also modifies his view respecting row δημον, suggesting that the words were written as a correction of τὸ πληθος, not as an explanation.'

The transitive use of στασιάζειν, above suggested, is very rare. In [Dem.] 11 § 18, p. 157, 10, των ἐκείνου πραγμάτων

ουδέν στασιάζειν παρασκευάζομεν (quoted in L and S) really means 'we do not cause faction in any of his affairs' (see Weil ad loc.). The intrans. sense is also clearly marked in Lysias 18 § 18, 70îs θεοίς ηθχεσθε els δμόνοιαν καταστήναι την πόλιν μάλλον ή [έπὶ τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθότων τραπόμενοι] την μέν πόλιν στασιάσαι τούς δε λέγοντας ταχέως πλουτήσαι. The trans. use is found in 'Anon. apud Stobaeum 510, 1 olkovs'; but the Indices to Plato and Aristotle supply no example of this use. To express the trans. Isocrates uses ποιείν στασιάζειν, p. 68 B, and 279 D. στασιάζειν is intrans. twice in 8 § 5, twice in 13 § 2, also in 20 § 1, and elsewhere. Hence we must either take it as intrans. here, and strike out τον δήμον (which I prefer), or regard CTACIACAI as having taken the place of a trans. verb Ala-Cf. Hdt. ix 1 § 2, πέμπε CTHCAI. CTHCAI. CI. Hall. IX I § 2, πέμπε χρήματα εls τους δυναστεύοντας ἀνδρας ἐν τῆσι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέωντας ἡηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψει. Xen. Hell. ii 4 § 35, διάστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστει. Plut. Sol. 13 (of the same period) της πόλεως διαστάσης. Pol. 1321 a 15, brav διαστώσι, and ib. 19 ταύτη δε επικρατούσιν έν ταις διαστάσεσι οί δημοι των εύπορων. As a possible alternative one might suggest διαστασιάσαι, 'to form into separate factions,' Pol. 1303 6 26, όθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τούς έν τώ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντας, and 1306 α 3, διεστασίασεν αύτούς πρός τούς εύπόpous.

§ 2. τοις τε άλλοις...και δή και] 16 §§ 2, 10. In 18 § 2 and 19 § 3 we have και alone in the second clause. It is exceptional for τε to be omitted, as in Lycurg. Leotr. 95, έπι την άλλην χώραν και δή και (where Baiter prefers έπι τε).

meldrai] used by Plutarch in eight passages as an equivalent for the Roman clientes (Romulus 13, Poplicola 5, Coriolanus 13 and 21 § 4, Marius 5 § 5, Crassus

ζοντο τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀγρούς (ἡ δὲ πᾶσα γὴ δι' ὀλίγων ἦν), καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις [ἀπ]οδιδοῖεν, ἀγώγιμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἰ παίδες εγίγνοντο, και [οί δανεισμοί π]ασιν επί τοίς σώμασιν ήσαν μέχρι Σόλωνος· ούτος δὲ πρῶτος ἐγέν[ετο τοῦ] δή[μου] προ-3 στάτης. χαλεπώτατον μέν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν 10 κατά την πολιτείαν το [δουλεύ]ειν. ου μην άλλα και έπι τοις ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέραινον οὐδενὸς γάρ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐτύγχανον μετέ-YOUTES.

8 εγινοντο (K-W): ἐγίγνοντο (H-L, K³); în titulis Atticis annorum 445—292 A.C. quadraginta tribus locis inventum est γίγνομαι, nusquam γίνομαι (Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, p. 141²); itaque ubique praetuli γίγνομαι. καὶ οἱ δανεισμοὶ πᾶσω Blass (κ³ p. LXIV): καὶ [δε]δ[εμένοι τοῖς δανείσ]ασω Κ, καὶ γὰρ κτλ. Κ-W; ὑπόχρεω γὰρ H-L repugnante papyro.

11 δουλεύεω Κ-W (κ³, Β): [τὸ τῆς γῆς μὴ κρατ]εῶ H-L Blassii coniecturam secuti.

21 § 5, Cato Minor 34 § 3, Tib. Gracchus 13 § 2); also in Agis 6 § 5, and Quaest. Conviv. ii 10, (ὁ κιττὸς) Βοιωτίου θεοῦ πελάτης και παράσιτος ὧν.

έκτημόροι] (1) Plut., Sol. 13, states that these tenants paid their landlords a sixth part of the produce (έκτα τῶν γυνομένων τελοῦντες). Similarly, Hesychius, s. v. ἐπίμορτος. (2) Photius, s. v. πελάται, says that they cultivated the soil in return for a sixth part of the produce (ξετω μέρει τῶν καρτῶν εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν). Similarly, Hesychius, s. υ. ἐκτημόροι, and the Hesychius, 5. v. extrapopos, and the Scholiast on Plato, Euthyphron 4 C. Thus Plutarch makes them pay 1/6 and retain 5/6 for their own maintenance; while Photius makes them pay 5/6 and retain 1/6. The former view is preferable and it is supported by Oncken (Staatslehre, ii 437 n) who observes that a tax of 1/6 was sufficiently severe to imply a considerable amount of distress, and by Gomperz (in Appendix III to his polemical pamphlet, Die Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener, pp. 45–48).

μίσθωσιν] 'rent' (not 'wages'). Inf.
μισθώσεις ἀποδιδοίεν. Dem. 28 § 12, ἀπο-

δέδωκε την μίσθωσιν, and 43 § 58 (lex) τούς μη αποδίδοντας τας μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν.

8ι' όλίγων ήν] c. 4 ad fin. The sense is not materially different in Pol. viii (v) 18 not materially different in Pol. VIII (V) 6, 1306 a 16, της πολιτείας δι' δλίγων ούσης, and infra c. 29 l. 9, δι' δλίγων ποιήσωνται την πολιτείαν, also Pol. 1318 b 34, αί τε γάρ άρχαι del διά τῶν βελτίστων ἔσονται, 1301 b 12, την μέν κατάστασιν προαιρούνται την αὐτήν, δι' αὐτῶν δ' εὐναι βούλονται, 1293 a 28, δι' αὐτῶν ἔχειν (Eucken, Sprachgebrauch des Ar. p. 28)

α 20, οι αυτων έχειν (Ευσκεή, Spraings-brauch des Ar., p. 38). ἀγόγιμοι] Plut. Sol. 13, χρέα λαμβά-νοντες έπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανεί-ζουσιν ήσαν, 15 § 8, τῶν ἀγωγίμων πρὸς

άργύριον γεγονότων πολιτών.
Diod. Sic. i 79, 16 (of an Egyptian law-giver) τών όφειλόντων την έκπραξιν τών δανείων έκ τής ούσίας μόνον έποιήσατο, τό δὲ σώμα κατ' ούδένα τρόπον είασεν ύπάρχευ άγώγιμον.

δανασμοί κτλ.] c. 4 ad fin., c. 9 § 1 δανασμοί κτλ.] c. 4 ad fin., c. 9 § 1 δανασμοί κτλ.] c. 4 ad fin., c. 9 § 1 δανασμοί κτλ. Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. iv 9, p. 658, 6 Reiske (of Servius Tullius), νόμον θήσομαι, μηδένα δαναξειν έπι σώμασιν ελευθέρους, and v 53.

δανείζειν έπι σώμασιν ελευθέροις, and v 53, p. 970, 4 (οἱ δανείζοντες) els δεσμούς το τών ὑποχρέων ἀπῆγον σώματα. The word δανεισμός occurs in Eth. 1131 a 3, Plat. Rep. 473 E, Leg. 842 D, 921 C. τοῦ δήμου προστάτης] In Plut. Sol. 13 ad fin., the oppressed citizens resolve and sections for the constitution of the constitu on choosing fra προσπάτην ανδρα, and the choice falls on Solon. The same term is applied *infra* c. 28 to Solon, Peisistratus, Cleisthenes, Xanthippus, Peisistratus, Cleisthenes, Xanthippus, Themistocles and Aristides, Ephialtes and Pericles, Cleon and Cleophon. According to Grote's definition, which is mainly applicable to a time later than that of Solon, the term 'denotes the leader of a popular party, as opposed to an oligarchical party (see Thuc. iii 70, 82, iv 66, vi 35) in a form of government either entirely democratical, or at least in which the public assembly is frequently convoked and decides on many matters of importance' (*Hist. of Gr.* vii p. 304 n). See Dr Hager's article in Smith's *Dict.*

of Ant. ii 504.
§ 3. ovicevos... is einer. An example of the normal use of wis einer, to modify a numerical exaggeration. the passages quoted in my note on Dem. Lept. § 140, the following may be added, from Aristotle's Politics. We eleve is used with #as in 1263 b 4, 1273 b 17, 1282 a 5,

3. ην δ' ή τάξις της άρχαίας πολιτείας της προ Δράκοντος [τοιάδε]. τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς [καθί]στασαν ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην ήρχον δὲ [τὸ] μὲν πρῶτ[ον διὰ βίου], μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

III 3 διά βίου K-W, H-L (K3, B): del quondam K.

1314 a 14, 1319 a 30, 1323 a 20, 1328 b
16; also with numbers in 1285 b 34 σχεδον
δύο έστιν ώς είπειν, 1302 a 19 σχεδον ώς
είπειν τρείς. ώς έπι το πλείστον είπειν οςcurs in 1297 b 33, 1335 a 8. ωs απλως elπεῦν, in 1293 b 34, 1299 a 25, 1310 a 37. ως elπεῦν is less frequently used to modi-

fy a strong metaphor or other emphatic phrase unconnected with number: 1263 α 36 τοῖς δούλοις χρώνται τοῖς αλλήλων, ώς εἰπεῖν ἰδίοις, 1268 α 23 τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ώς εἰπεῖν 1324 b 6 τῶν πλείστων νομίμων χύδην ώς εἰπεῖν κειμένων, 1301 b 5 ἀρχαί μὲν οῦν ώς εἰπεῖν [bracketed by Susemihl, transferred after πηγαί by Susemin, transferred after any al by others] a via kal any al tûr ordoew elolv, 1304 \dot{b} 5, ol kat' destip diapérorres où acioûc ordou is elavî, 1312 \dot{b} 23 elods is elavî. Is 1252 \dot{b} 29; also infra c. 57 § 1, and with alectra in 49 § 5. It is quite unnecessary to substitute it for in elavê here.

III. The Athenian Constitution before the time of Dracon.

According to the current account the title of king was abolished on the death of Codrus. His son Medon, and twelve of Codrus. His son Medon, and twelve successors, beginning with Acastus and ending with Alcmaeon, were archons for life. In the second year of Alcmaeon (752 B.C.) the life archonships of the Medontidae were reduced to the duration of ten years. The names of seven decennial archons have been preserved. In 712 B.C., with this limitation in the tenure of the office, the archonship was thrown open to all the Eupatridae. Lastly, in the archonship of Creon (683 B.C.), or on the expiration of that of Eryxias (682, Duncker, *Hist. of Greece*, ii 135 E. T.), the single decennial archon was abolished, and his duties were distributed over nine officials who held office for a year only, and were elected by the Eupatridae out of their own body (Grote, H.G., ii chap. 10 init.). The legend that it was out of gratitude for the heroism of Codrus that the title of king was abolished has no earlier authority than that of Justin (ii 7). It is not recognised by Plato or Aristotle, or by any early writer. Plato describes Codrus as meeting his doom in quest of glory and in the interests of the royal

status of his descendants, Symp. 208 D, status of his descendants, Symp. 208 D, bπέρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παίδων. Aristotle, Pol. viii (v) 10, p. 1310 b 37, implies that he was one of those who earned their royal power by their services to their country (κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεύεν). The life-archons were elected from the royal horse the title from the royal house, and bore the title of βασιλεύ: (Pausanias i 3 § 3). This title was never formally abolished, but survived even in later times in the name of the dpχων βασιλεύε. The institution of the office of life-archon is described by Pausanias, iv 5 § 10, as a change durit βασιλείαs έτ άρχην υπεύθυνου. In explanation of this phrase it has been suggested that the life-archon was 'respongested that the life-archon was respon-sible to the general body of the Eu-patridae' (See Archon, p. 166 a, in Smith's Dict. Ant.); but it seems more probable that Pausanias used a phrase which was an obvious antithesis to an irresponsible monarchy without having any real knowledge of the nature of the responsibility attaching to the holder of a life-archonship (Busolt, i pp. 400 f).— Cf. Lugebil, Jahrb. f. class. Philol.,

suppl. Bd v 539—564.

αριστίνδην και πλουτίνδην] inf. § 6. Pol. 1273 a 23, ού γάρ μόνον άριστίνδην άλλα και πλουτίνδην οδονται δεῦν αίρείσθαι τούς άρχοντας, 1293 δ 10, όπου γε μη μόνον πλουτίνδην άλλα καί άριγε μη μόνον πλουτινόην αλλα και αριστίνδην αιρούνται τὰς άρχὰς, 1272 ὁ 36, ταύτην δ' αιρούνται τὰν άρχὰν ἀριστίνδην.
=κατ' ἀρετὴν 1273 α 26. Isocr. Paneg.
146, οὐκ ἀρ. ἐπειλεγμένους. Plat. Leg.
855 C, ἀρ. ἀπομερισθὲν δικαστήριον. In
Andoc. de Pace 30, πολλούς 'Αθηναίων
ἀπολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,
Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,
Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

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Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνδην και τῶν συμμάχων,

Απολέσαντες ἀμιστίνου
Απολέσαντες
Απολέσ I should prefer to read αρδην, which is combined with απολλύναι in Plato Rep. 421 A. The adverb is defined by Timaeus as meaning κατ' ανδραγαθίαν αίρετον. Prof. Mayor adds to lexicons the following Prof. Mayor adds to lexicons the following examples of ἀριστίνδην: 'Dem. p. 1069, 7, Plut. Sol. 12 § 2, Lysand. 13 § 7 (where also πλουτίνδην, as in Septem Sap. Conv. 11 pr. p. 154). Euseb. Ecl. Proph. iv 4 p. 177, 18. CIA i 61, App. Bell. Čiv. i 35. Aelian in Suid., Διονυσίων σκωμμάτων, has πλουτίνδην' (Class. Rev. v 120).
διά βίσυ] Pol. 1270 b 39, 1272 a 37, 1285 a 15; inf. at end of § 6.

2 [δεκ]αετίαν. μέγισται δὲ καὶ πρῶται τῶν ἀρχῶν ἦσαν βασ[ιλεὺς καὶ πολ]έμαρχος καὶ ἄρ[χων] τούτων δὲ πρ[ώτ]η μὲν ἡ τοῦ βασι- 5 λέως, αὕτη γὰρ *ἐξ [ἀρχ]ῆ[ς ἦν]. δευτέρα δ' ἐπικατέστη [ἡ πολε]μαρχία διὰ τὸ γε[ν]έσθαι τινὰς τῶν βασιλέων τὰ πολεμικὰ μαλ[ακούς, ὅθεν καὶ] τὸν "Ιωνα μετε[πέμ]ψαντο χρεία[ς κ]αταλαβούσης. 3 τελευταία δ' ἡ [τοῦ ἄρχο]ντος [οί] μὲν γὰρ πλείους [ἐ]πὶ Μέδοντος, ἔνιοι δ' ἐπὶ 'Ακάστου φασὶ γενέσθαι [τὴν ἀρχήν σημεῖον] δ' το ἐπιφέρουσιν [ὅτι] οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύουσι [καθάπερ] ἐπὶ 'Ακάστου τὰ ὅρκια ποι[ή]σειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τού[το]υ τῆς βασιλείας παραχωρησάντων τῶν Κοδ[ριδῶν], *ἀνταποδοθεισῶν τῷ ἄρχοντι δωρεῶν.

6 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢν] W Headlam, quod accepi coll. 16 § 1, 28 § 1, 55 § 1, Pol. 1297 b 17 ἢ πρώτη δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς βασιλείας ἐκ τῶν πολεμούντων, ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν Ιππέων, et Ar. frag. δ11 (1) \mathbb{R}^3 λθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχρῶντο βασιλεία. ἐν ἀρχῆς ἢν hiatu sine causa admisso \mathbb{K}^3 ; ἐν [ἀρχῆς κατέστη] Κ.-W., πάτρως ἐγένετο Η-L., sed lectioni neutri spatium sufficit. ἡ insertuit J B Mayor (Η-L, \mathbb{K}^3). Τ γενέσθαι Κ.-W, Β. ΠΟλεΜΙΑ Κ (Κ.-W, Η-L): πολεμικὰ Blass; cf. 23, 14. 8 δθεν καί Κ (Η-L), litteras 0θ aliquatenus cerni posse arbitratus : [πρῶτω] δὲ Κ.-W, Β. 10 ἐπ' Η-L. τὴν ἀρχὴν Κ (Η-L): ταύτην Κ.-W. [βασιλέων Β. [σημεῖων] Κ.-W., Η-L: τ[ούτω] Β. 12 τὰ δρκια ποιήσεω (litteris primis quinque incertis) \mathbb{K}^3 ; τὰ ἀρτια ποιήσεω το εταργοτο eruerat Wessely. [τῆς πόλεων ἀρχ]εων \mathbb{K}^1 , [τῆς] πόλ[εων άβρξεων Κ.W., [βασιλέων άρξ]εων Platt (Η-L). τούτου τῆς Η-L (\mathbb{K}^3): τῆς ἔ[κείνου] \mathbb{K}^1 (Κ.-W). 13 ἀντὶ τῶν δοθεισῶν, litteris evanidis scripta, \mathbb{K}^3 , ει τ]ῶν [ὑπεξηρημένων] Κ.-W: pro ἀντὶ τῶν δοθεισῶν (ΔΝΤΙΤ΄ - ΔΟθεισων), quod litteris valde obscuris scriptum esse dicitur, scripserim aut ἀντιπαραδοθεισῶν (ΔΝΤΙΤ΄ λΟθΕΙCωΝ) aut (quod usitatius est) ἀνταποδοθεισῶν; litteris fere tredecim spatium sufficit.

§ 2. πολεμαρχία] This account of the original relation of the πολέμαρχοι to the βασιλεψε is illustrated by the Schol. on Plat. Phaedr. 235 D, where the former is described as ὧσπερ λοχαγὸι τοῦ βασιλέψε (Wyse in Class. Rev. v 224). Similarly in certain semi-savage tribes the institution of a 'war-king' has grown up beside that of the regular hereditary monarch. Cf. Post, Bassteine, ii p. 84.

μαλακούς] Heraclidis epitoma, Rose, Frag. 611, 1, 4πδ δε Κοδριδών οὐκέτι βασιλείς ήροῦντο διὰ τὸ δοκείν τρυφών καὶ

μαλακούς γεγονέναι.

Tova] Ion, the son of Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, was summoned to the aid of Athens against Eleusis and was entrusted with the conduct of the war. Hdt. viii 44, Paus. vii 5, I, and esp. i 31 § 3, 'Αθηναίων έπΙ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς 'Ελευσυνίους ἐπολεμέρχησε. Cf. Schol. on Arist. Ανες 1527, πατρῷον δὲ τιμῶστυ 'Απόλλωνα 'Αθηναίων ἐξε 'Απόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τοῦ Εούθου (γυναικὸς) ἐγένετο (Rose, Frag. 343²=381³). This scholium may have been derived either from the present passage, or from another in

which Ion was mentioned near the beginning of the treatise.

whether the president of the board of nine magistrates bore the title of Archon before the time of Solon. Probably up to that time the members of the board were called $\pi \rho \nu r \dot{\omega} e \nu s$ and their president retained the ancient title of $\beta a \omega i \lambda e \dot{\nu} s$. It was the $\beta a \omega i \lambda e \dot{\nu} s$ that presided over the archons when assembled as a judicial body (Busolt, i 408). On the other side, see Gilbert's Gr. St., i 117—118.

body (Busolt, i 408). On the other side, see Gilbert's Gr. St., i 117—118.
§ 3. Mt8orres] son of Codrus. 'Andorrou, successor of Medon (Busolt, i 403).

**operational of the archons is also mentioned in 7 § 1 and in 55 ad fin., but this particular clause is not cited elsewhere.

παραχωρησάντων] For the constr. cf. Dem. p. 38, 24, άξιω ύμας μή παραχωρείν τής τάξεως, p. 655, 17, π. τής αρχής. For the sense, Pol. 1285 δ 14, τα μέν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν δχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν μὲν ταῖς άλλαις πόλεσιν, αἰ πατρίοι θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεύσι μόνον.

ανταποδοθασών δωριών] 'corre-

τοῦτο μεν οὖν ὁποτέρως ποτ' ἔχει μικρόν, ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν τούτοις 15 τοις γρόνοις στι δε τελευταία τούτων εγένετο των άργων, [ση]μείον καὶ [τὸ] μη[δ]ἐν [τῶν π]ατρίων τὸν ἄρχοντα διοικεῖν ὅσπερ ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ ὁ πολέμαρχος, ἀλλὰ [μόνον τὰ ἐπίθ]ετα. καὶ νεωστὶ γέγονεν ή ἀρχὴ μεγάλη, τοῖς ἐπ[ι]θέτοις αὐξηθ[εῖσα. θεσ μοθέται δε πολλο [ί]ς υστερον έτεσιν ήρεθησαν, ήδη κατ' 4 20 ενιαυτον αίρ[ουμένων] τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅπως ἀναγράψαντες τὰ θέσμια φυλάττωσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν [παρανομού]ντων κρίσιν διὸ καὶ μόνη των άρχων ούκ εγένετο πλείων [ή] ενιαύσιος. [οὖτοι] μεν οὖν 5 γρόνον τοσοῦτον προέγουσιν *άλλήλων, ὅκησαν* δ' οὐγ ἄμα πάντες

14 μικρὸν [διαφέρει, ἄτε δὴ ἐν ἀτάκ]τοις τοῖς χρόνοις Paton, μικρὸν διαφέρει ἐν τούτοις $< τοῖς> χρόνοις H-L; μικρὸν, ἀλλ' [οῦν ἐγένε]το ἐν τούτοις <math>< τοῖς> χρόνοις Κ-W; μικρὸν ἀ[ν διαλλάτ]τοι τοῖς χρόνοις, 'vel μικρὸν γε π[αρα]λλάττει τοῖς χρόνοις, Β. ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς, litteris evanidis scripta, <math>κ^3$. 16 πατρίων Wyse, Blass, K-W, H-L ($κ^3$), coll. 57 § 1 τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ οῦτος (ὁ βασιλεύς) πάσας. 17 ἀλλὰ [μόνον] τὰ ἐπίθ]ετα K^3 , B; an μᾶλλον? ἀλλὰ καινά τινα ἐπίθετα H-L; ἀλλ' [δλως μηδέν μ]έγα K-W. 20 αἰρουμένων Wyse, Blass, K-W, H-L, K^3 . 21 παρανομούντων Κ (Κ-W, B): ἀκοσμούστων H-L spatio vix expleto.
 πλέω H-L. πλην ή, vel πλην εl, H Richards.
 κ: ἀλληλων. ήσαν Jackson, Blass (Κ-W, H-L); malui ἀλληλων. ψκησαν: ἀλληλων. ἐδίκαζον Herwerden coll. Suid. s. v. ἀρχων: καθίζον Gennadios, συνήσαν Kontos.

sponding privileges being (at the same time) assigned to the archon.' ἀντὶ τῶν δοθεισων, suggested by Mr Kenyon, is confessedly a somewhat remarkable expression, and is interpreted to mean 'in consideration of the privileges which were surrendered to the archon'; but this is hardly satisfactory in point of sense. What we expect is drawdhar δοθεισῶν τῷ άρχοντι δωρεών.

αρχοντι οωρεων.

δποτέρωε ποτ ἔχει] De Physica Auscult. 252 b 35, όποτέρως ποτ ἔχει. De Sensu, 446 a 21, όποτέρως ποτέ γίνεται.
περί ξωῆς 467 b 17, όποτέρως ποτέ δεῖ κα-

λείν (Index Ar.).

§ 4. θεσμοθέται, literally 'legislators,' from θεσμοί, the old term for νόμοι. The name was 'probably applied to them as the judges who determined the great variety of causes which did not fall under the cognizance of their colleagues; because, in the absence of a written code, those who declare and interpret the laws may be properly said to make them' (Thirlwall, ii 17). According to the text, the object of their appointment was to secure that the enactments of the law should be publicly recorded and duly preserved, with a view to their being en-forced against transgressors. In the ab-sence of a code of law, such as Dracon afterwards gave to Athens, the θέσμια of the text were presumably 'judicial decisions' recorded as precedents for similar cases in the future. See also Holm, Gr. Gesch. i 516.

κατ' traurdy—rds dρχάs] B.C. 683.

dναγράψαντες] not exactly to 'commit to writing' (Poste), but to engrave on a tablet and set up in a public place (this is the force of ανα-); in brief, 'to record publicly.'

Sio does not appear to refer to the im-

mediately preceding clause, but to the beginning of the previous sentence. It was because the thesmothetae were not instituted until the time when magistrates were appointed annually that, unlike the three senior archons in former days, they never held office for more than a year.

§ 5. ovroi dhanav] 'Such then is the order of precedence which these magistrates have over one another in point of date, i.e. (1) βασιλεύς, (2) πολέμαρχος, (3) άρχων, (4) θεσμοθέται. ἀλλήλων is somewhat loosely used.

φκησαν δ' ούχ άμα πάντες κτλ.] With reference to the lexicographical articles quoted above, in the *Testimonia*, it was remarked by Schömann (*Ant. Gr.* p. 412 E. T.) that 'before the time of Solon, as we are assured by evidence which, it must be admitted, is exceedingly apocry-phal in character, the nine Archons were not permitted to sit in judgment all toοί έννέα ἄρχοντες, άλλ' ὁ μέν βασιλεύς ε[ί]χε τὸ νῦν καλούμενον βουκολείον, πλησίον τοῦ πρυτανείου (σημείον δέ ἔτι καὶ νῦν γὰρ 25

25 ΒΟΥΚΟλΙΟΝ (Κ, Η-L, Β): βουκολείον Κ-W.

ΤΕSTIM. 23—33. Bekk. Aned. 449, 19 et Suidas s. v. άρχων: ...πρό μὲν τῶν Σόλωνος νόμων οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς ἄμα δικάζειν, "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεύς" καθήστο παρὰ τῷ καλουμένω βουκολείω, τὸ δὲ ἢν "πλησίον τοῦ πρυτανείου," "ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος" ἐν Δυκείω καὶ ὁ ἄρχων παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους, οἱ δὲ (om. Suidas) θεσμοθέται παρὰ τὸ θεσμοθέσιον. κύριοἱ τε ἢσαν ὥστε "τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς" ποιεῖσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ Σόλωνος ούδεν έτερον αύτοις τελείται ή μόνον ανακρίνουσι (ύποκρ. Suid., ανακρ. Pearson. et Matthiae) τους αντιδίκους.

gether. They were, however, equally precluded from doing this in the times better known to us, and the statement must therefore be based on some kind of misapprehension.' It was also noticed that, before the time of Solon, the archon could not have had his official residence παρά τους έπωνύμους, as the statues of the ἐπώνυμοι, or national heroes that gave their names to the ten Attic tribes, could not have existed before the institution of those tribes by Cleisthenes (508 B.C.). Hence it was inferred by K. F. Hermann (*Gr. Staatsalt.*, p. 407, note 14) that the information referred to the post-Solonian time. But at that time official residence of the Archon-Basileus was the Stoa Basileios, not the Basileion. Accordingly it was suggested by Wecklein (Monatsber. der München. Akad., 1873, 5. 38) that the Basileion, which he supposed was the residence of the φυλοariheis, had been confounded with that of the Archon-Basileus.

We now see that the main source of the information, so far as it is correct, was the present passage. The information the present passage. The information really refers to the time before Solon; but the lexicographers commit an anachronism, for which they are themselves responsible, in placing the office of the archon near the *Eponymi*, instead of in the *Prytaneum*, in the neighbourhood of which the statues of the *Eponymi* were

afterwards set up.

βουκολείον] We are here told that the official residence of the Archon-Basileus was the building which, in the time of the writer, was called the βουκολείον. This explains the otherwise obscure passage quoted in Athenaeus, p. 235, from the law relating to the Archon-Basileus: 7003 δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν čκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἐαυτῶν ἐκτέα κριθῶν κτλ. In Telfy's Corpus Iuris Attici § 358 the words ἐκ τῆς (or ἐκτὸς) βουκολίας are strangely rendered absque dolo. It is now, however, clear that they must refer to the residence of the Archon-Basileus and are used in the same sense as ek rov βουκολείου, which was perhaps the

original reading.

The βουκολείων is possibly connected βουζύγιον (Miss Harrison, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. 166). It has been suggested that a black-figured vase-painting on a hydria in the Berlin Museum, where an ox is standing within a small Doric shrine, not bound as for sacrifice, but free and stately, is a representation of the sacred ox in his Boukoλείον, whether it be the building below the Acropolis or some other shrine of Zeon Πολιεός (ib. p. 428). It is more probable, however, that the βουκολείου was connected with the worship of Dionysus, who was often represented in Dionysis, who was often represented in the form of an ox (cf. Eur. Bacchae, 100, 920—922, 1017, 1159). There was a play of Cratinus called the Βουκόλοι, which began with a dithyramb, and it has been inferred from Aristoph. Vesp. 10, τον αὐτον αρ' έμοι βουκολείς Σαβάρος, that the votaries of the Thracian Dionysus, δ ταυρόμορφος, were called βουκόλοι (O. Crusius, in Philologus, xlvii 34). It will be observed that in the text the βουκολείον is mentioned in connexion with Dionysus. Curtius is content to regard it as having been in primitive times a royal farmhouse, including a slaughter-house for the royal sacrifices (Stadtgeschichte von Athen, 1891, p. 51).

***mporawiou] The position of the Pry-

tancion is disputed, and it is sometimes supposed that there was more than one building of the name. Pausanias tells us (i 18 § 3) that near the Agrauleion is 'the Prytancion, in which are inscribed the laws of Solon.' By this is probably meant of Solon.' By this is probably meant the original Prytancion, the centre of the ancient city and the site of the hearth of the state. This Prytancion was probably

της του βασιλέως γυναικός ή σύμμειξις ένταυθα γίγνεται τῷ Διονύσφ καὶ ὁ γάμος), ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τὸ πρυτανείον, ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος τὸ Ἐπιλύκειον ὁ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πολεμαρχείον, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος ἀνφκοδόμησε καὶ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸ πολεμα[ρχή]σας, 3ο Ἐπιλύκειον ἐκλήθη θεσμοθέται δ' εἶχον τὸ θεσμοθετείον. ἐπὶ δὲ

26 CYMMIŽIC σύμμειξις K-W, H-L, K², coll. Meisterhans, p. 144². ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ (K-W). 27 και δ γάμος delet Rutherford (H-L). 28 ΕΠΙΝΥΚΙΟΝ: -ειον Κ etc. -29 πολεμαρ[χῶν] H-L, invita papyro.

ΤΕΝΤΙΜ. 26 Hesych. Διονύσου γάμος: τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς και θεοῦ γίνεται γάμος. 28 Hesych. Ἐπιλύκ(ε)ιον (cod. ἐπιλύκιον): ἀρχεῖον τοῦ πολεμάρχου ἀθήνησιν.

a little to the east of the ground beneath the northern, or north-eastern, cliff of the Acropolis, somewhat high up the slope (Miss Harrison, l. c., p. 165). Before reaching it Pausanias had seen (i 5 § 1) the statues of the ἐπώνυμοι 'above the Bouleuterion' or Council Chamber of the Five Hundred. Near the latter he sees 'what is called the $\theta\delta\lambda$ os, where the Prytanes offer sacrifice.' It was apparently for this reason that the Oblos was sometimes called the mouraveior, e.g. in Schol. on Aristoph. Pax 1183, τόπος 'Αθήνησων παρά πρυτανείον έν ψ έστήib. p. 171 note 106). Curtius places the original *Prytaneion* in the Old Agora which, according to his view, was S. of the Agoralies has recorded to the control of the Agora which according to his view, was S. of the Agoralies has recorded to the Agora. the Acropolis; he recognises a second Prytancion in the Tholos situated in the Agora of the Cerameicus; while he regards the *Prytancion* of Pausanias, on the northern slope of the Acropolis, as the northern slope of the Acropolis, as a building belonging to Roman times (Stadigsschichte, p. 302). Wachsmuth (Stadi Athen, i 465) accepts the Prytameion of Pausanias as the original buildings. ing and regards the Tholos in the Cerameicus as a 'dépendance' in which the Prytanes had their public meals in the democratic days of Athens. Round the original Prytaneion rose the official residences of an earlier age. First among these was the βασίλειον, or official residence of the kings, which may be identified with the building in which the four φυλοβασιλεῖς performed their religious rites (Pollux viii 111, ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸ βουκολεῖον) and with the residence of the Archon-Basileus (Wachsmuth, p. 468). See also Busolt, i 407 note 4.

Fir καl—γάμος] Either on the second day of the Anthesteria at the beginning of March, or at the Greater Dionysia at the end of that month, there was a procession representing the entry of Dionysus Έλευθερεὺς 'from without the city into

the little temple of the Cerameicus, 'and his incorporation into the city by union with the noblest woman of the land, the wife of the king.' On this occasion the Basilinna was accompanied by fourteen venerable priestesses, and was solemnly and secretly betrothed to the god. In the temple in Limnae she administered a vow to the priestesses, offered a mystic sacrifice, wherein she prayed for all blessings for the state, and then remained for the night in the interior of the temple. Cf. [Dem.]c.Neaeram, §§ 74—78, and Mommsen's Heortologie, pp. 338—360, quoted by Mr Purser on Dianysia in Smith, Dict. Ant. i 639 a. The passage in the c. Neaeram § 76 speaks of the law relating to the Basilwaya as inscribed on a tablet in the temple of Dionysus er Λίμναιs οpened only once a year on the second day of the Anthestria. It also describes her as την θεω γυναϊκα δοθησομένην, but says nothing of her spending the night in the temple.

"Επιλύκειον] Suidas, s. v. Δρχων, describes the official residence of the Polecius of the second of the Polecius of the

"Επιλύκειον] Suidas, s. v. ἀρχων, describes the official residence of the Polemarch as ἐν Λυκείψ, and accordingly it is generally held that 'the Polemarch had his office outside the walls, but quite close to the city, beside the Lyceum, a shrine consecrated to Apollo and frequently mentioned on account of a gymnasium existing there' (Schömann, Antiquities, p. 412 E. T.; see also Curtius, Stadtgeschichte, p. 58). The office was doubtless ἐπὶ Λυκείψ (not ἐν Λυκείψ), and this is what is meant by the name 'Επιλύκειον. This is far more probable than the story about the 'polemarch Epilycus,' which is justly

rejected by Mr Kenyon.

θεσμοθετείον] Suidas, s. v. ἀρχων, on the authority doubtless of the present passage, says that the θεσμοθέται held their court παρὰ τὸ θεσμοθέσιον (Bekker, Απεςα. 449, 23, παρὰ τὸ θεσμοθέσιον). Cf. Hyperides, Ευχ. xxii, θεσμοθετῶν συνέδριον. It was there also that they dined at the public expense: Schol. Plato, Phaedr. 235 D,

Σόλωνος ἄ[π]αντες είς τὸ θεσμοθετείον συνήλθον. κύριοι δ' ήσαν καὶ τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς [κρίν]ειν, καὶ οὐχ ὅσπερ νῦν προανακρίνειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν [περὶ] τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον. 6 ή δε των Αρεοπαγιτών βουλή την μεν τάξιν είχε του διατηρείν 34

32 αὐτοτελ[ω̂s] J B Mayor (H-L).

34, 38 APEOTTATEIT

οι δε θεσμοθέται έξ είσι τον άριθμον, άφ ων και δ τόπος, όπου συνήφουν και έσι-τοῦντο, θεμίστων (leg. θεσμοθέσιον vel θεσμοθετεῖον) έκαλεῖτο. Its position is unknown, but it was not improbably near the πρυτανείον, though there is nothing to prevent its being placed in the αγορά, as (from the very first) the θεσμοθέται had judicial duties to discharge. Köhler conjectures that it was near the βουλευτήριον, but the evidence for this is inconclusive (Wachsmuth, l. c. i p. 482—

3, ii 353-4).

tal 80 Eslavos - συνήλθον] Diog. Laert. i 58 (of Solon), και πρώτος την συναγωγήν των έννέα άρχοντων έποίησεν, εις το συνειπεῦν, ώς 'Απολλόδωρός φησιν έν δευτέρω περί νομοθετών. The text confirms the conjecture of Schömann (Ant., p. 412 E. T.) that the 'Thesmothesium was used by the whole board of the nine archons. It also favours the view that as early as the time of Solon all the nine archons were called *Thesmothetae* (K. F. Hermann, Staatsalt. § 138, n. 3, and Bergk in Rheinisches Museum xiii 449, quoted

by Wachsmuth, l. c., ii 354).

αδτοτελείε κρίνειν] c. 53 § 2.

κρίνειν...προανακρίνειν] Pol. 1298 α

31, τέταρτος δέ τρόπος το πάντας περί πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιώντας, τὰς δ' άρ χὰς περί μηδενός κρίνειν άλλα μόνον προανακρίνειν, δνπερ ή τελευταία δημοκρατία νῦν διοικείται τρόπον. This is in favour of **plrew*, as against **ouew* (suggested by Suidas).—'In the later and better-known times of Athenian law, we find these archons deprived in great measure of their powers of judging and de-ciding and restricted to the task of first hearing the parties and collecting the evidence; next, of introducing the matter evidence; field, of introducing the matter for trial into the appropriate dikastery, over which they presided (Grote, H. G. chap. 10, ii 283 ed. 1862).

§ 6. ἡ τῶν ᾿Αρεοπαγιτῶν βουλή] The first establishment of the senate of Are-

opagus is sometimes ascribed to Solon. Thus Plutarch, Sol. 10 init., says of Solon συστησάμενος την έν Άρειω πάγω βουλην έκτῶν κατ' ένιαυτὸν ἀρχόντων. But in Ar. Pol. ii 12 1274 a, it is stated that the Council of the Areopagus was already in existence: ἐοικε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν

ύπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ λῦσαι, τήν τε βουλην και την τών αρχών αίρεσιν. On the other hand, Cicero, de Off. i 22 § 75, speaks of it as the senatus, qui a Solone erat constitutus; and Pollux, viii 125, describes it as established by Solon as a tribunal of homicide, in addition to that of the Ephetae. 'But there can be little doubt' says Grote, ii p. 281, 'that this iii 98 is a mistake, and that the senate of Areopagus is a primordial institution, of immemorial antiquity, though its constitution as well as its functions underwent many changes. It stood at first alone as a permanent and collegiate au-thority, originally by the side of the Kings and afterwards by the side of the archons. It would then of course be known by the title of The Boule-The senate or council; its distinctive title, "Senate of Areopagus" (borrowed from the place where its sittings were held), would not be bestowed until the formawould not be bestowed until the trion by Solon of the second senate or council, from which there was need to discriminate it.' The Areopagus appears to represent the Homeric βουλή γεροντων (Meier and Schömann p. 10), and is probably as early as the time of the Attic kings; but, if so, its number must have been very limited. By modern writers its number is sometimes supposed to have been either 300 (Schömann, Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. 1875, p. 154, Hermann, Staatsalt. § 102, 17, Lange, Ephet. u. Arcop. p. 27, Duncker, Gesch. des Alterth. v 473 = H. G. ii 141 E. T.); or 380, representing the 360 yern (Philippi, Areop. u. Epheten, p. 206); or 60, i.e. 15 nominated by each of the four tribes, and including the archons, the remaining 51 being those known as the Ephetae (Busolt, i 418). As soon as it became customary for the archons to be added to the Areopagus at the end of their year of office, the number would cease to be fixed; but we do not know at what time this method of recruiting the Areopagus was first adopted. Mr Kenyon suggests that 'the automatic process of forming it from all ex-archons was probably put into operation from the date of the establishment of the annual archonship.

την μεν τάξεν κτλ.] This confirms Grote's statement that 'the functions of

- 35 τούς νόμους, διφκει δε τὰ πλείστα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει, καὶ κολάζουσα καὶ ζημ[ιο]ῦσα πάντας τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας κυρίως. ή γὰρ αἴρεσις τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην ἢν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ ᾿Αρεοπαγῖται καθίσταντο. διὸ καὶ μόνη τῶν ἀρχῶν αὕτη μεμένηκε διὰ βίου καὶ νῦν.
 - 4. ή μεν οὖν πρώτη πολιτεία ταύτην ε[ί]χε τὴν ὑπο[γρα]φήν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, χρόνου τινὸς οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπ' 'Αρι-

36 και κολάζουσα: και delet Gennadios (H-L). ante ή γάρ aliquid excidisse putat Keil.

37 γάρ: δέ mavult Gennadios,

the Areopagus were originally of the widest senatorial character, directive generally as well as judicial.' With the context, cf. Isocr. Ατεορ. § 37, την έξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλην έπέστησαν έπιμελεισθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ῆς οὐχ οἰόν τ' ἦν μετασχεῖν πλην τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι καὶ πολλην άρετην ἐν τῷ βίψ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεδειγμένοις, and §§ 30—55, esp. § 46, τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἀνῆγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν. Athen. iv 19 p. 168 A: ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἔκ τωος περιουσίας ζῶντας τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεκαλοῦντο οἱ 'Αρεσπαγῖται καὶ ἐκόλαζον, ἰστόρησαν Φανδόημος καὶ Φιλόχορος (FHG i 394, cf. 387, 17). διατηρείν τοὺς νόμους | Aeschin. 3 § 6,

διατηρείν τους νόμους] Aeschin. 3 § 6, δταν διατηρηθώσιν οι νόμοι τῆ πόλει, σώ-

ferau κal ή δημοκρατία.
γdρ] The Areopagus was entrusted with all these powers, because it consisted of archons who had themselves been elected under special qualifications of birth and wealth.

The constitution of the Areopagus is the subject of a fragment of Philochorus (frag. 58 in Müller's Frag. Hist. Gr., i 394): ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐννέα καθυσταμένων ἀρχόντων 'Αθήνησι τοὐν 'Αρεοπαγίτας ἔδει συνεστάναι δικαστάς, ὧι φησιν 'Ανδροτίων ἐν δευτέρα τῶν 'Ατθίδων' ὅστερον δὲ πλειόνων γέγονεν ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλή τουτέστιν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν περιφανεστέρων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐνόν (thi implies an identification of the Ephetae and the Areopagus). οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡν εἰς τὴν ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλὴν τελεῦν ἀλλ' οἱ παρ' 'Αθηναίοις πρωτεύοντες ἔν τε γένει καὶ πλούτω καὶ βίω χρηστώ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φιλόχορος διὰ τῆς τριτῆς τῶν αὐτῶν 'Ατθίδων.
διὰ καὶ νῦν] 'This is also the reason

why it is the only office which has continued to be held for life down to the present day.' For 8 ad βίου, cf. 2 § 1.

IV. The Draconian Constitution.

την ὑπογραφήν] 'outline', 'sketch'.

Ar. de Gen. Anim. ii 6, 743 b 20—25,

csp. οι γραφείς ὑπογράψαντες ταις γραμμαίς οδτως έναλειφουσι τοις χρώμασι τό ζώσο. De Anima, ii 1, 413 a 10, τύπω ταύτη διωρίσθω καὶ ὑπογεγράφω περί ψυχής. Pol. ii 5, 1263 a 31, εστιν έν ένιαις πόλεσιν οδτως ὑπογεγραμμένον.

χρόνου—διαθόντος] A vague note of time, the event from which the writer reckons being apparently the affair of Cylon and its more immediate conse-

quences (c. 1).

"Αρισταίχμου ἀρχοντος] The name of this archon ('Αρίσταιχμοι) is now known for the first time. It follows that Dracon was not the ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος of the year, as has been sometimes supposed (e.g. Busolt, i 510). Cf. Pausanias, ix 36 § 8, Αράκοντος 'Αθηναίοις θεσμοθετήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου κατέστη νόμων, οὐς ἐγραφεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλων τε ἀπόσων ἄθειαν εἰναι χρή, καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμωρίας μοιχοῦ. It may fairly be assumed that he was one of the θεσμοθέται, in the narrower sense of the term. Hence Grote is right in describing him as 'the thesmothet Drako.' His legislation may be assigned to B.C. 621 (Clinton's Fasti,

sub anno; Busolt, i 510).

θεσμούς [θηκεν] This confirms the view that he was one of the θεσμοθέται at the time. Θεσμοί was the term generally applied to the laws of Dracon: Andocides, de Myst. § 81, χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις και τοῖς Δράκοντος Θεσμοῖς. But even the laws of Solon were by himself called θεσμοί. Plutarch, Sol. 19, quotes from one of them the words ὅτε θεσμοῖς ἐφὰνῆ ὅδε, and the word occurs in his own poems c. 12 § 4, line 18, θεσμοῦτ...Εγραψα. The same ancient term was preserved in the oath of the πεμπολα in Pollux viii 106, και τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμέτοις πείσομαι, which in later Greek would have been expressed τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμέτοις (cf. Grote, C. 10, ii p. 282, note).

c. 10, ii p. 283, note).
§ 2. η δὶ τάξις κτλ.] Το identify the τάξις, or constitution, with the θεσμοί, or

σταίχμου ἄρχοντος Δρά[κω]ν τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἔθηκεν ἡ δὲ τάξις 2

legislation, is inconsistent with the distinction drawn by Aristotle in Pol. 1289 a 15, πολιτεία μέν γάρ έστι τάξις ταις πόλεσιν ή περί τὰς ἀρχὰς...νόμοι δὲ κεχωρισμένοι τῶν δηλούντων τὴν πολιτείαν, καθ' οῦς δεῖ τοὺς αρχοντας αρχειν κτλ. Cf. also 1286 a 3. This distinction is maintained in cc. 7 and 9, but not in c. 34. The term $\theta = \sigma \mu o l$ has a distinctive meaning and can only refer to a code, not to a constitution

(Class. Rev. v 167 a).
Dracon has hitherto been recognised as a legislator alone. There is a well-known passage respecting him in Ar. Pol. ii 12, p. 1274 b 15, Αράκοντος δε νόμοι μέν είσι, πολιτεία δ' υπαρχούση τους νόμους εθηκεν κτλ. This passage, which describes Dracon as adapting his laws to a constitution already in existence, is inconsistent with the present chapter, which almost ignores the legislation of Dracon and represents him as the framer of a constitution.

The passage in question comes from a chapter which, in the opinion of Zeller, Susemihl and other Aristotelian scholars, has suffered from considerable interpola-tion. Thus Mr W. L. Newman conjection. Thus Mr W. L. Newman conjectures 'that Aristotle may have left only the fragment about Solon and a few rough data for insertion after the notice of the Carthaginian constitution, and that some member of the school, not very long after his death, completed them as best he could' (Newman's ed. ii 373, 377). Accordingly it is possible that the pas-sage about Dracon in the *Politics* was not written by Aristotle himself.

In Rhet. ii 23 § 29, 1400 b 21, Ar. quotes Herodicus (the physician) as saying of Dracon (ὁ τομοθέτητ), δτι ούκ ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι ἀλλὰ δράκοντος χαλεποὶ γάρ. Of the actual legislation of Dracon little is the physician of Dracon little is the p known, since his laws (with the exception of those on homicide) were repealed by Solon (c. 7 § 1 πλην των φονικών and Plut. Sol. 17 there quoted). This is possibly a sufficient reason for the absence of any reference to it in the constitutional part of this treatise, except in the words τους θεσμούς έθηκε. All that survived is sufficiently described in the second part of the work, in the account of the procedure in cases of homicide (c. 57).

According to the text the main points in the constitution of Dracon's time are (1) a hoplitic franchise, already in existence; (2) those who had this franchise elected the Archons, the *Tamiae*, the *Strategi*, the *Hipparchi* and the *Prytanes* (unless, indeed, these are identical with

the Archons) from among those who were duly qualified by a property-qualification. (3) A Council of 401, elected by lot from among those who had the franchise, and were over 30 years of age. The same limitation held good for other offices filled by casting lots, and no one was to hold office twice till every one else had had his turn. (4) Members of the Council were fined for not attending meetings of the Council or Assembly, and the fine varied with their status.

This 'Draconian constitution' has, not unnaturally, been viewed with suspicion. It tells us of a Council of 401, of which we never hear elsewhere, and (which is more serious) of certain property-qualifications which have hitherto been regarded as part of the subsequent legislation of Solon, and which the author himself minutely describes in connexion with Solon (c. 7). A writer in the Athenaeum, 1891, p. 435 b, denounces it as 'the amazing Draconian constitution.' It has also been attacked by Weil (Journal des Savants, Avril, 1891), and Cauer; also by Mr Macan in the Journ. of Hellenic Studies, April, 1891, pp. 24, 27, and in detail by Mr J. W. Headlam in an article in the class. Rev., v 166—168; followed by valuable criticisms by Mr E. S. Thompson, ib. p. 336, and by M. Théodore Reinach in the Revue Critique, p. 143—5.

Mr Headlam's main points are these:

(1) No other writer knows anything of a constitution attributed to Dracon. Plutarch, when speaking of the $\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu o l$ of Dracon, mentions nothing but a code of law. (2) Other passages in the modirela itself support the view taken by Plutarch and in the *Politics*. (a) In chap, vii the writer speaks of the $\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu o l$ of Dracon in connexion with the new code of laws made by Solon, but makes no reference to Dracon in speaking of the constitu-tional innovations of Solon. (b) The recapitulation in c. 41 states that the characteristic feature of Dracon's legislation was the publication of the law. This is inconsistent with chap. 4 and its very remarkable constitution. (3) Among the provisions of the constitution at least one could not possibly have been devised in Dracon's time, the property-qualification for the archonship being expressed in terms of money that probably belong to a later age; nearly all of them are very difficult to reconcile with what we know of the state of Athens at the time; and several of them inconsistent with other αὕτη τόνδε τὸν τρόπον εἶχε. ἀπεδέδοτο μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα 5 παρεχομένοις ἡροῦντο δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα ἄρχοντας [καὶ τ]οὺς [τ]αμίας οὐσίαν κεκτημένους οὐκ ἐλάττω δέκα μνῶν ἐλευθέραν,

IV 4 AYT' (= $avr\eta_s$): correxit K. $\mu \delta r$ per compendium, ut videtur, scriptum (K-W, K³, B): mihi quidem Δ' ($\delta \delta$) potius quam M' ($\mu \delta r$) videtur scriptum: om. H-L. 5 APXONTEC 6 $\delta \lambda r r \sigma r$ R-W. $\lambda \epsilon \kappa a : \delta \kappa a r \delta r$ Thompson; $\delta \iota a \kappa \sigma \sigma \iota \omega r$ Weil (Journal des Savants, p. 10); 'maiorem censum nemo non expectet' H-L.

statements in this book. (4) None of the provisions, some of them very remarkable, are ever quoted by later writers. (5) The whole constitution is exactly like those afterwards described in connexion with the aristocratic revolutions in 411. The details connected with the above criticism will be noticed as they occur in the following notes.

Dr P. Meyer (Des Aristoteles Politik und die 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, pp. 31—44) regards the passage in the Politics and the present chapter as, both of them, equally genuine, and vainly endeavours to reconcile the two. He holds that the 'Draconian constitution' does not differ materially from the constitution which preceded it, the doxala wolviela of c. 3. If so, the writer of the present chapter has not succeeded in making the points of resemblance clear. The 'Draconian of resemblance clear. The 'Draconian constitution' is defended with greater success by Prof. Gomperz (Die Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener, p. 43). He holds that, in distributing the citizens of Attica into four classes, Solon availed himself of existing social divisions, and gave them a new definition. This may hold good in the case of the laweis, the servicing and the first. But it is difficult Cerviras and the onres. But it is difficult to accept it in the case of the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. The term is used without any explanation in the present chapter; but, in the description of Solon's constitution, it is defined with precision as though it were then used for the first time. One would be glad to believe with Mr Kenyon, in his note on this chapter, p. 13 ed. 3, that 'a sober historical judgment will probably in the end find its statements not so startling as they at first appear'; but at present the contents of the greater part of the chapter seem to require the most careful scrutiny before they can be finally accepted.

Considerations in favour of the account are urged by Busolt, in *Philol.* 1891, vol. 50, pp. 393—400. He points out that the Pseudoplatonic *Axiochus*, which has several points of contact with this treatise (cf. c. 18 § 1, 34 § 1, 42 § 2), uses the phrase

έπι της Δράκοντος ή Κλεισθένους πολιτείας (p. 365). While admitting the coinci-(p. 365). dences with the oligarchical constitutions of 411, he holds that the oligarchs professed to aim at the restoration of the # dtpios πολιτεία, which may fairly be identified with the pre-Solonian constitution. (1) The term πεντακοσιομέδιμνος must originally have referred to measures of corn: Solon extended its meaning to measures of wine and oil, and gave it a different value by changing the standard. (2) Fines in money may have been exacted by the State at a time when private transactions were settled by the transfer of oxen.
(3) We know little of the early history of the $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma ia$, but it is possible that the fears inspired by the affair of Cylon may have led the aristocracy to limit the authority of the polemarch by means of four στρατηγοί appointed from the wealthier class

dπεδίδοτο κτλ.] not dπεδίδη. The tense implies that the franchise had already been given and that this was not part of the alleged constitution of Dracon. This point is brought out by Mr Poste who translates: 'Sovereign power was already wielded by the class of persons capable of providing its own equipment for war.' He adds in a note: 'This agrees with the statement of Aristotle, Pol. ii 12, that Drakon made no change in the constitution. The revolution had already taken place. Drakon's task was to adjust the laws to the changed centre of political power.' Mr Kenyon's rendering is here less exact: 'The franchise was given &c.' (see, however, Class. Rev. v 467 b).—The same kind of franchise is to be found in the constitution proposed by the party of Theramenes in 411, c. 33 at end, Thuc. viii 97, and Xen. Hell. ii 3 (Class. Rev. v 168 a).

Skaa μνών] We have to notice (1) the nature, no less than (2) the amount of the

Ne have to notice (1) the nature, no less than (2) the amount of the property-qualification required of archons. (1) At this time property was reckoned not in money but in corn. Now, the qualification of a ξευγίτης was to possess land capable of producing 200 μέδιμνοι: a

col. 2.] τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀρχὰς || <τὰς> ἐλάττους ἐκ τῶν ὅπλα παρεχ[ομένων], στρατηγούς δε και ιππάρχους οὐσίαν αποφαίνοντας οὐκ ελαττον ή έκατον μνών έλευθέραν και παίδας έ[κ] γαμετής γυναικός γνησίους ὑπὲρ δέκα ἔτη γεγονότας τούτους δ' ἔδει διε[γγυ]α[σθαι] τοὺς 10 πρυτάνεις και τους στρατηγούς και τους ιππάργους τους ένους

7 < τὰς > ἐλάττους Richards, Blass, K-W, H-L, K³.

8 ἐλάττου Marchant coll.

Dobr. Adv. in Thuc. ii 13: ἐλάττου olim K.

9 ἡ ἐκατου in ἐκαστου ἡ (= ὀκτώ)

mutabat Marindin (Smith, Dict. Ant. ii 1071 b). ἡ delet Thompson, utpote ex numerali H (= έκατὸν) natum. ελεγθερων: corr. Wyse etc. 10 λ' λ_i (supra scr. λ ει)...δ' έδει διατηρειν H-L; διεγγυᾶν Schulthess deletis verbis και τοὺς στρατηγοὺς και τοὺς Ιπάρχους; δι.....Κ-W; δ' έδει διεγγυᾶνθαι κ³, Β. 11 τοῦ γέτους Κ¹: τοὺς έτους Paton et van Leeuwen (edd.), quod et in papyro scriptum et unice verum est, cf. [Dem.] 25 § 20 ras evas apxas rais réais ekouoas unegiérai, et Ar. Pol. 1322 a 11 ras run évan (Scaliger) μᾶλλον τὰς νέας (ἀρχάς).

μέδιμνος of corn was worth at this time about a drachma (Plut. Sol. 23). Land of this extent must thus have been worth not less than 2000 drachmas. According to this, men were eligible to the archonship who were excluded by Solon from all office (Class. Rev. v 167 b).

(2) In the constitution described in c. 29, the archons and prytanes alone were to receive pay, 2 obols a day, implying that no high property-qualification was required. The comparatively high qualification for the generals, 100 minae (if the text is sound), would be natural in 411 but not in 621 (ib. 168 a).

Busolt, however, points out that the two qualifications of 100 and of 10 minae respectively correspond to the relative values of gold and silver in ancient times, 10:1. He supposes that a piece of land valued at 1000 Aeginetan drachmae might produce a return of 120-130 Aeginetan or 166-180 Attic drachmae; and if we assume that in those early days, when money was scarcer than in Solon's time, a medimnus was worth only 2 to 3 Aegimetan obols, the yearly produce would be from 360 (or 390) to 250 medimni. This would correspond to the census of a lawest under the Solonian constitution (Philol.

under the Solonian constitution (Philol. 1891, pp. 393—400).

1. 6. Δευθέραν, 'unencumbered.' Isaeus 10 § 17, δ μέν κλήρος έλεύθερος ήν, contrasted with ὑπόχρεων. Dem. 35 § 21, ὑποτιθέασι ταῦτ' ἐλεύθερα, and § 22, ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις τοῖς χρήμασι δανειζόμενοι. Dittenberger, Sylloge, no. 344, 38; 294, 10; 126, 20, 28. Cf. c. 12, 34.

1. 8. στρατηγούς] It is urged by Mr Headlam that (a) We have no other record at this time: in the list in c.

of στρατηγοί at this time: in the list in c. vii § 3 they are not mentioned. (b) The clause about their children is entirely

new. (c) If there were such officers, they held an inferior position, and the comparatively high property-qualifica-tion is unaccountable (Class. Rev. 167 b). Qualifications of a similar character may, however, be noticed at a much later date, however, be noticed at a much later date, in Deinarchus, contr. Dem., § 71, του, ενόμους προλέγειν τῷ βήτορι καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ (τῷ) τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου πίστιν ἀξιοῦντι λαμβάνειν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, γῆν ἐντὸς ὅρων κεκτῆσθαι, πάσας τὰς δικαίας πίστεις παρακαταθέμενον, οθτως άξιοθν προεστάναι του δή-

Suryyuardaı] If this is the right reading, it must presumably be rendered should have security given on their behalf.' The accepted meaning of the word in the passive is 'to be bailed' by any one, e.g. Thuc. iii 70, δκτακοσίων ταλάντων

τοις προξένοις διηγγυημένοι.
τους πρυτάνεις] Here mentioned for the first time, whereas the form of the sentence (so far as the text is sound) implies they have already been referred to. If so, they must either be included among the άλλας άρχας τας έλάττους, or they are identical with the erréa doxorres. As to identical with the *topica approvers*. As to the latter alternative, it is probable that up to the time of Solon the archons were called *mporderes*. This is inferred by Busolt, i 408, from the term for courtfees, *mporareia*, which cannot be explained with the help of anything in the most Solonian constitution, and from the post-Solonian constitution, and from the analogy of Greek states in Asia, where the king was succeeded by a mpirares. It will be remembered that the official residence of the Archon was the mpuτανείον, c. 3 § 5. This appears better than identifying them with 'the president of the Council and Assembly in later days.'

μέχρι εὐθυνῶν, εγγυητὰς τέτταρας εκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους *παρασγομένους ούπερ οι στρατηγοί και οι ίππαρχοι. βουλεύειν δε τετρακο- 3 σίους καὶ ἔνα τοὺς λαγόντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας κληροῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύ-15 την καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀργὰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, καὶ δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν μὴ ἄρχειν πρὸ τοῦ πάντας *[δι]ελθεῖν τότε δὲ πάλ[ιν] ἐξ

13 EFF..TAC $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\nu\eta\tau$ às K³, K-W, B; $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau$ às H-L. δ' K¹; $\bar{\delta}$ (= $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau$ a ρ as) K-W, H-L etc. Δ' (? supra scr. OΔ?) χοΜ'ΟΥC; δεχομένους Κ, K-W, H-L: παρεχομένους Rutherford, TICXOMENOYC fortasse volebat corrector; idem conicit Blass qui in ectypo πε (supra scr. ογ = οῦπερ) χομενογο in ποχομένογο correctum agnoscit. ετιρο πε (supra scr. ογ=ουπερ) χομενογε in πεχομενογε correctum agnoscit.

15 Τριακονθετη.

16 περιελθεῦν κ¹. Expectares aut εἰς πάντας περιελθεῦν κ². Expectares aut εἰς πάντας περιελθεῦν κ². Expectares aut εἰς πάντας περιελθεῦν κ². Εκρεταιες cf. Plut. Arist. 5 ώς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχής quod ad hoc, Ar. Pol. 1298 a 17 et 1300 a 25 ἔως ἀν διελθη̂ διὰ πάντων: etiam πάντας ἐξῆς λαχεῦν conicere in promptu est, coll. [Xen.] Rep. Ath. i 6 μὴ ἐᾶν λέγειν πάντας ἐξῆς μηδὲ βουλεύειν. ἐξελθεῖν κ-W, H-L, κ³, Β; διελθεῦν malui: praestaret διεξελθεῖν (K-W²), sed spatium non sufficit.

μέχρι εδθυνῶν] 'until the audit.' At Athens, according to the evidence of later times, all officials were ὑπεόθυνοι. Aeschin. Ctes. § 17, ούδείς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων.

παρασχομένουε] Often used in middle with μάρτυρας, Pol. 1269 α 2, παρασχέσθαι πλήθος μαρτύρων, and Ant. 5 §§ 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, &c. Cf. Aeschin. c. Ctes. 199, συνηγόρους παρασχέσθαι. The usual verb with έγγυητάς is καθιστάναι, Dem. 24 §§

39, 40, 55, and esp. 144, δs αν έγγνητὰς τρεῖς καθιστῆ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τελοῦντας.
§ 3. βουλεύων] This is the only mention of a Draconian council of 401. In c. 8 we are told of Solon βουλήν δε εποίησε τετρακοσίους, i.e. 'he set up a council of 400.' Had the writer already mentioned a council of 401 he would probably have expressed himself differently in c. 8. The addition of the 'one' is a common device to prevent the votes being exactly equal. But it is a device mainly characteristic of later times, e.g. the δικαστήρια consisting of 501, or 1001, δικασταί. On the other hand, we have the 51 Ephetae who are generally ascribed to the time of Dracon.

έκ της πολιτείας = έκ των πολιτών. κληρούσθαι] the first mention of election by lot in this treatise. Hitherto, it has been generally agreed that, even in Solon's time, the Council was not appointed by lot, and this view is accepted by Thirlwall, Grote, Schömann (Antiq. p. 331 E. T.), and others. The introduction of the lot for this purpose has been usually ascribed to the time of Cleisthenes (508 B.C.). But the present passage implies that the use of the lot was as early as the time of Dracon. This, if true, supports the opinion of Fustel de Coulanges (la Cité Antique, p. 212-4, ed. 1883), that the lot is an institution of religious origin and therefore of great antiquity. See Mr J. W. Headlam's Election by Lot

at Athens, esp. pp. 183—, and note on c. 8 § 1 infra.

ταύτην] την ἀρχήν, εc. τὸ βουλεύεω.

τας άλλας άρχας, exclusive of the Archons, Strategi and Hipparchi, already mentioned, but probably not exclusive of the άλλας άρχας τας έλάττους.

τριάκοντα έτη] This is the age at which an Athenian citizen could become a βουλευτής (Xen. Mem. i 2 § 35) or a δικαστής (c. 63 § 3, cf. document quoted in Dem. Timocr. 151, and Pollux, viii 122). It has already been inferred (Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc., p. 240 Lipsius) that the same requirement of age held good for other officials, the δλλαι άρχαι of the text. (The Ephetae and the public

of the text. (The Ephetae and the public Envoys were, however, required to be 50 years of age; the Diaetetae 59.)

δίε τὸν αὐτὸν μη ἄρχαιν κτλ.] Pol.

1299 α 10, μη τὸν αὐτὸν δίε ἀλλ' ἄπαξι μόνον (ἄρχαιν) and 1317 ὁ 23 τὸ μὴ δίτ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχαιν μηδεμίαν η δλιγάκει η δλίγαι ξέω τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον. Of officials in general we read in Dem. Timocr. 150 (document quoted as δασκε ἡλιαστῶν) offre (document quoted as δρκος ήλιαστών) ούτε δις την αυτήν άρχην τον αυτόν άνδρα ούτε δύο άρχὰς ἄρξαι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνι-αυτῷ. The same citizen could be a βουheurths more than once, as is shewn by the case of Timarchus and that of Demosthenes (adv. Mid. 114 and Aeschin., F. L. 17); and is stated in c. 62 ad fin. It is doubted by Boeckh (Staatsh. ii 763) whether the same citizen could be a Bovλευτή: for two years in succession, but this is purely conjectural (Hermann's

ύπαρχης κληρούν. εὶ δέ τις των βουλευτών, ὅταν ἔδρα βουλης ή έκκλησίας ή, έκλείποι την σύνοδον, απέτινον ο μέν πεντακοσιο- 18 18 ἐκλίποι H-L.

Staatsalt. § 125, 1). The emigrating two πρυτάνεων was not allowed to hold that

office more than once (c. 44 § 1).

The rotation of all in office was a wellknown device of later times (cf. Headlam's Election by Lot, p. 88): but it may well be asked how far it was applicable to a large body of citizens, most of whom lived at a considerable distance from Athens. It was in fact the work of a developed democracy (Class. Rev. v 168 a). νειορεί democracy (cass. New V 100 κ. Ατ. Pol. vi (iv) 14, 1298 α 14, έν άλλαις δέ πολιτείαις βουλεύονται αι συναρχίαι συνι-ούσαι, els δέ τὰς άρχας βαδίζουσι πάντες κατά μέρος έκ των φυλών και των μορίων των έλαχιστων παντελώς, έως αν διεξέλθη διά πάντων. ib. p. 1300 a 23, η γάρ πάντες (οι πολίται τὰς άρχὰς καθιστάσω) αιρέσει, η πάντες έκ πάντων κλήρω (και [ή] έξ ἀπάντων ή ώς ανά μέρος, οίον κατά φυλάς και δήμους και φατρίας, ξως ἄν διέλθη διά πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν κτλ.). It is characteristic of the oligarchical spirit μη έων λέγειν πάντας έξης μηδέ βουλεύειν ([Xen.] Rep. Ath. i 6).

διελθείν] την άρχην. Cf. βίον διελθείν. It would, however, be more natural to say διά πάντων διελθείν οτ διεξελθείν (την άρχήν), as in Pol. 1273 b 17, διά πάντο .διελήλυθε τό άρχειν και τό άρχεσθαι, and the passages quoted in last note.

For έξελθεῖν ex urna (van Leeuwen) cf. Horace's sors exitura, but this use of &-

Horace's sors exitura, but this use of Εελθεῦν is doubtful. In Pol. ii 11, 1273 a
16, the word is applied otherwise, to the
'going out of office' (of certain officials
in the Carthaginian constitution), και γὰρ
Εξεληλυθότες ἄρχουσι και μελλοντες.

Εδρα βουλής] C. 30 § 4.

ἐκκλησίας] Of the general assembly
of the citizens, in or before the times of
Dracon, nothing is known. 'The people
must have had some power' (says Mr
Abbott, History of Greece, i 2301), 'or
the Draconian laws would not have been
published, and Solon would not have been published, and Solon would not have been chosen to reform the constitution. do not know that the officers were elected by, or responsible to, the assembly, and of legislative and judicial authority the people had none. Perhaps we may assume that war could not easily be pro-claimed without their consent, as they formed the bulk of the soldiers. If that were the case, the safety and power of the State depended, in the last resort, upon the General Assembly.

el δέ τις...έκλείποι...άπέτινον] Good-

win's Moods and Tenses, § 462.

ἐκλείποι την σύνοδον] Xen. Hell. ν 2 § 22, εί δέ τις των πόλεων έκλίποι την στρατειάν, έξειναι Λακεδαιμονίοις επιζημιούν στατήρι κατά τὸν ἄνδρα τής ἡμέρας. The phrase is not found in Aristotle, although in Pol. 1331 b 10 we have πρὸς ἀγορά...καὶ συν-1331 ο 10 we have πους αγορά...και συσ-δόω των κοινή. σύνοδος is applied to an έκκλησία in 1319 α 33, οι δὲ γεωργοῦντες διά τὸ διεσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὐτ' ἀπαντῶσιν οῦθ' ὁμοίως δέονται τῆς συνόδου rairns, and to the συσσίτια in 1271 a 28, έδει γάρ άπο κοινοῦ μᾶλλον είναι την σύν-οδον, καθάπερ έν Κρήτη. ἐκλείπειν is generally intrans. in Ar.—Fines for nonattendance are mentioned in Pol. 1297 a 17 (among the devices by which oligarchies deceive the people), περί έκκλησίαν μέν το έξειναι πασιν έκκλησιάζειν, ζημίαν δε επικείσθαι τοίς εύποροις έαν μη εκκλησιάζωσω..., and (among the counter-devices on the part of democracies) 1297 α 37, τοίς μεν γάρ απόροις μισθόν πορίζουσιν έκκλησιά-ζουσι και δικάζουσιν, τοίς δ' εύπόροις ουδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. 1294 α 38, έν μέν γὰρ ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, ἆν μὴ δικάζωσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις ουδένα μισθόν, έν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δὲ εὐπόροις ουδεμίαν ζημίαν.

Mr Headlam observes that the only Athenian instance of a law inflicting a fine for non-attendance at the Council is to be found in the constitution of the 400 in c. 30 ult.

There is no evidence as to fines for non-attendance at official duties in the earlier part of Athenian history. The fines inflicted by Solon's legislation are of a completely different character.

In the laws of Dracon fines were levied in terms of so many head of oxen: Pollux ix 61, καν Δράκοντος νόμοις έστην αποτίνειν είκοσάβοιον. This may have been the compensation paid to a man's relatives in a case of unintentional homicide. But (as observed by Busolt, *Philol.* 1891, p. 399) fines paid to the public chest in the form of oxen would be very inconvenient, and in such cases the payment was prob-

ably exacted in money.

dπfrivov] Ar. Pol. ii 12, 1274 δ 20,
βημίαν ἀποτίνευν (in an interpolated chapter).

πεντακοσιομέδιμνος, ίππεύς, ζευγίτης] see c. 7 § 4. All these have hitherto been

μέδιμνος τρείς δραχμάς, ὁ [δὲ ί]ππεὺς δύο, ζευγίτης δὲ μίαν. ή δὲ 4 20 βουλή ή έξ 'Αρείου πάγου φύλαξ ήν των νόμων καὶ διετήρ[ει τά]ς άρχας όπως κατά τους νόμους άρχωσιν. έξην δε τώ άδικουμένω πρὸ[ς τὴν τῶν] ᾿Αρεοπαγιτ[ῶν] βουλὴν εἰσαγγέλλειν ἀποφαίνοντι παρ' δυ άδικείται νόμου. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώ[μα]σιν ήσαν οἱ δανεισμοί, 5 καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ ἡ χώρα δι' ολίγων ἦν.

τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὖσης ἐν τῆ πολιτεία καὶ τῶν

19 < ο > ζευγίτης H-W, H-L; sed exspectares ο δε ζ.

23 αρεοπαγείτ.
23 4 έπι - ην spuria putant Richards et Keil. δεδεμένοι quondam dubitanter κ (κ-w); δεδανεισμένοι Richards, H-L; οι δανεισμοί Blass (κ³ p. LXIV).

regarded as characteristic results of Solon's legislation; but some sort of property classification, even before the time of Dracon, is implied in c. 3 § 1, where magistrates are described as chosen πλου-

We here reach the end of that part of the chapter which is open to most dispute. Its possible origin is thus indicated

by Mr Headlam:
'The constitution described betrays the thought of a particular party; the reformers of this school used to advocate their policy by maintaining that it really would restore Athens to the condition in which it was before the democratic changes began. Many as we know looked on Solon as the originator of the changes which they deplored (Ar. Polit. ii 12). They would then recommend a constitution of this kind by saying it was like that which prevailed in Athens be-fore the time of Solon. This has misled some transcriber or editor. After the words τους θεσμούς έθηκεν, influenced by the expression at the beginning of chap. iii he desiderated some account of the constitution in the time of Draco and inserted this passage out of some other book' (Class. Rev. v 168 b).

§ 4. φύλαξ τῶν νόμων] Plut. Sol. 19, τὴν δ' ἀνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα των νόμων ἐκάθισεν, inf. 8 § 4. τῶν νόμων] esp. the θεσμοι of Draco mentioned in l. 3 immediately before the

disputed passage.
doayythlese] 'to impeach,' or 'lay
an information' or 'denunciation.' The first known instance of the verb belongs to an inscr. soon after 446 B.C. (Bull. de Corresp. hellen. 1880, p. 225). The use of the term here does not correspond precisely with any of the technical senses which it afterwards bears in a more highly developed stage of Attic law. An elσαγγελία could be brought before the Archon or the Polemarch in certain cases,

or before the Boule or the Ecclesia, but not before the Council of the Areopagus. See Dr Hager in Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v.

§ 5. ἐπὶ δὲ κτλ.] c. 2 § 2. In spite of the advantage of being able to appeal to the Areopagus against acts of injustice, the people had the standing grievance of having their persons mortgaged to their creditors &c. The statement follows naturally from the previous sentence and leads up to the account of the rebellion of the poor against the rich in the next. It is therefore unnecessary to accept the view of a writer in the Edinburgh Review of a writer in the Lainourgn review, 1891, 479: "the statement is quite superfluous; the conjunction does not link it with the preceding sentence, which is concerned with a wholly different subject, and the form, 'as has been said,' shows clearly that it is a marginal comment made by some one who wished to impress the fact on his memory." So far from wishing to strike out this passage, we should be grateful for its preservation, as it has made it possible to restore the sense in the previous mention of the same facts in chap. 2. It has already been shewn that it is quite in harmony with the context.

V-XII. The legislation of Solon.

V § 1. τάξως] If in the previous chapter, the description of the rafes is an interpolation, and the mention of the θεσμοί in relation to the Areopagus and the economic condition of the poorer classes is alone to be regarded as genuine, the use of ráfews here becomes open to suspicion, unless we are content to regard the powers of the Areopagus and the right of bringing grievances before them as sufficient to constitute a τάξι, or consti-

tutional order of things.

4ν τῆ πολιτεία] almost equivalent to τῆς πολιτείας, the gen. being avoided because of the gen. preceding. Cf. De Gen. Anim. 1, 1, 715 a 1, έπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων εξρηται τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζψοις. [π]ολλών δουλευόντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἀντέστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις ὁ 2 δῆμος. ἀσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς στάσεως οὕσης καὶ πολ[ὑν] χρόνον ἀντικαθημένων ἀλλήλοις, εἴλοντο κοινῆ διαλλακτὴν καὶ ἄρχοντα Σόλωνα, καὶ τ[ὴν πολι]τεί[α]ν ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ποιήσαντι τὴν 5 ἐλεγείαν ἦς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ

γιγνώ[σκω], καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται, πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίας.

καὶ γὰρ †ἐπελαύνει καὶ πρὸς ἐκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρων μάχεται

Ψ 2 an ἐπανέστη? Wyse. 7 ΓΙΝω[CΚω] Κ, Κ-W, H-L: γιγνώσκω certe usque ad annum 325 A.C. in titulis Atticis scriptum fuisse constat (Meisterhans, p. 142²): an οἰμωζω? H-L. 8 Ἰαονίην Richards (Class. Rev. v 334 a). 9 εΠελληνεν legit κ (ἐπήλαυνεν κ¹ sed tempus praesens flagitat contextus). ἐπαλλάττει J Β Mayor, Richards, cf. Pol. 1255 a 13, 1257 b 35, 1295 a 9. ἐπιλεαίνει quondam tentabam, sed desideratur accusativus velut τοὺς τραχυνομένους; ἐπελαίνει κ³, sed sensus in obscuro. [συμβουλεύων πολλά] πρὸς H-L. πολί[τικώ-

§ 2. dντικαθημένων] a metaphor implying two forces watching one another. The literal sense is found in Thuc. v 6 § 3, and similarly with dντικαθίζεσθαι iò. iv 124 § 2.

10 124 § 2.

διαλλακτήν και άρχοντα] Plut. Sol.
14, όμοῦ και διαλλακτής και νομοθέτης,
Ρταει. Ger. Reip. 10 § 16 p. 805, ουδεν
γὰρ ἐμμξας ἐαυτὸν ἀλλά κοινὸς ὡν πᾶσι
και πάντα λέγων και πράττων πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν, ἡρέθη νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις,
iδ. p. 825 D ἡμερον διαλλακτήν, and esp.
Απαίστιμς 18 § 14, 763 D, τοῦτον εἴλοντο κοινῆ διαλλακτήν και ἄρχοντα και
νομοθέτην. The last passage supports the
opinion that Plutarch had a first-hand
acquaintance with this treatise.
The archonship of Solon is assigned to

B.C. 594 (Clinton F. H., ii p. 298 = 3633; Busolt, i 524, note 2). Cf. note on 13 § 1.

The theyelar] here, and in l. 3 from end of chapter, 'the elegiac poem.' The fem. form is found in Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. ix 15, 1, and also in late authors (e.g. Plut. Sol. 26, Cimon 10). Aristotle uses τὰ ελεγεῖα in Poet. 1, διὰ τριμέτρων ἢ ελεγεῖων, Rhet. i 15, ελεγεῖα Σόλωνος, iii 2, ελεγεῖα Διονυσίου (cf. Class. Rev. v 234 a).

334 a).

The lines quoted have been hitherto unknown. They may fairly be accepted as the opening couplet of the poem cited in Dem. de Falsa Leg., p. 421, § 255, sometimes called Υποθήκαι els 'Αθηναίους. The passage as there quoted begins with the words:

ημετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οῦποτ' ὁλεῖται αΙσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων.

Voemel saw no difficulty in regarding the passage quoted by Dem. as the actual beginning of the poem: "Particula δὲ non

obstat initio....Similia initia Tyrtaei, Mimnermi, Callini. Imo optime convenit commoto atque elato Solonis animo relictà sententià 'Aliae quidem urbes interierunt et interibunt,' sic incipere: 'sed Athenae sunt perpetuae'." But, if the couplet quoted in the text comes from the same poem at all, we now have the true beginning of that composition. The poet begins in a strain of sorrow and dejection due to the sad condition of his country, mingled with fear of the consequences of the avarice and pride of the wealthy (insfra. rip re φιλαργυρίαν rip θ' υπερηφανίαν). Afterwards (in the passage preserved by Dem.) he changes his tone to one of exultant trust in the overruling power of the patron-goddess of Athens. He then dwells on the injustice, the insolence, and the greed of the δήμου ἡγεμόνες; and insists on the evils caused by bad legislation and the blessings brought about by good. Thus far we have only an attack against one of the two parties in the state. The other topics may have found a place in the lost portions of the poem.

'Iaovías' 'Iaovín' is proposed by Mr

'Iaovias] 'Iaoviny is proposed by Mr H. Richards on the ground that Solon is not likely to have used *Ionia* for 'all lands where Ionians dwell.' The Ionic form may have been wrongly written 'Iaovias, and then altered into 'Iaovias in consequence of the superlative. Considering, however, that it was a fixed belief of the Athenians that Ion had been their own πολέμαρχος, and was the father of the four progenitors of the Ionian tribes, Attica may well be called the oldest land in all the Ionian world.

ἐπελαύνει] apparently intransitive; used elsewhere of military movements

το καλ διαμφισβητεί, καλ μετά ταῦτα κοινή παραινεί [κατα]παύειν την ένεστώσαν φιλονικίαν. ην δ' δ Σόλων τη μέν [φύ]σει και τη 3 δόξη των πρώτων, τη δ' οὐσία και τοις πράγμασι των μέσων, ώς ἔκ τε των άλλων όμολογείται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοίσδε τοίς ποιήμασιν μαρτυρεί, παραινών τοίς πλουσίοις μή πλεονεκτείν

ύμεις δ' ήσυχάσαντες ένι φρεσι καρτερον ήτορ, οῦ πολλών ἀγαθών ἐς κόρον [ήλ]άσατε, έν μετρίοισι τ[ρέφεσθ]ε μέγαν νόον οὕτε γάρ ήμεῖς πεισόμεθ', οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἄρτια πά[ντ'] ἔσεται.

καὶ όλως ἀεὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς στάσεως ἀνάπτει τοῖς πλουσίοις διὸ 20 καλ εν άρχη της ελεγείας δεδοικέναι φησί

τατα] ? K-W, qui legi posse existimant καιγαρπολι... εταικαιπρος; quae si revera olim exstabant, licet conicere και γὰρ πολι[τεύ]εται και πρὸτ, quod confirmat aliquatenus Aristides ii 361 Dind. in commentario exscriptus, qui in loco nostro suos in usus convertendo verbum ἐπολιτεύετο bis usurpavit.

11 ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΝ superscr.

NIKI. φύσει Richards, Wyse (edd.): ἡήσει olim K.

16 ἀάσατε Κ¹ sensu intransitivo usurpatum: correxit Postgate coll. Tyrtaei loco infra allato; idem conicit Naber (edd.). 17 τ[θεσθε] Platt (H-L); μετρίοις τέρπεσθε Kontos. 18 άρτια: άρθμια Tyrrell, coll. Theogn. 1312 ἄρθμιος ήδε φίλος, adde Hdt. vi 83 τέως μὲν δή σφι ήν άρθμια εἰς ἀλλήλους: άρκια Kontos (H-L). πά[ντ'] K-W quod locis infra laudatis confirmatur; $\tau \delta \lambda^2$ K¹ qui Ta potius quam Ta in papyro legit; $\tau a \hat{v} \tau^2$ H-L (K³, B); $\tau \delta \lambda \lambda^2$ quondam Blass. 19 Ai ϵ i (K, K-W, B): $\dot{a}\epsilon$ l (H-L). Formam utramque usurpant decreta

such as 'charging' (Hdt. ix 49), or 'marching against' (i 17); here perhaps of 'attacking.' This sense would lead up to the next verb μάχεται. Another suggestion, emallatret, as observed by one of its proposers, 'seems suitable to describe the attitude of a man who sees and takes both sides of a question at once, who is at home in both camps' (H. Richards in Class. Rev. v 107 a). But

we should expect δυσχεραίνει or drittelvet.
προς έκατίρους ύπερ έκατέρων] The purport of this part of the poem must have been the same as that of the λόγοι of Solon described in Aristides, ii 361, who probably had this passage in view: καίτοι Σόλων τὰ μέν είς Μεγαρέας έχοντα ασαι λέγεται, τους δε νόμους ούκ ήδε περιτών ούδε τούς λόγους τούς ύπερ τών εύπό-ρων πρός τον δήμον, ούδε τούς ὑπερ τών πολλών πρός τούς πλουσίους ούκ ήδεν, οὐδ' όσα άλλα ἐπολιτεύετο, οὐκ ἀδων οὐδ' ἐν μέτροις ἐπολιτεύετο, ἀλλὰ τῷ

τῆς ἡητορικής τόπω καθαρώς χρώμενος. § 3. τῆ μὲν φύσει κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 1, ἀνδρὸς οὐσία μέν, ὡς φασι, καὶ δυνάμει μέσου

τών πολιτών, οίκιας δε πρώτης και συναμει μεσου τών μέσων κτλ.] Αι. Pol. vi (iv) 11, 1296 α 19, σημείον δε δεί νομίζεω και τό τούς βελτίστους νομοθέτας είναι των μέσων πολιτών. Σόλων τε γάρ ήν τούτων

(δηλοί δ' έκ της ποιήσεως). This statement is proved by the verses here quoted. Two μέσων must not be confounded with our middle classes.' It refers rather to the 'middle classes.' It refers rather to the moderately wealthy citizens (see Newman's Politics of Ar., ip. 500). Cf. Pol. 1295 b, 1296 a 7, 13, 1289 b 29 f.

ήσυχάσαντες] The vb is transitive in this tense alone. Plat. Rep. 572 A, ήσυχάσαν μέν τω δύο είδη, τὸ τρίτον δὲ κυήσας.

These four lines have been hitherty up.

These four lines have been hitherto unknown.

ol - es κόρον ήλασατε] 'ye that plunged into surfeit of many good things.' Tyrtaeus 11 (7), 10, αμφοτέρων δ' els κόρον ήλασατε, Hdt. ii 124, ές τοσούτον ήλασαν (τ δ πρᾶγμα), 'they drove it thus far'; v 50, ès πᾶσαν κακότητα έλάσας.

ούτε γαρ ήμειε-έσεται] neither shall we (who are oppressed) continue to obey you, nor will you (who are wealthy) find all things perfect.

άρτια πάντ'] Solon 4 (13) 35, εὐνομία δ' εὐκοσμα καὶ άρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει, and ib. 40, ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆ πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους άρτια καὶ πινυτά. Theognis Theognis 946, είμι παρά στάθμην όρθην όδόν, ούδετέπάντα νοείν.

την αιτίαν...ανάπτει] 'ascribes the origin' (K). Rare in Aristotle; Met. 12, 4,

21

τήν τε $\phi[i\lambda a \rho \gamma u \rho]$ ίαν τήν θ^* ὑπερηφανίαν,

ώς διὰ ταῦτα της ἔχθρας ἐνεστώ[σ]ης.

6. κύριος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν πραγμ[άτ]ων Σόλων τόν τε δῆμου ἤλευθέρωσε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον, κωλύσας δ[ανεί]- ζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκε καὶ χρεῶν ἀ[πο]κοπὰς ἐπ[ο]ίησε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων, ᾶς σεισάχθειαν καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἀποσεισαμένων τὸ βάρος. ἐν οἶς πειρῶνταί τι[νες] δια- 5
2 βάλλειν αὐτόν συνέβη γὰρ τῷ Σόλωνι μέλλοντι ποιεῖν τὴν

publica usque ad annum 361 A.C., ex quo anno del tantum inventum est, quamquam θιασωτών in titulis diu duravit alel (Meisterhans, p. 25²); itaque del ubique scripsi; quod autem inter Aristotelis editores nonnulli modo hanc, modo illam formam malunt, velut in Pol. 1276 a 36, 38 ubi inter trium versuum spatium καίπερ alel et καίπερ del legitur, vix credibile est scriptorem eundem formam utramque usurpasse. 21 τήν τε φ[ιλαργυρ]ίαν Κ, Κ-W, Η-L; τὴν φ[ιλοχρηματ]ίαν Κοπίος, Βετηαταλακίε: τήν τε ά[χρημ]ατίαν Β. τήν τε ὑπερ. (Κ, Κ-W); τὴν θ' ὑπερ. J B Mayor, Jackson, H-L; et metrum et τε iteratum poetae versum produnt.

VI 1 $<\delta>$ $\Sigma\delta$ hw K-W. 8 καὶ νόμους έθηκε secl. K-W, Reinach. C 4 ΔCΕΙCΑχθιΑ: ds σεισάχθειαν Κ etc. καλοῦσιν: 'fort. ἐκάλουν scribendum' (K-W). 5 ΔΠΟCΙCΑΜΕΝΟΙ: dποσεισάμενοι Κ, H-L; dποσεισαμένων J B Mayor, K-W, B. Bapoc K etc.: [$d\chi\theta$] os H-L.

ΤΕSΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. VI 8 Heraclidis epitoma: νομοθετών 'Αθηναίοις καὶ χρεών ἀποκοπὰς έποίησε, τὴν σεισάχθειαν λεγομένην (Rose, Frag. 611, 38). Hesych. σεισάχθεια· Σόλων χρεών ἀποκοπὴν δη μοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικών ἐνομοθέτησεν, ήνπερ σεισάχθειαν ἐκάλεσε παρὰ τὸ ἀποσείσασθαι τὸ βάρος τών δανείων. Photius (=Suidas) σεισάχθεια, = Apostolius 17, 52.

3, ὧν τοὺς λόγους els ἀριθμούς ἀνῆπτον, 'to ascribe or refer to.' Common in Plutarch, e.g. Lycurg. 6, τὴν ἀρχὴν και τὴν αΙτίαν τῆς πολιτείας els τὸν Πόθιον ἀνῆψε, 13 § 3, τὸ δὲ δλον και πάσης νομοθεσίας ἔργον els τὴν παιδείαν ἀνῆψε, Νωπια 12 § 1, els μιᾶς δύναμων θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ἀνάπτοντες. Cf. ἀναφέρεω. Mr Poste and Mr H. Richards (Class. Rev. v 466 a) understand it 'imputes the blame.' This might be defended by Od. ii 86 μώμον ἀνάψαι (Schol. περιποιῆσαι, περιθεῦναι), where Ameis prefers ἐκ μώμον ἀνάψαι. But in Attic Gk we should expect περιάπτει in this sense (Dem. Lept. 10). τῆς ἐλεγείας, § 2. δεδοικέναι κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 14, δε-

δοικεναι κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 14, δεδοικώς τών μέν την φιλοχρηματίαν τών δὲ την ὑπεμηφανίαν. The double τε is far more common in verse than in prose

(Kühner, § 520).

VI § 1. κωλύσας δανείζειν κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 15, Σόλωνος...την τών χρεών άποκοπην σεισάχθειαν θνομάσαντος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπριήσατο πρώτον πολίτευμα, γράψας τὰ μέν ὑπάρχωντα τών χρεών ἀνεῖσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα

δανείζειν. Diog. Laert. i 45. The phrase χρεών ἀποκοπαί is found in Dem. 17 § 15, 24 § 149, Andoc. de Myst. 88, Plut. ii 226 B, Cic. ad Att. vi 11 § 1, χ. ἀποκοπή in Plato. Leag. 726 C.

in Plato, Legg. 736 c.

Suradx Genav] (1) Most of our ancient authorities understood this to imply a complete remission of debts; this is the view of the text, and of Philochorus, frag. 57, and it is accepted by Schömann, Antop. 328 E. T.; Gilbert i 130; Landwehr, Philol. Suppl. Bd v (1884) 131 ff.; and Busolt, i 525. (2) Others, including Androtion (see note on 1081), held that Solon relieved the debtors, partly by a diminution in the rate of interest, partly by the introduction of a new money-standard; this is accepted by Boeckh; Hermann, Staatsalt. § 106; E. Curtius; and (in the main) by Duncker, Gesch. d. Alt. vi ed. 5, 158. (3) Grote (c. 11, ii 304) assumes a total remission of debts, but limits it to the case of debts secured on the debtor's person or his land.

§ 2. συνίβη - ἐπλούτουν] Plut. Sol.
15, πράγμα δ' αὐτῷ συμπεσεῦν λέγεται
πάντων ἀνιαρότατον ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐκεί-

σεισάχ $[\theta]$ ειαν προειπεῖν τισὶ τῶν $[\gamma \nu \omega]$ ρίμω $[\nu]$, ἔπειθ', ὡς μὲν οἱ δημοτικοί λέγουσι, παραστρατηγηθήναι διά των φίλων, ώς δ' οί [βουλ]όμενοι βλασφημείν, καὶ αὐτὸν κοινωνείν. δανεισάμενοι γάρ 10 οὖτοι συνεπρίαντο πολλήν χώραν, [μετὰ δ'] οὐ πολύ τής τῶν χρεών αποκοπής γενομένης επλούτουν δθεν φασί γενέσθαι τούς ύστερον δο κο θυτας είναι παλαιοπλούτους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά πιθ ανώ-] 3 τερος [ό] των δημοτικώ[ν λ]όγος οὐ γὰρ [εἰκ]ὸς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτω μέτριον γενέσθαι καὶ κοινὸν [ωσ]τ', έξὸν αὐτῷ [τ]οὺς [έτ]έ[ρο]υς 15 ύποποιησάμενον τυραννείν της πόλεως, αμφοτέροις απεχ[θ]έσθαι καὶ περὶ πλείονος [ποι]ήσασθαι τ[ὸ κα]λὸν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ή την αύτου πλεονεξίαν, εν [ουτ]ω δε μικροις [καλ] $\vec{a}\nu[a\xi(o)]$ ις καταρρυπαίν $[\epsilon]$ ιν έαυτόν. ὅτι δὲ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν 4 έξουσίαν, τά τε πράγματα νοσοῦντα μα[ρτυ]ρεῖ [τοῦ]το, καὶ ἐν τοῖς

8 λ', διά K etc.: ὑπὸ K-W. 10 μετά δ' K etc. (cf. Magn. Mor. 1211 b 1, μετ' οὐ πολύ); εἶτα μετ' H-L.

11 ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ (Κ¹): γενομένης Rutherford, K-W, H-L, K³.

14 ὥστ' Richards, Jackson, Blass (edd.): ἄμα τ' olim κ. [νόμ]ονς κ,

K-W: [67]6[00]vs Blass (H-L) coll. c. 11, 13. 19 M....po...To litteris obscure scripk-W: [ετ]ε[ρο]υτ Biass (H-L) coll. c. 11, 13. 19 M....po...το litters obscure scriptis. μαρτυρεί legunt Wessely et Blass, quod mihi quoque in mentem venerat. τοῦτο mecum coniecerunt K-W², ἀ Ιάσατο Wessely, quod vel propter hiatum vix tolerari potest. μετεχειρίσατο quod olim protuli (coll. Plat. Rep. 408 C Ιατροί νοσώδεις μετεχειρίσατο, et 346 Ε τὰ ἀλλότρια κακά μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἀνορθοῦντα) acceperunt H-L, sed repugnat papyrus. μαρτύρ[ι]ο[ν μέ]γα Blass, sed το potius quam Γα in papyro apparet.

νης. ώς γάρ ώρμησεν άνιέναι τὰ χρέα καί λόγους άρμόττοντας έξήτει και πρέπουσαν άρχήν, έκοινώσατο τών φίλων οις μάλιστα πιστεύων και χρώμενος έτύγχανε, τοις περί Κόνωνα και Κλεινίαν και Ίππόνικον, δτι γῆν μὲν οὐ μέλλει κινεῖν, χρεών δὲ ποιεῖν ἀποκοπὰς ἔγνωκεν. οἱ δὲ προλαβόντες εὐθὺς καὶ φθάσαντες ἐδανείσαντο συχνὸν άργύριον παρά των πλουσίων και μεγάλας συνεωνήσαντο χώρας. είτα τοῦ δόγματος έξενεχθέντος τὰ μέν κτήματα καρπούμενοι, τά δὲ χρήματα τοῖς δανείσασιν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες είς αίτιαν τον Σόλωνα μεγάλην καί διαβολήν, ώσπερ οὐ συναδικούμενον, άλλὰ συναδικούντα, κατέστησαν. άλλὰ τοῦτο μέν εύθυς ελύθη το Εγκλημα τοις πέντε ταλάντοις τοσαίτα γάρ εύρέθη δανείζων, και ταῦτα πρώτος ἀφήκε κατά τον νόμον. ένιοι δέ πεντεκαίδεκα λέγουσιν, ων καί Πολύζηλος ο 'Ρόδιος έστι. τους μέντοι φίλους αυτοῦ χρεωκοπίδας καλοῦντες διετέ-λεσαν (the story of the five talents comes from some other source than the text). Praecept. Ger. Reip. 13 § 10 p. 807, τοῦτο γάρ και Σόλωνα κατήσχυνε και διέβαλε πρός τους πολίτας έπει γάρ έν νῷ λαβών τὰ δφλήματα κουφίσαι, και την σεισάχθειαν (τοῦτο δ' ην υποκόρισμα χρεών αποκοπής) είσενεγκείν, έκοινώσατο τοις φίλοις οί δ

Εργον άδικώτατον Επραξαν έδανείσαντο γάρ ὑποφθάσαντες άργύριον πολύ, καὶ μετ' όλίγον χρόνον είς φως τοῦ νόμου προαχθέντος, οι μέν εφάνησαν οικίας τε λαμπράς και γην συνεωνημένοι πολλην έξ ών έδανείσαντο χρημάτων ο δε Σόλων αίτίαν έσχε

συναδικείν ήδικημένος.
παλαιοπλούτους Lys. 19 § 49.
§ 3. καταρρυπαίνειν] Το the passages from Isocr. and Plato, quoted in L and S. may be added Plut. de Cohibenda Ira 6, ii p. 456, καταρρυπαίνει και πίμπλησιν άδοξίας, de Profectibus in Virt. 17, ii p. 85 F, οὐ δ' ὁπωσοῦν ἀξιῶν ρυπαίνεσθαι. The word is not found in Ar.

§ 4. ταύτην την έξουσίαν] ες. τοῦ τυραννών. Plut. Sol. 14 and Solon fragm. 33, οὐκ έφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων κτλ., there quoted:

also fragm. 32.
τα τε πράγματα νοσοθντα κτλ.] Prof.
Tyrrell (Class. Rev. v 177) defends μετεκρούσατο (K¹) as follows: "The idea of a balance underlies the word, as in wapaκρούεσθαι, and 'he shifted the balance of affairs' would be a not unnatural way of saying 'he changed the face of politics.' But, even if μετεκρούσατο were defensible in itself, one could hardly justify such a mixture of metaphors as 'adjusting the

ποιήμασιν αὐτὸς πολλαχοῦ μέμνηται, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συνομολογοῦσι 20 πάν[τες]. ταύτην μεν οθν χρή νομίζειν ψευδή την αιτίαν είναι.

πολιτείαν δε κατέστησε και νόμους έθηκεν άλλους, τοις δε Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν. ἀναγράψαντες δε τους νόμους είς τους κύρβεις έστησαν εν τη στοά τη 3

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. **VII 3** "Harp. κύρβεις: "ἀναγράψαντες—ἐν τῷ στοὰ τῷ βασιλεία (βασιλίδι cod. D et Photius)." "Plut. Sol. 25 (οἱ ξύλινοι ἀξονες) προσηγορεύθησαν, ως Αριστοτέλης φησί, κύρβεις. "Schol. Arist. Av. 1354 (= Lexicon Dem. Patmiacum, (βασιλίδι cod. D et Photius)." Αριστοτελης σημό, κυρβεις. ΄ Schol: Arist. Αδ. 1354 (- Lexicon Denis, Talinadin, p. 150 Sakkelion) κύρβεις...κατά δὲ ἐνίους ἀξονες τρίγωνοι (κατασκευάσματά τινα ξύλινα τρίγωνα Lex. Patm.) ἐν οἰς ἡσαν οἱ τῶν πόλεων νόμοι γεγραμμένοι...καθάπερ καὶ 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. φησὶ καὶ 'Απολλόδωρος (Rose, Frag. 352², 390²).

balance of the maladies of the state.' My former suggestion νοσούντα μετεχειρίoaro is defended in point of expression by the passages of Plato quoted in the critical notes. It is also incidentally confirmed in point of sense by a passage in Grote's History of Greece (ii 327), where he speaks of the 'discontents of the miserable Athenian population' experiencing Solon's 'disinterested and healing management.' The re in this case would mean 'and accordingly' (being armed with this authority), as often in Herodotus and Thucydides, and not seldom in Xenophon (Kühner, § 519, 3). The usage of Ar. does not differ in this from that of other writers (Eucken, De Ar.

dicendi ratione, i p. 13).

The suggestion that the sense required is 'docet et res publica aegrotans et' (K-W1) admits of being carried out by proposing τά τε πράγματα νοσούντα μαρτυρεί τούτο. The sequence μαρτυρεί...μέμνηται...συνο-μολογούσι would in this case find its parallel in c. 5 § 3, έκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολο-γείται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ποιήμασω γειται και αυτοι εν τοισοε τοις ποιήμαστο μαρτυρεί, and 12 § 1. Cf. Pol. 1334 α 5 δτι δε δεί...μαρτυρεί τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς λόγοις, Metaphysica 282 δ 22 δ λόγοις μαρτυρεί, De Anima 410 α 29, ώτ —, μαρτυρεί τὸ ενῦν λεχθέν, Εth. ii 1, 1103 δ 2 μαρτυρεί δὲ κεὶ τὸ νιοπόμενου ἐπ τοῖς 2 μαρτυρεί δέ και τὸ γιγνόμενον έν ταις πολεσιν, &c. Since this note was written μαρτυρεί has been conjectured in K-W2,

and this is the reading which I now prefer.

voorovra] c. 13 § 3, oracultorres followed by vooovres metaphorically used in the same sense. Plat. Rep. 470 C, voceîv... kal stasiájew, and 556 E, voceî te και αυτή αυτή μάχεται (ή πόλις).
μέμνηται] 'makes mention of,' usually

gen.; here bre is due partly to the influence of συνομολογούσι, and still more to mapropei, if that be accepted. Cf. 12 § 1, δτι-συμφωνοῦσι-μέμνηται. VII § 1. Δράκοντος θεσμοίς] c. 4 § 1.

πλήν τῶν φονικῶν] Plut. Sol. 17 init. πρῶτον μὲν οδν τοὺς Δράκοντος νόμους άνείλε πλήν των φονικών απαντας διά την χαλεπότητα και το μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. Cf. Dem. 23 § 66, Aelian V. Η. viii 10, Josephus Αρίον. i 4, τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αύτοις περί των φονικών γραφέντας νόμους. On the revision of the laws of Athens, after the restoration of the democracy in the summer of 411 B.C., the laws of Dra-con respecting homicide were once more retained. An inscr. of 409 B.C. records a decree authorizing the γραμματεύε of the βουλή to give the ἀναγραφής, or re-corders of the laws, a true copy of Dra-con's law. Δράκοντος νόμων τον περί τοῦ con's law. Δράκοντος νόμων τον περί τοῦ [φόν] ου [ἀ]ν[α]γραψά[ν]τ[ων οι ἀ]ν[α]γρα]φής τῶν νόμων—ἀ στήλη λιθίνη κ[αι κ] [τ]α[θέν]τ[ων πρόσθεν τ]η[ε] στοᾶς τῆς βασιλείας. (Cf. Andoc. i 84, 85)... Then follows a copy of the πρῶτος ἄξων of Solon, containing Dracon's law on involuntary homicide (CIA i 61; Dittenberger,

p. 87; Hicks, Greek Hist. Inser. p. 112).
κύρβως] Rectangular wooden tablets
painted white and arranged in sets of
four, each set forming a 'pillar' about the
height of a man. This pillar revolved on
an upright axis; hence the κύρβως were
called force the area lignage of Galling called acores, the axes ligneae of Gellius ii 12. The κύρβεις are mentioned in a ii 12. The κύρβεις are mentioned in a fragment of Cratinus, quoted by Plutarch Sol. 25. An inscr. of 409 B.C. cites the πρῶτος ἄξων (see note on πλην τῶν φονικῶν). Lysias, Or. 30, c. Nicomachum (B.C. 399), § 17 τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων. In Dem. Aristor. p. 629 § 28, he law of homisida is found to a significant of the significant the law of homicide is found έν τῷ α (i.e. πρώτφ) άξονι (as emended by Cobet).

Aristotle is said to have written a treatise in five books περί τῶν Σόλωνος αξόνων (see list of his works, ascribed to Hesychius, in Rose, Fragm. Ar. p. 16, l. 140). Eratosthenes supposed that the several tablets were triangular in shape.

4 βασιλείφ καὶ ώμοσαν χρήσεσθαι πάντες οί δ' εννέα ἄρχοντες

mistake was corrected by Polemon of Ilium, who, on the strength of his own observation, insists on the quadrangular shape of the tablets (Harpocr. s. v. δέρνι: οι Σόλωνος νόμοι έν ξυλίνοις ήσαν άξοσι γεγραμμένοι... ήσαν δέ, ως φησι Πολέμων έν τοῖς πρός Έρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι το σχήμα, διασψζυνται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείω, γεγραμμένοι κατά πάντα τὰ μέρη ποιούσι δ' ένίστε φαντασίαν τρίγωνον, όταν έπι το στενον κλιθώσι της δταν έπι τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας. Polemo fragm. 48, Müller, FHG iii 130). A pupil of Eratosthenes, the famous critic Aristophanes of Byzantium, gives a clear account of their shape: Etymologicum Magn. p. 547, αμφοτέρων δε (sc. των κύρβεων και των αξώνων) το κατασκεύασμα κυρρεων και των αξωνων το μέγα ανδρόμηκες, ήρμοσμένα έχον ξύλα τετράγωνα, τάς πλευράς πλατείας έχοντα καί γραμμάτων πλήρεις, έκατέρωθεν δὲ κνώδακας ('pivots'), κατερωσεν σε κνωσακας ('pivois), ώστε κινείσθαι και περιστρέφεσθαι ύπο τών αναγιγνωσκομένων. The 'grammarians' Didymus (Plut. Sol. 1) and Seleucus (Suidas, s. v. δργεώνες) wrote mono-graphs on the αξονες. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, refers to the first, the thirteenth and the sixteenth dew (c. 24, 19, 23), and states that some small fragments of the deores were still to be seen in his own day in the Prytaneum (c. 25).

Some of the Greek lexicographers erroneously distinguished between the κύρβειs and άξονες in respect to shape, material and contents (cf. Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius iv 280). The distinction assumes the following form in Tzetzes, Chiliades, xii 349:

οί άξονος τοτράγωνοι, τρίγωνοι δε αἰ κύρβεις, είχον δε οἰ μεν άξονος νόμους τοὺς ἰδιωτας, αἰ κύρβεις είχον νόμους δε τοὺς περί δημοσίων. καὶ ετι οὶ μεν άξονος ὑπηρχον ἀπὸ ξύλων, αἰ κύρβεις ήσαν δε χαλκαί.

But the identity of the άξονες and κύρβεις has been proved by Hulleman, Miscellanea Philol. (Amsterdam, 1850), and is now generally accepted. Cf. Preller on Polemon, p. 87; Frohberger's Lysias, III p. 23; Rose, Ar. Pseudepigraphus, 414; and Oncken, die Staatslehre des Ar., 422. In view of the text, it is no longer possible to regard the κύρβεις (placed in the στολ) as later copies of the άξονες in the Prytaneum (so Busolt, i 539, and Müller, Handbuch, IV i 118).

τῆ στος τῆ βασιλείφ] called ἡ στοὰ ἡ βασιλεία in CIA i δι (quoted in n. on πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν). Η μετροςτ. ε. υ. βασίλειος στοά: δύο είσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλληλας, ἤ τε τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλειος.

In literature it is known as η τοῦ βασιλιών στοὰ (Plat. Ευτλγρήτοπ 2 λ. Τλεαεί. 210 D) οτ η στοιὰ ή βασιλειος (Aristoph. Eccl. 684). Cf. Pausan. i 3, 1, καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλειος ένθα καθίζει βασιλεύς ένιαυσίαν άρχων ἀρχήν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. Pausanias, entering the inner Cerameicus from the north, sees the στοὰ βασίλειος as the first building on his right, i.e. on the W. side of the Cerameicus. Apparently he did not go inside, and he tells us nothing of the altar outside, where the Archons took their oath. (See esp. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 344—351; Curtius, Stadtgeschichte von Athen, p. xc b, and p. 294; and cf. Miss Harrison's Mythology &c. of Athens,

p. 24.)

The use of this στολ as a place for keeping a record of the laws of Athens is attested in Andoc. De Myst. 82, 85, dναγράψαι ἐν τῷ στοῷ, and 84, εἰς τὸν τοῖχον ἐνα περ πρόπερον ἀνεγράφησαν. The statement of Anaximenes (in Harpocration, s. v. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος), that Ephialtes transferred τοὺς άξονας καὶ τοὺς κύρθεις from the Acropolis to the βουλευτήρων and the ἀγορά, is inconsistent with the text, and is probably a mere flourish of rhetoric. The κύρβεις were apparently always in the ἀγορά. Cf. Oncken, Staatslehre, ii 421. Secret meetings of the Areopagus were sometimes held ἐν τῷ βασιλείψ στοῷ, Dem. 25, Aristog. A, § 23. ἄμοσαν κτλ.] Plut. Solon 25, κουόν

ἄμοσαν κτλ.] Plut. Solone 25, κοινών μεν οὖν ἄμινιεν ὅρκον ἡ βουλή τοὐν Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν, [δίον δ' ἔκαστος τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἀγορὰ πρὸς τῷ λίθ ψ, καταφατίζων, εἶ τι παραβαίη τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς. Οn the oath of the Archons, cſ. c. 55 \$ 5, and Plato Phaedr. 235 D, καί σοι ἐγώ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, ὑπισχνοῦμαι χρυσῆν εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήσειν.

The word looμέτρητον is omitted in the text and in Pollux viii 86. It is ingeniously explained by Bergk (Rhein. Mus. xiii 448) as virtually equivalent to loo-στάσιον and as implying that the statue in gold was to be equivalent in weight to the amount of silver received as a bribe. This, he urges, is suggested by Deinarchus i 60, ii 17, where the δεκαπλοῦν τίμημα may be explained with reference to the relative value of gold to silver at Athens in the time of Solon, being 10: I. According to this view the archons swore that they would pay a fine equivalent to ten times the value of any bribe they

ομνύντες προς τῷ λίθω κατεφάτιζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν, 5 έάν τινα παραβώσι των νόμων όθεν έτι καί νύν ούτως όμνύουσι. 2 κατεκύρωσεν δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἐκατὸν [ἔ]τη καὶ διέταξε τὴν πολιτείαν τόνδε <τὸν> τρόπον.

τιμήμα[τα δι]είλεν είς τέτταρα τέλη, καθάπερ διήρητο καὶ πρότερου, είς πευτακοσιομ[έδιμ]ν[ου καὶ ίππέα] καὶ ζευγίτην καὶ 10

8 τόνδε <τὸν>τρόπον edd.; cf. c. 29 § 5, 37 § 1. 9 <τὰ> τιμήματα Blass (H-L); ante τιμήματα lacunam indicant κ-w, 'velut <τὸ πῶν πλήθος ἐκ> τιμημάτων διείλεν,' coll. Hesych. et Harp.

ΤΕSTIMONIA. 5 "Harp. λίθος:...ἐοἰκασι δ' ᾿Αθηναῖοι πρός τινι λίθω τοὺς ὄρκους ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ γ ΄ ὑποσημαίνουσιν. 9 "Harp. ἰππάς:...᾿Αρ. ἐν ᾿Αθ. πολ. φησὶν ὅτι Σόλων εἰς τέτταρα διεῖλε τέλη

received. In the text, however, we have no reference to receiving bribes and no mention of the bulk of the statue; nor again have we either here, or in the excerpts of Heraclides or in Pollux, any mention of Delphi. Suidas (as observed by Thompson on Pl. Phaedr. l.c.) 'makes the statues three instead of one and represents them as portrait-statues of the delinquent '
(χρυσή είκών: ώμνυον οι 'Αθήνησιν άρχοντες, άν τι παρέλθωσιν έφ' οις άν άρχωσιν, χρυσήν είκόνα αὐτῶν ἀναθήσειν έν
άστει, έν Πυθοί, έν 'Ολυμπία). But portrait-statues were not in use in Solon's time, and 'it is very unlikely that the Delphians would have allowed their sacred peribolus to be defiled by the statue of a detected criminal. And if the penalty was intended to be enforced, the offering must needs have been of much more limited dimensions. It is therefore conceivable that both looperpyror and avrow were introduced by late writers into the text of the original oath, in order to make it conformable to the supposed The text shews that meaning of Plato.' this conjecture is right, and also that the insertion of έν Δελφοίs has no warrant in the original form of the oath.

The Mos was possibly identical with the altar of Zevs ayopaios (Wachsmuth,

Stadt Athen, ii 352). § 2. els exarer try Plut. Sol. 25 init., loxdr de ross romois maoir els exarer eriантойя ёбыке.

§ 3. τιμήματα κτλ.] Hitherto it has been universally held that the classification of citizens according to property was first devised by Solon. Plut. Sol. 18, δεύτερον δὲ Σόλων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, ώσπερ ήσαν, τοις εύπόροις άπολιπείν βουλόμενος, την δ' άλλην μίξαι πολιτείαν, ής ο δήμος ου μετείχεν, έλαβε τα τιμήματα των πολιτών, και τους μέν έν ξηροίς όμου και υγροίς μέτρα πεντακόσια ποιούντας πρώτους έταξε και πεντακοσιομεδίμνους δευτέρους δέ τούς Ιππον προσηγόρευσε. τρέφειν δυναμένους ή μέτρα ποιείν τρια-κόσια και τούτους Ιππάδα τελούντας έκάλουν: ζευγίται δ' οι τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ώνομάσθησαν, οις μέτρον ην συναμφοτέρων διακοσίων. οι δε λοιποι πάντες έκαλοῦντο θήτες, οίς οὐδεμίαν άρχειν έδωκεν άρχήν, άλλα τῷ συνεκκλησιάζειν και δικάζειν μόνον μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας. The quotations in Harpocration are to the same effect. They ignore the 'Draconian constitution, and they lend no support to the phrase: καθάπερ διήρητο και πρότερον. Those who decline to accept the 'Draconian consti-tution' must necessarily omit the words just quoted. Mr Kenyon suggests that the statements in c. 4 can only be reconciled with the general ascription of the classes in question to Solon, by sup-posing that the latter brought them into a new relation to the political constitu-tion. Solon began his reforms by repealing all of Dracon's laws except those relating to homicide. This implies that 'Solon made a clean sweep of all the laws relating to the constitution, so as to have a free hand in reconstructing it according to his own ideas. He then re-introduced the property classes, as well as the Council of Four hundred and the Areopagus. This explanation is skilful and ingenious and may possibly be right.
On Solon's τιμήματα, see Boeckh, Book

iv c. v; Grote, c. 11, vol. ii 318; Busolt i 527. The term τίμημα occurs first in

CIA i 31.

[ευγίτην] from {εῦγος, 'a team,' applied to one who kept a pair of mules (Isaeus 5 § 43: 6 § 33), or of working horses, or a yoke of oxen.

θητα. τὰς μ [ἐν οὖ]ν ἀρχὰς ἀπένειμεν $\|$ ἄρχειν ἐκ πεντακοσιομε- [Col. 3. δίμνων καὶ ίππέων καὶ ζευγιτών, τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ταμίας καὶ τοὺς πωλη[τὰς] καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα καὶ τοὺς κωλακρέτας, $\dot{\epsilon}$ κάστοις ἀνάλογον τ $\dot{\varphi}$ μεγέθει τοῦ τιμ $[\dot{\eta}]$ μ[aτο]ς ἀποδιδοὺς τ $[\dot{\eta}$ ν 15 αρ]χήν. τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τελοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων

11 τας μέν ουν άρχας Κ. Κ-W, H-L: [καί] τας [με[γίστ]ας] άρχας Blass, qui aut μεylorus (quod legi posse concedit K) delendum, aut in sequentibus complura mutanda

τὸ πῶν πληθος ᾿Αθηναίων, πεντακοσιομεδίμνους και Ιππέας και ζευγίτας και θήτας. *Id. πεντακοσιομέδιμνον :...ὅτι δ̄ τέλη ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων Σόλων, ὧν ήσαν καὶ οἱ πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, δεδήλωκεν Άρ. ἐν Ἀθ. πολ. *Id. θῆτες:...εἰς τέσσαρα διηρημένης οι πεντακοσιομεσιμνό, σεσηλωκεν Αρ. εν Αο. πολ. 1α. σητες:...εις τεσσαρα σιηρημενης παρ' Αθηναίοις τῆς πολιτείας οι ἀπορώτατοι ελέγοντο θήτες και θητικόν τελεεν κτλ. Pollux viii 130 τιμήματα δ' ἢν τέτταρα κτλ. Hesych. ἐκ τιμημάτων:...διήρητο γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία κατὰ Σόλωνα εἰς τέσσαρα, πεντακοσιομέδιμνων... Ια. ζειγίσιον:...ἦν δὲ διηρημένη ἡ πολιτεία εἰς τέσσαρα τιμήματα. (Cf. Rose, Frag. 350², 388².)

15 Schol. Arist. Εq. 627 (οι θῆτες), οἶς οὐδὲ ἀρχειν ἐφεῖτο, ἢ δικάζειν και ἐκκλησιά-

ζειν μόνον.

rds doxds dwivener doxer] This does not mean that the members of all the three highest classes were eligible for the office of archon. The first part of the sentence must be read in the light of the second, which implies that there was a kind of scale of eligibility according to the class in which the citizen was placed. Those in the first class alone would be eligible for the archonship. Cf. Plut. eligible for the archousing. ... Απικτίσει 1, την έπωνυμον αρχήν, ην ήρχε τω καμφ λαχών έκ των γενών των τα μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οδι πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον. The same class supplied the raular c. 8 § 1. On the ταμίαι and the πωληταί, see c. 47; on

the ενδεκα, c. 52.
κωλακρέτας] The form given by Photius and Suidas: κωλαγρέτης in the Ravenna MS of Aristoph. and in the lexicon of Timaeus; lit. 'collectors of hams,' called from receiving the prime parts of the victims to aid them in providing the public meals in the prytaneum. They are said to have had the control of financial matters in the time of the kings; in later times they acted as treasurers of the naucrariae. They were left unof the naucrariae. They were left un-touched by the legislation of Solon, in connexion with which they are mentioned in the text; but in the reforms of Cleisthenes they lost the charge of the finances, which was then transferred to new officers called Apodectae (48). Under Pericles they were assigned the duty of paying the dicasts, and they were considered officials of some importance in the time of Aristophanes (Schol. on Vesp. 695, 727, Av. 1541). There is no documentary proof of their existence after the Archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.). Cf. Boeckh, ed. Fränkel, note 302, and Schömann's Antiquities, i 327 E. T.; also Mr Wayte's article in Smith's Dict. Ant., s.v., Gilbert, i 119 and Busolt, i 159 έκάστοιε—την άρχην] Pol. 1291 b 38

έν μέν οδν είδος δημοκρατίας τούτο, το τάς άρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων είναι κτλ.

τοις δε το θητικόν τελούσιν-μόνον] Pol. ii 12, 1274 a 15, Σόλων γε ξοικε την αναγκαιοτάτην αποδιδόναι τῷ δήμφ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐ-θύνειν..., τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων και τών εὐπόρων κατέστησε πάσας, ἐκ τών πεντακοσιομεδίμνων και ζευγιτών και [τρίτου τέλους] της καλουμένης Ιππάδος το δέ τέταρτον το θητικόν, ols οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχής μετήν. Cf. end of this chapter, τούς δὲ άλλους θητικόν, οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχοντας

dρχής.
τὸ θητικόν τελοῦστν] 'those who belonged to the thetic census.' It will be observed that they are not here called Of those who were placed in the fourth class Grote (ii 321) observes: is said that they were all called Thetes, but this appellation is not well sustained and cannot be admitted: the fourth compartment in the descending scale was indeed termed the Thetic census, because it contained all the Thetes, and because most of its members were of that humble description, but it is not conceivable that a proprietor whose land yielded to him a clear annual return of 100, 120, 140 or 180 drachms, could ever have been designated by that name.' See, however, l. 11. τελεῦν does not necessarily mean actual

4 μετέδωκε μόνον. ἔδει δὲ τελεῖν πεντακοσιομέδιμνον μὲν δς αν ἐκ της οίκείας ποιή πεντακόσια μέτρα τὰ συνάμφω ξηρά καὶ ύγρά, ίππάδα δὲ τοὺς τριακόσια ποιοῦντας (ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι τοὺς ίπποτροφείν δυναμένους. σημείον δε φέρουσι τό τε δνομα το [û] τέλους, ώς αν από του πράγ[μ]ατος κείμενον, και τὰ αναθήματα των 20

17 της: γης Bywater; της defendit Kontos (*Athena* iii 321—2). ξηρών καὶ ὑγρών H-L coll. Plut. *Sol.* 18 (ἐν ξηρώς δωοῦ καὶ ὑγρώς). 19 δ΄ ἐπιφέρουσι H-L coll. c. 3, 11. 20 ὡς ἀν—πείμενον delent H-L; ἀν delet B. coll. c. 3, 11.

TESTIM. 16—19 Pollux viii 130 οί μεν εκ τοῦ πεντακόσια μέτρα ξηρά καὶ ύγρα ποιεῖν 185ΤΙΜ. 18—19 ΓΟΙΙΙΧ ΥΙΙΙ 130 οι μεν εκ του πεντακοσια μετρα ξηρα και υγρα ποιευ κληθέντες...οι δὲ τὴν Ιππόδα τελοῦντες ἐκ μὲν τοῦ δύνασθαι τρέφειν Ιππους κεκλήσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ἐποίουν δὲ μέτρα τριακόσια (cf. Schol. in Plat. Rep. 415). Bekk. Anecd. 298, 20 πεντακοσιομέδιμωοι: οἰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς ποιοῦντες πεντακόσια μέτρα συνάμφω ξηρά καὶ ὑγρά. Ιd. 267, 13 Ιππάς:...οὶ ποιοῦντες τριακόσια μέτρα.

18 Schol. Arist. Eq. 627...Ιππεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνόμαζον διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι...Ιππον ἔκαστον αὐτῶν τρέφειν. Etym. cod. Vossianus, p. 1170, Gaisford, ζευγίσιον:...δευτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἰπποτροφεῖν δυναμένους καὶ τοὺς τοὺς ἴππους δὲ (leg. καὶ τοὺς ἰππάδα)

τελούντας έκάλουν.

payment, but 'the being included in a class with a certain aggregate of duties and liabilities,'—equivalent to censeri, 'to rank as'; Boeckh, p. 36, Grote, p. 321 n.

έκκησίας—μόνον] Pol. 1281 b 30, λείπεται δή τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι και κρίνειν μετέχειν αὐτούς κτλ.

§ 4. ποιή] [Dem.] Phaenipp. 42 § 20, p. 1045, πλουτείε εἰκότως ἐπειδάν ποιής σίτου μέν μεδίμνους πλέον ή χιλίους, οίνου δέ μετρητάς ύπερ δκτακοσίους. πεντακόσια κτλ. Hitherto, it has been sometimes supposed that one who obtained from his land a net return of 500 measures of dry produce, such as corn or barley, together with 500 measures of liquid produce, such as oil or wine, ranked in the first class (Bruno Keil in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1891, p. 521 n.). It has also been held that a net return of either 500 dry measures or 500 liquid measures constituted a claim to that class (Busolt, i 527). It is now clear that the 500 measures could be made up of dry and liquid produce taken together, and and inquid produce taken together, and this is also the purport of some of the evidence previously known to us, ε.g. the article in Bekker's Anccd. 298, 20, which, it now appears, was taken from the present passage. By μέτρα is meant either a μέδιμνος (=six ἐκτεῖς=six modii -=about 12 imperial gallons, or a bushel and a half) of dry measure, or a μετρητής in liquid measure. The latter is the standard dμφορεύς of 12 χόες = 60:33 pints, or slightly over 8½ gallons, and therefore three-fourths of the standard dry measure, the mediuros.

ίππάδα] (τελείν). Isacus 7 § 39, άπεγράψατο μέν τίμημα μικρόν, ώς ίππάδα δέ τελών ἄρχειν ήξίου τὰς ἀρχάς. In the Lex. of Photius, the first article on lππάς (followed by Suidas) makes the curious mistake of distinguishing the lameis and the lands and treating the latter as a fifth class; the second article, with the help of Harpocration's quotation from 11. 9, 10 of this chapter, corrects this mistake,

adding των ουν Ιππέων οι (sic) Ιππάδες.

ώς δ' ἔνιοί φασι] There is no real discrepancy between the two views, all whose land produced a net return of 300 μέδιμνοι being deemed to have enough property to enable them to keep a horse for military purposes and to serve in the cavalry. Suidas, s. v. lares, following Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. 627, says: laweis δε αύτους ώνομαζον διά το δύνασθαι, είποτε χρεία γένοιτο, ίππον έκαστον αὐτῶν τρέφειν. In addition to the war-horse (ίππος πολεμιστήριος), a horse would be required for the servant of the $i\pi\pi\epsilon v$ s, and those who belonged to this class would also need a

team for agricultural purposes (Boeckh, p. 639, Lamb, p. 579, Fränkel).

*** dv—** ketherov** as though ' (or implying that') 'the name was derived from the fact just mentioned.' Ar. Analytica The fact just mentioned. Ar. Analytica Posteriora, Γ 3, 72 b 9, ώς οὐκ ἀν ἐπισταμένους. περὶ ἀκουστῶν 803 b 5, ἔκαστον τῶν μορίων προσπῖπτον, ώς ἀν ἀπὸ πληγῆς έτέρας δν, and 804 δ 25, φωνοῦσιν, ως αν το πνεῦμα βιαζόμενον. κείμενον, used, as often, for the perf. pass. part. of τίθημι. Isaeus 3 § 32, εί τις ήδει τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός κείμενον, nomen a patre impositum (Cobet, V. L. 311, N. L. 703). Similarly in the next few lines, dvaθήματα...dvaκειται... ἀνέθηκε.

dvaθήματα] Polemon, a contemporary

ἀρχαίων ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει εἰκὼν [[Δ ιφίλου]], ἐ[φ' ἢ ἐ π]ι-γέγρα π ται τάδε·

Διφίλου 'Ανθεμίων τήνδ' ανέθηκε θεοίς, θητικοῦ αντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' αμειψάμενος.

25 καὶ παρέστηκεν ἴππος [[ἐκμαρτυρῶν]], ὡς τὴν ἰππάδα τοῦτο σημα[ί]-

21 Διφίλου secl. Thompson, κ.-w, Β.

23 και τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων ἴππον τόνδ ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς Pollucis codices, ubi viderunt critici aut Διφίλου et ἐπίγραμμα coniungenda esse aut cum Bekkero legendum Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων τόνδ Ἰππον θεοῖς ἀνέθηκεν. Pollucis vero e codicibus unus habet Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων τόνδ ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς. Nostro autem in loco versum hexametrum nonnulli restituerunt, velut <1ππον Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς. Tyrrell; Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων τήνδ ΄ «εἰκόν» ἔθηκε θεοῖς numerosius J B Mayor, ἀνέθηκε ex ονεθηκε ortum fuisse arbitratus (Class. Rev. v 177 a); Διφίλου ᾿Ανθεμίων τήνδ ΄ «εἰκόν» θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε Thompson (ib. 225 δ). Sed Pollucis codices, non minus quam papyrus nostra, testantur versum priorem pentametrum fuisse.

25 εκμαρτγρών (Κ.): †έκμαρτυρών (Κ.-W): ἐπιμαρτυρών Τγιτell et olim Blass (Η-L); etiam ἐχ τῶν ἀρωτερῶν Blass, sed exspectares ἐξ ἀματερῶς. Εquidem τεκμηρίον ad explicandum sensum quondam adscriptum postea in εκμαρτγρών mutatum fuisse crediderim; τγ in litura. εἰς μαρτύριον ed. Blass.

TRSTIMONIA. 21—24 Pollux viii 131 'Ανθεμίων δὲ ὁ Διφίλου καλλωπίζεται δι έπιγράμματος δτι ἀπό τοῦ θητικοῦ τέλους els την Ιππάδα μετέστη, και εἰκὼν ἔστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἴππος ἀνδρι παρεστηκώς· και τὸ ἐπίγραμμα | Διφίλου 'Ανθεμίων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς | θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἰππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος (Falckenburgii codex).

of Ptolemy Epiphanes (B.C. 204—181) devoted four books of his περιήγησιε to the ἀναθήματα on the Acropolis (Strabo, ix 396). If the present passage was inserted at a later date than the time of Aristotle, it may possibly have been borrowed from the work of Polemon; but the only reason for doubting whether it is by the same hand as the rest of the treatise is the exceptionally frequent occurrence of hiatus, ἀκροτόλει εἰκὼν Διφίλου ἐφ' ἢ ἐπιγέγραπται. The passage was known to Pollux (viii 131), but whether his quotations from this treatise are taken at first hand or not, is uncertain.

Aφίλου] The statue was dedicated by Anthemion son of Diphilus. Diphilus himself had apparently belonged to the θητικών τέλος and would therefore have had no claim to be represented with a horse beside him. Mr A. S. Murray is therefore probably right in regarding the statue as that of the son, Anthemion (Class. Rev. v 108). Anthemion probably owed his promotion from the lowest to the second class either to a legacy or some other stroke of fortune which suddenly made him a wealthy man (Boeckh, p. 641 Lamb).

It is very improbable that an inscription of such a date consisted of two pentameter lines. 'Vix crediderim inscripti-

onem vetustam ex duodus pentametris constitisse. Exempla quidem id genus titulorum quae Kaibel in ind. [Epigr. Gr.] p. 702 affert, sunt recentissima' (Preger, Inscr. Gr. Metricae, 1891, no. 74). The lines happen to give a consecutive sense but are possibly selected from two successive couplets of the original set of verses, the intermediate hexameter being omitted. 'ἀνδρα παρεστηκότα in versibus omitti non mirum... In anaglyphis saepius equi ad ordinem equestrem significandum additi sunt, cf. Goettling, Opusc. Acad. 243' (Preger, l. c.).

έκμαρτυρών | έκμαρτυρώ = palam testificor in Aesch. Eum. 461, λουτρών έξεμαρτύρει φόνον, and Aeschin. p. 15, 19, Or. 1 § 107, ών οὐδένα έγω παρακαλώ δεῦρο την ἐαυτοῦ συμφοράν, ἢν είλετο σιγῶν, είς πολλοὺς ἐκμαρτυρῆσαι. This sense is just tolerable in the present passage, though the word is perhaps needlessly strong for the context. It would be clearly out of place to give it the technical sense corresponding to that of ἐκμαρτυρία (Class. Rev. v 177 a), i.e. a deposition made by a witness who, by reason of illness or absence abroad, was unable to attend in court. The horse in this case may metaphorically indeed be described as giving evidence; but (so far from being einter absent abroad or on the point of leaving the country) it is standing in the very νουσ[α]ν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εὐλογώτερον τοῖς μέτροις διηρησθαι καθάπερ τούς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους). ζευγίσιον δε τελείν τούς διακόσια τὰ συνάμφω ποιοῦντας τοὺς δ' ἄλλους θητικόν, οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχουτας άρχης. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπειδὰν ἔρηται τὸν μέλλοντα κληροῦσθαί τιν' ἀρχήν, ποῖον τέλος τελεῖ, οὐδ' αν είς είποι θητικόν.

8. τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησε κληρωτὰς ἐκ προκρίτων, [ο]θς

27 δ' έδει τελεῖν Kontos (H-L). 26 METPIOIC. VIII 1 Τ' ΔΑΡΧΗΣ (=τη̂ς δ' ἀρχη̂ς) frustra tueri conatus est Bury : emendavit κ.

27-29 Pollux viii 130 ol δε τὸ ζευγήσιον (codd., Hesych., Phot., Schol. Plat., Bekk. An. 260 ult.: ζευγίσιον Etym. Magn.) τελούντει από διακοσίων μέτρων κατελέγοντο...οί δὲ τὸ θητικὸν οὐδεμίαν άρχην ήρχον. "Harp. θήτει...οῦτοι δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς μετεῖχον άρχης, ὡς καὶ "Αρ. δηλοῖ ἐν Αθ. πολ. Etym. Mag. p. 452, 15 θητικόν: οδτοι δε ούδε μιας μετείχον αρχής.

centre of Athens, on the platform of the Acropolis. The technical sense is therefore out of place, and the word is prob-

ably corrupt.

-σημαίνουσαν] For the participle used as an accusative absolute after ws. cf. c. 29 § 3, ώς ού δημοτικήν άλλα παρα-πλησίαν ούσαν την...πολιτείαν, and Pol. πλησίαν ούσαν τήν...πολιτείαν, and Pol. v (viii) 4, 1338 b 13, (ol Δάκωνες) θηριώδεις άπεργάζονται τοῦς πόνοις, ὡς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν μάλιστα συμφέρον. Kühner, G. G. § 488 d; Maetzner ad Lycurgum, § 90, p. 231; Rehdantz, Ind. Dem. s. v. Par-ticipium. Trans. 'implying that this was the measure of the status of Krish'.

the meaning of the status of Knight.'
[toyloror] This form is supported by
the Etymologicum Magnum (and Gudianum) alone. The codex Sorbonicus of the latter, p. 1170 D Gaisford, has fevyloiov: τῷ χαρακτῆρι τῶν διὰ τοῦ ισιον, οδον, Αφροδίσιον, Ατρεμίσιον (sic), Προβαλίσιον. οδτων οὖν καί ζευγίσιον. 'Per ī scriben-dum docet Choeroboscus in Crameri Anecd. ii p. 215, 10.' Frankel (n. 805 to Boeckh) urges that ferryforor is the right form, and is better accredited than

sevylous.

διακόσια] The property qualification of the ζευγίται has hitherto been a matter of dispute. Boeckh, p. 641 Lamb, fixes it at 150 medimni. This he infers from a law quoted in [Dem.] Macart. 43 § 54, p. 1067, according to which a merranoσιομέδιμεσε was to pay the έπίκληρος a dowry of 500 drachmae, a ίππεθε 300, and a servirus 150. From the correspondence of the first and second of these sums to the annual income of members of the first and second class, he infers that the dowry required of a fevyling is identical in amount with his annual income. But he admits that all the positive evidence is in favour of 200 medimni.

This view, which is adopted by Grote (ii 320 note), is supported by the autho-

rity of the text.

818 Kal vûv kth.] 'Hence it is that even now, when one who is about to draw lots for any office is asked to what rank he belongs, no one would say that he belonged to the rank of the Thetes.' The subject of sprrau is the officer super-intending the drawing of lots for an appointment. The same vague use of the verb occurs in c. 55, exepurious and profit.

As it was under the superintendence of the Thesmothetae that officials were appointed by lot (Schömann, Antiquities, p. 402 E. T.), the subject is probably δ θεσμο-

At first it was only the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι who were eligible to the office of archon; next the immeis; the jevyiras became eligible in 457 B.C. (see c. 26). The present passage, as observed by Mr Kenyon, is interesting as shewing that the property qualification can never have been entirely abolished by law.

VIII § 1. κληρωτάς ἐκ προκρίτων] 'appointed by lot, out of candidates selected by each of the (four) tribes.' Each of the 4 tribes nominated 10, and, out of these 40, the 9 archons were appointed by lot. The archons had formerly been elected by the Areopagus; and, whatever may have been the rule under Dracon, it was Solon who, with a view to extending the political power of the people, devised the combination of selection and sortition described in the text. It has hitherto been sometimes supposed that appointment by lot was not used in Athens before the time of Cleisthenes. This is the view of Grote, C. F. Hermann, Busolt, Gilbert, Duncker and others. Grote in fact cannot believe

2 [έκάσ]τη προκρίνειε τῶν φυλῶν. προὔκρινεν δ΄ εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἐκάστη δέκα, καὶ τού[τοις] ἐ[πεκ]λήρουν ὅθεν ἔτι δια-

2 προκρίνειε Gertz (κ-W, κ², Β); προκρινει (κ¹); προσκρινε olim B (H-L). 8 τούτοις ἐπεκλήρουν κ² coll. 59 \S 5, 'litterae unius tantum spatio inter τογ et ε relicto, ubi τογς (ut videtur) in τογτοις correctum.' τούτους ἐκλήρουν κ¹ (H-L); aut τούτων aut <ἐκ> τούτων ἐκλήρουν (Β) κ-W; κάκ τούτων ἐκλήρουν Gomperz.

it was introduced as early as the time of Cleisthenes (c. 31, iii 123 n.). Curtius (i 478 E. T.) assigns it to this time. Schömann, in his criticisms on Grote (Const. Hist. of Athens, p. 73 E. T.), shews that an earlier date was not improbable; while Fustel de Coulanges (La Cité Antique, p. 212—4, ed. 1883) claims it as an institution of religious origin and therefore of great antiquity. The evidence of this treatise is in favour of its having been introduced at an early date.

The text enables us to understand the statement in Isocrates that, 'in the times of Solon and Cleisthenes,' they did not apply the lot to filling up offices out of the whole body of citizens, but selected those who were the best and the most suitable candidates for each office: Areop. § 22, ουκ έξ απάντων τας άρχας κληρούντες άλλά τούς βελτίστους και τούς ικανωτάτους έφ' ξκαστον των ξργων προκρίνοντες. Elsewhere, Panath. 145, he describes the constitution that the Athenians maintained for 1000 years' down to the age of Solon and the rule of Peisistratus, and says of the Athenians of old time that they εν όλίγαις ημέραις εώρων τούς νόμους αναγεγραμμένους (this can only refer to the legislation of Dracon). He then adds: περί τούς αὐτούς χρόνους καθίστασαν έπί τας άρχας τους προκριθέντας υπό των φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν. [Dem.] Neaer. 59 § 75 says of the ἀρχων βασιλεὺι in the times after the συνοικισμὸι of Theseus: τον μέν βασιλέα... ο δημος ήρειτο έκ προκρίτων κατ' ανδραγαθίαν χειροτονών, where however we have mention of election by show of hands instead of appointment by lot. The use of the lot in the time of Solon is implied by Dem. Lept. § 90 (after mentioning Solon), τουν θεσμοθέταν τούς έπι τούς νόμους κληρουμένους, but too great stress must not be laid on this phrase, as the orators sometimes ascribe to Solon institutions which really belonged to a later date.

The natural interpretation of the present passage is that Solon introduced a new principle by combining selection with sortition. In this respect it is not perhaps inconsistent with the statement in

Pol. ii 12, 1273 b 41, ξοικε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῦνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ καταλῦσαι, τήν τε βουλὴν (i.e. the Areopagus) καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἰρεσιν, τὸν δὲ δῆμων καταστῆσαι, τὰ δικαστήρα ποιήσαι ἐκ πάντων. Aristotle had just before remarked that some had singled out, as an aristocratic element in Solon's constitution, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρετάς (εἶναι). He adds that Solon did not abolish this principle, for αἴρεσις is not the 'manner of electing the magistrates,' but simply their election. They were still elected, but the details of the method of election were partly new; the new element being apparently the selection by the tribes. Aristotle approves of this method in Pol. viii (v) 5, 1305 a 28, μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς τὴν νεωτάτην ὅπου γὰρ αἰρεταὶ μὲν αὶ ἀρχαί, μὴ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων δέ, αἰρεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, δημαγωγοῦντες οἱ σπουδαρχιώντες εἰς τοῦτο καθιστάσιν ὡς κύρων εἶναι τὸν δῆμον καὶ τῶν νόμων. ἀκος δὲ τοῦ ἡ μὴ γίνεσθαι ἡ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ῆττον τὸ τὰς ψυλὰς φέρειν τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντα τὸν δῆμον.

In Pol. vi (iv) 14, 1298 b 9, while discussing oligarchies, he mentions some non-oligarchical elements: ἐἀν δὲ ἐνίων μὲν αἰρετοὶ ἐνίων δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοί ἡ ἀπλῶς ἡ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἡ κοινὴ αἰρετοὶ καὶ κληρωτοί, τὰ μὲν πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστι τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς. Cf. 1266 a 8; Plat. Leg. 945 B, 753; Rep. 537 D.

δθεν ἔτι διαμένει] This passage and its

Sow Fr. Scautres.] This passage and its context are among the many in which the author argues from survivals, or infers a fact from a reason.

"The signals of this method," as remarked by Mr Macan (7. H. S. xii 38), are the innocent γάρ (c. 2 l. 5, c. 3 l. 6 et alibi), the more elaborate δθεν οι δθεν και (c. 3 l. 8, c. 8 l. 3), the suspicious διδ, διδ και (c. 3 l. 17, c. 8 l. 16) and above all the term σημείον. Wherever these signals occur the critical reader will beware of danger ahead. It may not be necessary in every case to reject the supposed evidence and inference, but it will always be expedient carefully to examine before admitting them.' The writer is here arguing that the method of appointing archons

μένει ταις φυλαις τὸ δέκα κληροῦν ἐκάστην, εἰτ' ἐκ τούτων κυαμεύε[ιν]. σημεῖον δ' ὅτι κληρωτὰς ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν τιμημάτων 5
ὁ περὶ τῶν ταμιῶν νόμος, ῷ χρώμενοι [διατελο]ῦσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν'
2 κελεύει γὰρ κληροῦν τοὺς ταμίας ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνω[ν. Σόλ]ων
μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν περὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων. τὸ γὰρ
ἀρχαῖον ἡ ἐν 'Αρ[είφ πάγφ βουλ]ἡ ἀνακαλεσαμένη καὶ κρίνασα
καθ' αὐτὴν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐφ' ἐκάστη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπ' [ἐνι]α[υτ]ὸν 10
3 [διατάξα]σα ἀπέστελλεν. φυλαὶ δ' ἦσαν τέτταρες καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ φυλοβασιλεῖς τέτταρες. ἐκ δὲ [τῆς] φυ[λῆς ἑκ]άστης

5 ETIOIHCAN (K): ἐποίησεν Bury, Hude, K-W, H-L, B. 8 περὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων secl. K-W³. 10 ἐκάστην H-L. 11 διατάξασα Κ, H-L: καθιστᾶσα Κ-W. ήσαν τέτταρες: ΗCANΔ. 12 ΤΕССΑΡΕС. ΕΚ: ἐπὶ H-L, sed spatium non sufficit.

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. 11—14. Photius ναυκραρία:...ναυκραρία μέν ὁποῖόν τι ἡ συμμορία καὶ ὁ δήμος, ναύκραρος δὲ ὁποῖόν τι ὁ δήμαρχος, Σόλωνος οῦτως ὁνομάσαντος, ὡς καὶ ᾿Αρ. φησί...ἐκ δὲ τῆς ᾿Αριστοτέλους πολιτείας δν τρόπον διέταξε τὴν πόλιν ὁ Σόλων ''φυλαι—ἐκάστην" (cf. Pollux viii 108; Rose, Frag. 349², 387²). Hesych. ναύκλαροι.

adopted in his own day is a survival from that in the times of Solon. The intervention of the tribes is the point in common between the two methods: but, whereas in the earlier method they select, in the later they only appoint by lot. In the former, the lot is resorted to in the second stage only; in the latter, in both.

κυσμεύειν] is synonymous with κληροῦν, the κύσμος, or bean, being employed in the process of appointment by lot. The procedure was as follows: Two jars were set up; in one of these was placed a number of white and coloured beans, in the other the small tablets with the names of the candidates. Then a tablet and a bean were drawn simultaneously and the candidate whose name came out along with the white beam was nominated (Schömann, Antiquities, p. 402 E.T.).

κυαμεύεω occurs in the δρκος ηλιαστών in Dem. 24 § 150, δσαι (άρχαl) μετά τών έννέα άρχόντων κυαμεύωνται, cf. Χen. Μεπ. i 2 § 0 (Socrates) λέγων ώς μώρον είη τούς μέν τής πόλεως άρχοντας άπο κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτη δὲ μηδένα ἐθέλειν χρησθαι κυαμευτώ. c. 22 § 5.
σημείον δ' δτι κτλ.] The law requiring

σημάον δ΄ ότι κτλ.] The law requiring the ταμίαι to be elected from among the πεντακοσιομέδιμνα is quoted to prove that Solon regulated the allotment of office according to the property classes. The law existed in the writer's time but was practically unenforced, as appears from c. 47. Pol. 1282 α 29, τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι και βουλεύουσι και δικάζουσιν από μικρών τιμημάτων και τῆς τυχούσης

ήλικίας, ταμιθύουσι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοθοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μειζόνων.

§ 2. ἡ ἐν ᾿Αρείω πάγω βουλή] This passage gives us definite authority for the manner in which the public officials were elected in earlier times at Athens. Herefofore it could only be conjectured that they were elected by the Areopagus. τὸ ἀρχαῖον is vague, and may either mean up to the time of Solon, or up to that of Dracon. In c. 4 we have been told that, under Dracon, the officials were elected by οἱ ὁπλα παρεχόμενοι, but the Draconian constitution is much disputed.

dvaκαλεσαμένη] 'having summoned,' without any necessary allusion to the fact that the βουλή of the Areopagus was ή drω βουλή. Cf. Aeschines, F. L. 17, έπεισε τὴν βουλήν (the 500) ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν 'Αριστόδημων.

'Aριστόδημου.
§ 3. φυλαλ] The successive names of the four tribes in the early history of Athens are quoted by Pollux viii 109. In the time of Erechtheus they took their names (Γελέοντες, "Οπλητες, Αλγικόρεις, 'Αργάδεις) from the sons of Ion. Cf. Hdt. v 66 (of Cleisthenes) τῶν "Ιωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αλγικόρεος καὶ 'Αργάδεω καὶ "Οπλητος ἀπαλλαξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. Ευτ. Ιοπ 1579, Γελέων (Canter: Τελέων vulg.) μὲν ἐσται πρῶτος: ἐτα δεύτερον "Όπλητες 'Αργαδής τ', ἐμῆς δ' ἀπ' αλγίδος ἐν φῦλου ἔξουσ' Αλγικορής. (Schömann, On Grote, § 2, and Antiquities, p. 317 f. E. T.; Philippi, Att. Bürgerrecht, pp. 233—296.) φυλοβαστλάς] These officials are iden-

. ἦσαν νενεμημέναι τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, ναυκραρίαι δὲ δώδεκα καθ' έκάστην. [ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν] ναυκραριῶν ἀρχὴ καθεστηκυῖα ναύκραροι, 15 τεταγμένη πρός τε τὰς ε[ίσ]φορὰς καὶ τὰς δαπ[άνας] τὰς γυγνο-

14 êml để $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Blass; $\hat{\eta} \nu$ để $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ K; $\hat{\eta} \nu$ đ' $\hat{\epsilon} m$ l $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ K-W, 18 NAYKPAI PAI. H-L, sed spatium vix sufficit. 15 FINOMENAC (K-W).

tical with those called βασιλείς (1) in the 13th Axon of Solon, quoted by Plutarch, οί. 19, έπιτίμους είναι πλην δσοι έξ 'Αρείου πάγου ή όσοι έκ των 'Εφετών ή έκ Πρυτανείου κατάικασθέντει ύπο των βασιλέων έπι φόνω ή σφαγαίου ή έπι τυρανείδι έφευγον, and also (2) in the decree of Patroεφειγων, and also (2) in the decree of Patro-cleides, Andocides, de Myst. § 78 (founded on the language of the law just quoted), η έξ 'Αρείου πάγου η τῶν 'Εφετῶν η ἐκ Πρυτα-νείου η Δελφωίου ἐδικάσθη ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, ἡ ἐπὶ φόνω τίς ἐστι φυγή, ἡ θάνατος κατεγνώσθη, η φαφιγείουν ἡ τυράνvois. In the context of the first passage they are called *purdress; in that of the second, they are distinguished from the Archon-Basileus. The identity of the βασιλείς of Solon with the φυλοβασιλείς of Pollux (viii 111, 120) is supported by the connexion of both with the Πρυτανείου. The βασιλείς apparently Horrareion. The βασιλείs apparently dealt with cases of persons who aimed at a τυραννίς. They also presided over the Ephetae in the court of homicide at the Prytaneum (cf. 57 end). They probably represented 'the priestly functions of the ancient chieftains of the several separate a single community' (Prof. Ridgeway in Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v.). The fact that they were four in number was already known from the quotation of the present passage in Photius, s. v. ναυ-κραρία. Cf. Pollux viii 111, as emended by Wecklein, ol δέ φ. έξ εύπατριδών τέσσαρες (δ for δε) όντες κτλ. In the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, iii 69, we have an inscr. found on the Acropolis respecting a fund called τὰ φυλοβασιλικὰ, part of which was spent on celebrating a religious festival.

τριττύες ... ναυκραρίαι] The plupf. shews that these divisions had existed before the time of Solon. Photius, s. v. ναυκραρία, carelessly quotes Aristotle as his authority for ascribing to Solon the origin of the term ναύκραρος (Σόλωνος οδτως όνομάσαντος, ώς και 'Αριστοτέλης φησί). That he had the present passage in view is indicated by his quoting it verbatim at the end of his article.

The existence of the raunpaplas before the time of Solon is proved by Hdt. v

11, where their πρυτάνεις are described as holding an important position in the government of Athens at the time of the νοιπείτας of Cylon: ο πρυτάνιες των ναυκράρων (αl. ναυκραριέων) οίπερ ένεμον τότε τὰς 'Αθήνας; but Thuc. i 126 § 5 corrects this account and substitutes for them the nine Archons, adding τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχωτες ἔπρασσον. Schömann (Ant. p. 326 E. T.) endeavours to reconcile both narratives

by assigning to the nine Archons a place on the board of Prytaneis. The Naucrari were the presidents of the Naucrariae, and the latter were the

administrative districts into which the country was then divided. There were 12 in each tribe or 48 in all. Every four of these districts formed a group called a τριττύs, or third part of a tribe. In Photius p. 196 Porson, and in Bekk. Anec. p. 275, mention is made of a ναυκραρία called Κωλιάs which is the name of a strip of coast and cliffs near Phalerum. The term vavkpapla has reference to the duty imposed on these districts of equipping a ship of war, in addition to that of providing two horsemen (Pollux viii 108). Grote, c. horsemen (rollux viii 100). Glote, c. 10, ii 264 n., thinks 'the statement that each Naukrary was obliged to furnish one ship can hardly be true of the time before Solon.' The actual expense probably fell on the wealthier inhabitants of the district, and it would naturally be from their number that the ναύκραροι, or presidents of the vaukpaplas, were chosen. There was one president for each vauκραρία, or 12 for each tribe. Hesychius s. v. ναύκλαροι (sic)'...τωθς δὲ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλής δώδεκα, οἴτινες ἀφ' ἐκάστης χώρας τὰς εἰσφορὰς ἐξέλεγον. ὕστερον δὲ δήμαρχοι τὰς εἰσφορὰς ἐξέλεγον. ὕστερον δὲ δήμαρχοι ἐκλήθησαν (Schömann, Antiquities, p. 326 Ε. Τ.; Duncker, H. G. ii 144 Ε. Τ.; Gilbert, Gr. St. i 135; βακτό. f. cl. Phil. 1875, pp. 9 and 452). ναύκραρος is formed from ναῦς and the root καρ (by metathesis κρὰ) which appears in κραίνω 'to complete or accomplish' (G. Meyer in Curtius, Studien, vii 175).

τὰς εἰσφορὰς Pollux viii 108, τὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς τὰς κατὰ δήμους διεχειροτόνουν οὐτοι (sc. οἱ ναύκραροι) καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναλώματα.

ἀναλώματα.

μένας διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σ]όλωνος, οἶς οὐκέτι χρώνται, πολλαγ[οῦ] γέγραπται τοὺς ναυκράρους εἰσπράττειν καὶ ἀνα-4 λίσκειν έκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρ[ίου. βουλ]ὴν δ' ἐποίησε τετρακοσίο [υς], έκατὸν ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλής, τὴν δὲ τῶν Αρεοπαγιτῶν ĕταξεν ἐ[πὶ τὸ] νομοφυλακεῖν, ώσπερ ὑπῆρχεν καὶ πρότερον ἐπί- 20 σκοπος ο[ὖ]σα της πολιτείας καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτ<ικ>ῶν διετήρει καὶ τοὺς άμαρτάνοντας ηὔθυνεν κυρί[α] οὖσα [καὶ ζη]μι[οῦν] καὶ κολάζειν, καὶ τὰς ἐκτίσεις ἀνέφερεν είς πόλιν οὐκ ἐπιγράφουσα τὴν πρόφασι[ν τοῦ *πράττ]εσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συν[ι]σταμένους ἔκρινεν, Σόλω- 25 ς νος θέν[τος] νόμον είσα[γγ]ελ[ίας] περὶ αὐτῶν. ὁρῶν δὲ τὴν μὲν

17 πολλαχοῦ Wessely (κ², Β, litteris incertis αχ); πολλαχόθι Paton (H-L), sed spam vix sufficit; πολλ[άκι]: κ-w.

20 ἐπὶ τὸ Paton, Gennadios (κ-w, H-L, κ², tium vix sufficit; *odd[dxi]s K-W. 1 και είς τὰ άλλα Η-L.

22 τ(ωΝ) Πολιτικών

Richards, Hude (κ-w, Η-L, κ², Β), cf. 3, 35 τὰ πλεῖοτα και μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει;

τῶν < περὶ τῶν > πολιτικῶν

Σ3 καὶ ξημιοῦν Βlass

L, κ³); τοῦ ζημιοῦν κ¹ (κ-w). ἐκτείσεις Β.

24 τοῦ πράττεσθαι (exigendi)

scripsi, coll. Plat. Leg. 762 Β τὴν διπλασίαν (ζημίαν) πραττέσθω τὸν ὑποφεύγοντα: τοῦ κολάζεσθαι κ¹; (hiatu admisso) τοῦ εὐθύνεσθαι Blass (Η-L, κ³); τοῦ εἰσπράττεσθαι?

Κ-W; τοῦ ἐκτίνεσθαι Τyrrell.

26 νόμον εἰσαγγελίας Wessely et κ³; νόμον....... K-W; τοῦ ἐκτίνεσθαι Tyrrell. 26 ». K-W, B; ὁ μὲν [οῦν ταῦτ' ἔταξε] Κ¹ (H-L).

έν τοις νόμους κτλ.] Phot. Lex. ναυκραρία: και έν τοις νόμους δὲ "ἐἐν τις ναυκραρίας ἀμφισβητῆ," και "τοὺς ναυκράρους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ναυκραρίας." § 4. βουλὴν δ' ἐνοίησε τετρακοσίους] A new council of 400 is here contrasted with the previously existing council of the Areopagus. There is nothing in the physics to show that the writer has made phrase to shew that the writer has made any mention of a previous council under any mention of a previous countri unexpension. Cf. Plut. Sol. 19, συστησάμενος δε την έν 'Αρείφ πάγψ βουλήν... δευτέραν προσκατένειμε βουλήν άπο φυλής έκάστης, τεττάρων οὐσῶν, ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξά-

μενος.
 'Αρεοπαγιτών] Philippi, Arcop. u.
Epheten, pp. 199—246; Gilbert, i 136.
Duncker, Gesch. d. Alt. (XII 12) vol. vi

187—194. επίσκοπος ούσα κτλ.] Plut. l.c., την δ' άνω βουλήν έπίσκοπον πάντων και φύ-

λακα των νόμων ἐκάθισεν.

τα πλείστα και τα μέγιστα κτλ.] c. 3 § 6, διψκει δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα των έν τῆ πόλει, και κολάζουσα και ζημιοῦσα πάντας τους άκοσμούντας κυρίως.

ανέφερεν] Dem. 41 § 8, την τιμην ουτ' έκεινω διέλυσεν ουτε νύν είς τὸ κοινὸν ανε-

els πόλιν] = els άκρόπολιν (cf. c. 60 § 3). Thuc. ii 15, καλείται δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' 'Αθηναίων πόλις. Aristoph.

Nub. 69, Eq. 267, Lys. 245. 'In inscriptions ev dκροπόλει is first found in B.C. 387—6, according to Bull. d. Corr. Hell. 1888 p. 149. In fourth century prose the use of πόλιs is preserved in certain familiar and unambiguous combinations: [Xen.] De Red. v 12, χρήματα els την πόλιν dre-νεχθέντα. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 273, έστησαν έν πόλει παρά τον άρχαιον νεών (possibly quoted from one of the writers of 'Arθίδει or from Craterus). For other references see Maetzner on Antiph. 6 § 39 εν τῆ πόλει. On the other hand Andoc. 3 § 7, and Aeschin. 2 § 175, have ἀναφέρειν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν' (Wyse).

ἐτὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀσαγγελίας] εἰσαγγελλειν has already been used in a general sense in 4 § 4. We now find a definite νόμοι εἰσαγγελία ascribed for the first time to Solon. The special

for the first time to Solon. The special case here mentioned corresponds to the first of the three classes of crimes which, according to Hyperides, were included ατοστικής το riyperness, were included in the νόμος είσαγγελτικός, ρτο Εμπ. 22, έδυ τις τον δήμον τον 'Αθηναίων καταλύη ή συνίη έπί καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου ή έταιρικόν συναγάγη (Isoct. de Big. 6; Dinarch. c. Dem. 94). Cf. Theophr. apud Lex. Rhet. Cantab. s. v. είσαγγελία: έδυ τις καταλύη τον δήμου. The text implies that the definition given by Theophrastus applies to a far earlier date than the time

πόλιν πολλάκις στασιάζουσαν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν ἐνίους δ[ιὰ] τὴν ρραθυμ[ία]ν [ἀγαπῶ]ντας τὸ αὐτόματον, νόμον ἔθηκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἴδιον, δς ἂν στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλ[εω]ς μ[ἡ θ]ῆται τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ $_{30}$ μεθ' ἐτέρων, ἄτιμον εἶναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως μὴ μετέχειν.

9. τὰ μὲν οὖν [περὶ τὰ]ς ἀρχὰς τ[οῦτ]ον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον. δοκεῖ δὲ τῆς Σόλωνος πολιτείας τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ δημοτικώτατα:

28 ἀγαπῶντας κ-w et Kontos: ἀποκνοῦντας Rutherford; περιμένοντας (J Ε Β Mayor, Marchant, Blass, Gennadios, H-L) quondam conieci, coll. Plut. Sol. 20 περιμένεν ἀκυδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων, sed ωντ potius quam ογντ in papyro apparet. περιορώντας Βury coll. Thuc. iv 71 τὸ μέλλον περιιδεῖν (Β). Fortasse περιορώντας τὸ ἀποβαῖνον scribendum.
29 θῆται H-L (κ³, Β); τιθῆται Richards, Blass, κ-w, sed spatium vix sufficit.

IX 1 ειχε litteris evanidis (K, B): ἐταξε K-W, H-L. 2 τρία ταῦτ' papyrum secutus K; τρία τάδ' H-L, K-W². τὰ om. H-L.

TESTIMONIA. 28—30. *Gellius, ii 12: In legibus Solonis illis antiquissimis quae Athenis axibus ligneis incisae sunt quasque latas ab eo Athenienses ut sempiternae manerent poenis et religionibus sanxerunt, legem esse Aristoteles refert scriptam ad hanc sententiam: 'si ob discordiam dissensionemque seditio atque discessio populi in duas partes fiet et ob eam causam irritatis animis utrimque arma capientur punabiturque, tum qui in eo tempore in eoque casu civilis discordiae non alterutrae parti sese adiunxerit, sed solitarius separatusque a communi malo civitatis secesserit, is domo patria fortunisque omnibus careto, exul extorrisque esto' (Rose, Frag. 353³, 391³).

after Eucleides, to which it has been assigned by Fränkel, Att. Geschworenenger., p. 77.

p. 77.

There is a vague reference to εἰσαγγελίαι in the time of Solon in Pollux viii 53, χίλιοι δὲ κατὰ μὲν Σόλωνα τὰς εἰσαγγελίας ἔκρνον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ πρὸς πεντακόσιοι, cf. Philochorus, 155 Müller, εἰσήγγειλαν, ώς μὲν Φιλόχορος, χιλίων καθεζομένων, ώς δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς χιλίων πεντακοσίων (cf. Duncker, G. d. Α. vi 179 n). The special case mentioned in the text came before the Areopagus.

17 179 11. Τhe special case mentioner in the text came before the Areopagus.

§ 5. νόμον ξθηκε κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 20 inil. των δ' δλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων ίδιος μὲν μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξος δικλεύων άτιμον είναι τὸν ἐν στάσει μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. βούλεται δ', ὡς ἐοικε, μὴ ἀπαθώς μηδ' ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενον τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν μηδὲ συννοσεῖν τῆ πατρίδι καλλωπιζόμενον, άλλ' αὐτόθεν τοῖς τὰ βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερα πράττουσι προσθέμενον συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ περιμένειν ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων. Praec. Ger. Reip. 32 § 1, ii 823 F, ἀπορήσει...καὶ θαυμάσει τὸν τῶν κρατούντων. Φραμένε ἄτιμον είναι τὸν ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρος προσθέμενον, De Sera Numinis Vindicta 4, ii 550 B—C, παραλογώτατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, άτιμον εἶναι τὸν στάσει μηδετέρα μερίδι προσθέμενον μηδὲ συστασιάσαντα. Cic. ad Atticum x 1, 2, ego vero Solonis...

legem neglegam, qui capite sanxit, si quis in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset. (Cf. Grote, c. 11, ii 341.) Prof. Mayor (Class. Rev. v 120 b) also refers to Cantacuzen. iv 13, and Nicephorus Gregora ix 6 fin.

Gregora ix 6 fin.

θήται τὰ δπλα] metaphor from taking up a position in the face of an enemy. Plato, Rep. 440 E, ἐν τῆ τῆς ψυχῆς στάσει τίθεσθαι τὰ δπλα πρὸς τοῦ λογιστικοῦ. The phrase is frequent in Xenophon's Anabasis in several military senses, e.g. els τάξιν τὰ δπλα τίθεσθαι ii 2, 21 and v 4, 11 (Krüger's Lexikon, or Vollbrecht's Wörterbuch).

μηδέ μεθ' ἐτέρων] Also in Thuc. ii 67 § 5, cf. v 48, οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐτέρων. vi 44 § 4, οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων. vii 59 § 1, μηδὲ μεθ'

IX § 1. τῆς Σόλωνος πολιτείας—τὰ δημοτικώτατα] Isocr. 7 § 16, ἐκείνην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἦν Σόλων μὲν ὁ δημοτικώτατος γενόμενος ἐνομοθέτησε. Dem. 18 § 6, Σόλων, εὔνους ὧν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός. For Solon's relations to democracy see Pol. ii 12, 1273 b 35. In the language of Mr Newman's excellent paraphrase in vol. i p. 373, we are there told that 'certain persons regarded Solon as the destroyer of an extreme oligarchy, on the ruins of which he constructed the πάτριος δημοκρατία, a wisely mixed constitution: they took him to have founded

πρώτον μèν καὶ μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἔπειτα τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ [τιμωρεῖν] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, τρίτον δὲ (<ῷ> μάλιστά φασιν ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλῆθος) ἡ εἰς τὸ δικ[αστή- 5ριον] ἔφ[εσι]ς κύριος γὰρ ῶν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου, κύριος γίγνεται τῆς

4 τιμωρεῖν Paton, K-w (K³, B), cf. 19, 2; τιμωρεῖσθαι Wyse, H-L; δικάζεσθαι K^1 ; δίκην λαβεῖν (hiatu vitato) J W Headlam et Lipsius, coll. Plut. Sol. 18. 5 $\ddot{\psi}$ ins. H-L (K³, B); $\ddot{\psi}$ καὶ K-W; $\ddot{\ddot{\eta}}$ K¹. 6, 9, 18 Γ IN (K-W).

the Areopagus, to have introduced the system of filling magistracies by election, and to have created the popular dicastery, thus as it were equipping the State with a complete set of new institutions....To this view of Solon's work Aristotle objects: he says that Solon would seem to have found the council of the Areopagus, and the system of filling the magistracies by election, already established, and that he...left them as he found them, whereas he did institute the popular element in the constitution by founding the popular dicasteries. He appeals in support of his contention to the opinion of a second set of critics, who made Solon responsible for the existing extreme democracy. They complained that, so far from being the author of a mixed constitution, he overpowered the oligarchical element by the democratic, inasmuch as he gave supreme power to the popular dicastery. Armed with this judicial authority, the people became masters of the State; one statesman after another had to play into their hands, and so the extreme democracy gradually came into being. Aristotle, however, holds that these inquirers ascribed to Solon's institution of popular dicasteries consequences which would not have resulted from it, if it had not been for accidental circumstances. Solon was far from intending to found an extreme democracy; he gave, in fact, only a modicum of power to the people-enough to content them and no more-and reserved office for the better-to-do classes. On the other hand, he was not the contriver of an elaborate mixed constitution, but rather the founder of the beginnings of popular liberty; still less was he the undoer of the power of the Few. He left office in their hands, and gave the people only just enough power to make the holders

ος office govern well."

μη δανείζειν κτλ.] 6 § 1. το έξείναι—
άδικουμένων] Plut. Sol. 18, ολόμενος δείν έπαρκείν τῆ τών πολλών άσθενεία, παττ λαβείν δίκην ὑπέρ τοῦ κακώς πεποφόττο έδωκε καὶ γὰρ πληγέντος έτέρου ή βλαβέντος έξῆν τῷ δυναμένω καὶ βουλομένω

γράφεσθαι τον άδικοῦντα και διώκειν, όρθως έθίζοντος τοῦ νομοθέτου τοὺς πολίτας ώσπερ ἐνὸς μέρους συναισθάνεσθαι και συναλγεῖν άλλήλοις. τούτω δὲ τῷ νόμω συμφωνοῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ διαμνημονεύουσιν. ἐρωτηθείς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤτις οἰκεῖται κάλλιστα τῶν πόλεων, "ἐκείνη," εἶπεν, ''ἐν ἢ τῶν ἀδικουμένων οὐχ ἦττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι προβάλλονται και κολάζουσι τοὺς ἀδικούμτος."

ή els το δικαστήριον έφεσις] The constr. changes from the substantival use of the infinitive to an ordinary substantive. The eulogists of Solon, referred to in Pol. ii 12, 1273 b 41, recognise the δικαστή-ριον as the element which is δημοτικόν in his constitution; while his critics describe him as having subordinated the oligarchical element, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρωτὸν δν. Aristotle himself subsequently mentions as one of the two elements in the necessary modicum of political power assigned to the people that of εὐθύνειν, i.e. calling the officials to account in the law-courts, μηδέ γάρ τούτου κύριος ών ο δημος δουλος αν είη και πολέμιος. Plut. Sol. 18 λος αν είη και πολεμος. Γιαι. Soi. 16 (after saying of the θήτες that τῷ συνεκ-κλησιάζειν και δικάζειν μόνον μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας) adds: δ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδέν, ὑστερον δὲ παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα των διαφόρων ένέπιπτεν els τους δικαστάς. και γάρ όσα ταις άρχαις έταξε κρίνειν, όμοιως και περί έκεινων είς το δικαστήριον έφέσεις έδωκε τοις βουλομέ-Grote (ii 325) holds that the popular dicasteries were not established by Solon, a view which is not in accordance with the text. He also points out (p. 326) that, although Solon laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, his institutions were not democratical (as compared with those of Cleisthenes and Pericles). The dicasteries doubtless became more highly developed in later times, but of their existence in Solon's time for certain purposes, such as the control of officials, there can be no reasonable doubt. See Duncker, Gesch. d. Alt. vi 179, 180.

πολιτείας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεγρ[ά]φθ[αι το]ὺς νόμους ἀπλῶς 2 μηδὲ σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ὁ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων, ἀν[άγ]κ[η πο]λλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις γίγνεσθαι καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν 10 καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια τὸ δικα[στ]ήρ[ιον]. οἴονται μὲν οὖν τινὲς ἐπίτηδες ἀσαφεῖς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως ἢ τῆς κρίσεως [ὁ δ]ῆ[μος κ]ύριος. οὐ μὴν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καθόλου

9 πολλάς Paton, Blass, K-W, K³; ἢν τὰς K¹; ἢν πολλάς H-L sed deest spatium. 10 τὸ δικαστήριον K-W, K³, papyri lectio incerta (B): τὰ δικαστήρια] K¹ (H-L), sed propter tot generis neutri vocabula pluralia in contextu cumulata numerus singularis videtur elegantior. 11 \mathring{v} K³ (B); τι K-W (in papyro utrumvis legi potest). ὅπως τι τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος \mathring{v} κύριος K-W¹; 'aut τι delendum aut ὅπως \mathring{v} τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος κύριος (B) legendum 'K-W²; ὅπως τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος \mathring{v} κύριος H-L. 12—13 Περιλαβειν etiam ante Καθολογ scriptum et deinde deletum; πανταχοῦ sine causa legendum suspicantur H-L.

§ 2. ἀπλῶς...σαφῶς] Dem. Lept. § 93, ἀπλᾶ καὶ σαφῆ, Isaeus 11 § 32, ἀπλᾶ καὶ γνώριμα μαθεῖν, Dem. 24 § 68, ἀπλῶς καὶ πᾶσι γνωρίμως γεγράφθαι. In all these passages perspicuity is described as a merit in legislative enactments. Here the obscurity of some of Solon's laws is said to have increased the powers of the people as interpreters of the law in the dicasteries.

δ περὶ τῶν κλήρων] The reference is to the law of intestate succession quoted in Dem. Macart. 43 \$ 51, p. 1067. Parts of this law are paraphrased or expressly cited in Isacus 11 \$\$ 1, 2, and 7 \$ 20. The law of the ἐπίκληρος is quoted in Dem. 43 \$\$ 16, 54, and 46 \$ 22, ending with the words ἀνεπίδικον μἡ ἐξείναι ἔχειν μήτε κλήρον μήτε ἐπίκληρον. This law is referred to in Isacus 3 \$\$ 64, 74 and elsewhere. Both laws may be fairly ascribed to Solon, and students of Isacus will admit the ambiguity of certain clauses in them. The greater part of Plutarch's Sol. 20 is devoted to details of the law of the ἐπίκληρον, but the points there touched upon are curious rather than obscure. In the time of Aristophanes the decision of rival claims to the hand of an 'heiress' was one of the most cherished privileges of the Athenian dicast (Vesp. 583—587). Cf. inf. 42 \$ 5, περὶ κλήρον καὶ ἐπικλήρον και ἐπικλήρον ἐπιδικασίαι, also 43 \$ 4. ἀνάγκη] sc. ην. Rhet. i i § 8 ἀνάγκη

ἀνάγκη] sc. ἢν. Rhet. i 1 § 8 ἀνάγκη έπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς καταλείπειν, Eth. 1137 b 15, ἀνάγκη μὲν είπεῖν καθόλου, μὴ οἴόν τε δὲ ὀρθῶς.

οίονται κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 18, λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφέστερον γράψας καὶ πολλάς ἀντιλήψεις έχοντας αὐξῆσαι τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύν μὴ δυναμένους γὰρ

υπό των νόμων διαλυθήναι περί ων διεφέροντο συνέβαινεν άει δείσθαι δικαστών και πῶν ἀγειν ἀμφισβήτημα πρόε ἐκείνους, τρόπον τυὰ τῶν νόμων κυρίους ὅντας. 'It is hardly just to Plutarch' (says Grote) 'to make him responsible for the absurd remark that Solon rendered his laws intentionally obscure... We may well doubt whether it was ever seriously intended even by its author, whoever he may have been' (Grote, c. 11, ii 330). We now see that Plutarch quotes from the text, where the authors of this opinion are not specified. The opinion is only quoted to be rejected. The real cause for the obscurity of some of Solon's laws is introduced with the words οὐ μὴν εἰκὸς κτλ.

είκος κτλ.

διά τό μή δύνασθαι (sc. Ζόλωνα) καθόλου περιλαβείν τό βέλτιστον) 'owing to his being unable to attain the perfection of legislative expression while drawing up his laws in general terms.' It is characteristic of a legislator to deal with τὸ καθόλου, leaving the dicast to deal with the details. Rhet. i I § 7, ἡ μὲν τοῦ νομοθέτου κρίσις οὐ κατά μέρος άλλα περὶ μελλόντων τε καὶ καθόλου ἐστίν, I3 § I3, συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς) τὰ μὲν ἀκώντων τὰ δὲ ἐκόντων τῶν νομοθετῶν, ἀκόντων μὲν ὅταν λάθη, ἐκόντων δ΄ ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται διορίσαι, άλλ' ἀναγκαῖον μὲν ἢ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, μὴ ἢ δὲ, άλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. Eth. Nic. v I4, I137 b I5, Pol. iii II, 1282 b 2, (those in authority must be) κυρίους περὶ ὅτων ἐξαδυνανοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι καθόλου δηλῶσαι περὶπάντων, Pol. 1268 b 39, 1269 a 9, 1286 a 10.

περιλαβείν, here 'to define strictly, deter-

περιλαβείν, here 'to define strictly, determine in express words, draw up in a legal form' (L and S), Plat. Leg. 823 B, θήρα

περιλαβεῖν τὸ βέλτιστον οὐ γὰρ [δ]ίκ[αιον] ἐκ τῶν νῦν γιγνομένων ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας θεωρεῖν τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν.

10. ἐν [μὲν οὖν τ]οῖς νόμοις ταῦτα δοκεῖ θεῖναι δημοτικά, πρὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιῆσαι τὴν τῶν χρεῶ[ν ἀπο]κοπήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τήν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ 2 νομίσματος αἴξησιν. ἐπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείζω 4

X 2 'aut ποιήσαι fuit aut ποιήσαι, certe non ποιήσασθαι' K-W; ποιήσας K-W, Β; ποιήσαι H-L.
4 ΑΥΣΗCIN littera Σ incerta (K), non επαγΣΗCIN (K-W) nec καταCTACIN (H-L).

ΜΕΙΖω (K, K-W), non ΜΕΙω (H-L).

γάρ πάμπολύ τι πράγμά ἐστι, περιειλημμένου ὁνόματι νῦν σχεδὸν ἐνί. Ατ. Εἰλ.
Νία. ν 4, 1130 b 3, ἐνί ὀνόματι περιλαβεῖν (embrace, include) ταῦτα πάντα, iii 12, 1117 b 21, τόπψ περιλαβεῖν. Pol. iii 16, 1287 b 19, τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται τοῦς νόμοις περιληφθήνει, νὶ 5, 1320 a 1, νόμοι οἱ περιλήψονται τὰ σψίζοντα τὰς πολιτείας.
οὐ γάρ δίκαιον—βούλησιν] One of the writer's favourite methods of reconstruction is είστατελευταιτά.

ού γαρ δίκαιον βούλησιν] One of the writer's favourite methods of reconstruction is 'inference from the present to the past, from existing circumstances to their presumable antecedents, from a given state of institutions to a former condition of the same.' We here find 'part of a formula for the critical application of this method,' or rather for the limitations under which it may be applied (Mr Macan, F. H. S., xii 27 (1).

under which it may be applied (Mr Macan, γ. H. S., xii 37 f.).

Χ § 1. πρό δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας κτλ.] Solon's general legislation falls between the σεισάχθεια and the alteration of the currency. There is thus no direct connexion between the change in the coinage and the famous 'disburdening' ordinance. It was not by a modification of the monetary standard that Solon relieved the oppressed debtors; it was by an absolute cancelling of the debt. The opposite view was held by Androtion, whose opinion is quoted by Plutarch only to be rejected: Sol. 15, καίτοι τινές έγραψαν, ὧν έστιν 'Ανδροτίων, οὐκ ἀποκοπῆ χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ τόκων μετριότητι κουφισθέντας ἀγαπῆσαι τοὺς πένητας, και σεισάχθειαν όνομάσαι τὸ φιλανθρώπευμα τοῦτο και τὴν ψαι τοῦτο και τὸν γὰρ ἐποίνος ἔροχμῶν τὴν μιᾶν πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα και τριῶν οδσαν, ὧστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ελαττον ἀποδιδόντων, ὡφελεῶσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα

draipeous γενέσθαι την σεισάχθειαν, και τούτοις συνάδει μάλλον τα ποιήματα. τών μέτρων και σταθμών και...του

μηδέν δε βλάπτεσθαι τούς κομιζομένους. οί δε πλείστοι πάντων όμου τών συμβολαίων

νομίσματος αύξησιν] 'the augmentation of the measures and weights and of the currency.' Andoc. De Myst. 83 (the decree of Tisamenus), πολιτεύεσθαι Αθηναίους κατά τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ χρησθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος και μέτροις και σταθμοίς. Ιτ was held by Boeckh (Metrologie, 1838, xv § 2) that Solon 'not only debased the coin but also altered the weights and measures.' Grote dissented from this opinion on the latter point, giving his reasons in the Classical Museum, i p. 25:
'I believe that the statement of Androtion...has no reference to the medimnus and metretes, and that we cannot even deduce from it the vague inference...that Solon made some new arrangement of the measures.' He interprets the words των μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν (Plut.) of the monetary standard alone, referring them to the 'increased number of drachmae, which every mina and every talent were now made to He even adds that 'we know contain.' positively that Solon did not meddle with the weights.' He holds that it was 'for the express purpose of affording relief to debtors, that Solon degraded the monetary standard, and maintains that Solon would not choose such a moment for rearranging the liquid and dry measures. The present passage conclusively confirms the opinion held by Boeckh.

την τοῦ νομίσματος αθξησιν] refers to the fact that 73 old Aeginetan drachmas were replaced by 100 Attic drachmas, so that the same amount of silver was represented by a larger number of coins.

so that the same amount of silver was represented by a larger number of coins.
§ 2. rd perpa petto rŵr Delboretor!

Hdt. vi 127, Delboror roû 'Apyelou rupor-row...roû rh perpa woutgarror roûs Hehomoto...

The date of Pheidon is disputed. He is sometimes placed in Ol. 8=B.C. 748 (Pausan. vi 22, 2, followed by Unger, Duncker, and Busolt, i 140 n); sometimes (by altering the text of Pausanias) in Ol. 28=B.C. 668 (Weissenborn, followed by Curtius). Hdt. l.c. mentions a

5 των Φειδωνείων, καὶ ἡ μνα πρότερον [ἄγο]υσα παρα[πλήσ]ιον έβδομήκοντα δραχμάς ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἐκατόν. || ἦν δ' ὁ ἀρχαῖος [Col. 4

5 έλκουσα K-W, H-L, K²; άγουσα B; aut έλκουσα aut άγουσα, quorum hoc usitatius sit, legendum putat Wyse; cf. c. 51 § 3 τον σταθμόν άγοντας. παρα[πλήσ]ων Κ; παρά [μκρ]ων K-W; τρεῖς καὶ H-L; τὰς γ΄ καὶ Β. 6 ταῖς: τότ΄ εἰς H-L; εἰς (hiatu admisso) coniecerat Mahaffy (*Athenaeum*, 1891, p. 344), sed numerum omnibus notum indicat articulus.

son of Pheidon among the suitors of the daughter of Cleisthenes, despot of Sicyon, which would make Pheidon's date shortly before 600 B.C. The first of these dates is half a century before the beginning of Greek coinage, which may be placed about B.C. 700 (Busolt, i 355). The earliest authority for the statement that silver coins were first struck by that silver coins were first struck by Pheidon at Aegina is Ephorus, quoted by Strabo p. 376, "Εφορος δ' ἐν Αίγίνη άργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φείδωνος, cf. iδ. 358, μέτρα ἐξεῦρε τὰ Φείδωνια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμούς καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε άλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν (cf. Busolt, i 144 n). This last is the only passage which describes Pheidon as an inventor of weights: and even here an inventor of weights; and even here the epithet 'Pheidonian' is applied to the µέτρα alone. The Marmor Parium, ep. 30, connects him with silver coinage as well as with a reform in the measures of capacity: Φείδων ὁ ᾿Αργεῖος ἐδήμευσε τὰ μέτρα...και άνεσκεύασε ('reformed them') και νόμισμα άργυροῦν εν Αίγινη εποίησεν. The Etymologicum Magnum, s. v. δβελίσκοι, mentions his coinage, but implies that he made no change in standards of weight: πάντων δὲ πρώτος Φείδων 'Αργείος νόμισμα έκοψεν έν Δίγίνη και δούς τό νόμισμα και άναλαβών τους δβελίσκους (spits, or small bars, of metal), ἀνέθηκε τῆ ἐν οι smail σεις, οι inclui, ανευγκε τη εν "Αργει "Ηρα, έπειδη δε τότε οι όβελισκοι την χείρα έπλήρουν, τουτέστι την δράκα (the grasp), ήμεις, καίπερ μη πληρούντες την δράκα τοις έξ όβολοις, δραχμήν αυτην λέγομεν παρά το δράξασθαι. δθεν έτι καί νῦν λέγομεν δβολοστάτην τὸν τοκιστήν, επειδή σταθμοίς [τους δβελίσκους addit Orion p. 118 'qui Heraclidis Pontici auctoritate utitur,' Gaisford] παρεδίδουν οι άρχαιοι. The text mentions him solely in connexion with μέτρα, or 'measures of capacity,' and not in connexion with coinage or weights, the present section dealing in order with three topics (1) measures, (2) coinage, (3) weights, which must not be confounded with one another. Similarly, in another of the πολιτείαι, that of Argos (Rose, Frag. 480, 3, Pollux 10, 179) μέτρα alone are mentioned in connexion with Pheidon; είη δ' αν και φείδων

τι άγγεῖον έλαιηρὸν άπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ἀνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ᾿Αργεία πολιτεία ᾿Αριστοτέλης λέγει.

The present passage tells us for the first time that the Pheidonian measures of capacity were smaller than the corresponding Attic measures. The Pheidonian scale of measures may be identified with the Babylonian, and the ratio of the Pheidonian to the Solonian measures may accordingly be 12:13. Thus, in liquid measure, the Solonian measures may accordingly be 12:13. Thus, in liquid measure, the Solonian measures may known to have contained about 39 litres, or 8½ gallons: the Pheidonian measures would therefore contain about 36 litres, or rather less than 8 gallons, and be identical with the Babylonian epha and the old Egyptian artabe. Similarly, in dry measure, the Solonian médiures contained about 52 litres, or about 12 gallons; and the Pheidonian, 48 litres, or about 11 gallons (Hultsch, Neue Yahrb, für Philologie, 1891, pp. 263—4). For the opinion held hitherto, that the Pheidonian measures were larger than the Solonian, cf. Duncker, Hist. Gr. Bk II, c. ii, vol. ii 26 E. T.

η μνα— **exato**] According to the statement of Androtion in Plut. Sol. 15, Solon, in introducing a new standard for silver coin, lowered the standard to the extent of 27 per cent. 100 drachmas of the new standard contained no more silver than 73 of the old. Thus the new mina was equivalent in weight to 73 unreduced drachmas. As 73: 100:: 100: 137; hence, 100 drachmas of the old standard would be equivalent in weight to 137 of the new. 73 to 100 is precisely the proportion between the Attic drachmas of 67.5 grs. and average Aeginetan drachmas of 67.5 grs. and average Aeginetan drachmas of rather over 90 grs. (73:100::67.5:92.4), the Attic mina being to the Aeginetan as 100: 137 (Head's Historia Numorum, p. 309). If, however, instead of taking Aeginetan coins of average weight, we take those of actual maximum weight, the stater of two drachmae weighs 194 grs. The corresponding Attic coin weighs 135 grs. Then as 194: 135:: 100: 69\$\frac{3}{2}\$. Hence the number of drachmas of the Aeginetan

χαρακτήρ δίδραχμον. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὰ πρὸς τ[ὸ] νόμισμα 7

7 χαρακτήρ διδράχμου <βούς > ? Wyse, coll. Poll. ix 60; χαρακτήρ <βούς και τδ νόμισμα > δίδραχμον J B Mayor. σταθμά K-W, K3, B; σταθμών K1; πρός τών σταθμών τὸ νόμισμα ? Η-L.

standard, which would be equivalent in weight to 100 Attic drachmas, would be about 691. Thus, according as we take average or maximum weights, Mr Ken-yon's text, παραπλήσιον έβδομήκοντα δραχμάs, will mean either 73 or 69½.—The reading proposed by Blass gives us exactly

73 drachmas.

The new standard introduced by Solon in place of the Aeginetan has been con-vincingly proved by Mommsen (Röm. Münzwesen, p. 43 sq., Mon. Rom. ed. Blacas, i 29 sqq., 73 sq.) to have been the Euboic, and henceforth Euboean coins would circulate freely in Attica, side by side with the new Attic money (Head, p. 310, cf. 302 and xxxviii—xlii). Thus Solon's reform of the currency was not necessarily due to economic reasons connected with the debts of the poorer citizens. It had a commercial object and was intended to facilitate trade with the neighbouring island of Euboea (especially with Chalcis and Eretria), and with other Greek cities (for example, Cyrene), where the Euboic standard prevailed. It would also promote trade with Corinth, where a similar standard was in use (Busolt, i p. 525), and with the Greek colonies in Chalcidice and Sicily (Köhler, in Mittheil. d. d. arch. Inst. 1885, x 151 in Mittheil. d. d. arch. Inst. 1885, x 151

—157). It has further been suggested by Mr R. S. Poole (Dict. of the Bible, art. 'Weights and Measures') that the new Solonian standard was borrowed from Egypt. The Egyptian unit of weight was 140 grains, and the Solonian didrachm weighed 135 grains. Thus, whether the standard was actually borrowed from Egypt or Euboea, the Solonian coinage would facilitate intercourse with Egypt as would facilitate intercourse with Egypt as well as with the countries where Euboic standard was in use.

In this connexion it is interesting to notice that, after reforming the currency, and thus facilitating trade with countries employing either the Euboic or the Egyptian standard, Solon set out for Egypt, where he stayed for ten years, one of his avowed objects being the pursuit of com-

dνεπληρώθη] 'was raised to the full number of a hundred drachmas.'

ήν δίδραχμον] 'the primitive type of coin was the two-drachma piece.' χαρακτήρ means (1), as here, το κεχαραγμένον,

that which has a stamp impressed upon it, cf. Plato, Politicus, 289 Β, ή τοῦ νομίσ-ματος ίδεα και σφραγίδων και παντός χαρακτήρος: (2) the stamp itself, as in χαρακτήρος: (2) the stamp itself, as in Ar. Pol. i 9, 1257 α 40 χαρακτήρα έπιβαλόντων, Ιν' άπολύση τής μετρήσεως αὐτούς: ὁ γὰρ χαρακτήρο ἐτέθη τοῦ πόσου σημεῖον. Ο ετοπ. ii 5 (of Hippias), τὸ δὲ νόμισμα τὸ δν 'Αθηναίοις ἀδόκιμον ἐποίησεν 'τάξας δὲ τιμήν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακομίζευν' συνελθύντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κόψαι ἔτερον χαρακτήρα ἐξέδωκε τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργόριον.

γύριον.

Before the time of Solon, the only money current in Attica, as well as in Boeotia and Peloponnesus, seems to have been the Aeginetan didrachm of about 194 grains; but there are no Athenian Thus, coins extant of Aeginetan weight. apart from mere tradition (Plut. Thes. 25 έκοψε δὲ καὶ νόμισμα βοῦν ἐγχαράξας), there is no proof of any coins having been struck at Athens before Solon (Head, p. xlii). The text must therefore refer to the old Aeginetan didrachms in circulation in Attica before the time of Solon. These coins had on the obverse a tortoise with a plain shell and a row of dots down the middle of its back; and, on the reverse, an incuse square divided into eight triangular compartments, of which four or more are deeply hollowed out (Head, I.c., p. 332, fig. 220).



From the time of Solon the standard coin of Athens was the tetradrachm of the



full Euboic weight of 270 grains. common type is a head of Athena of rude g τ[ρ]είς καὶ ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας, καὶ ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν [αί] μναί τώ στατήρι καὶ τοίς άλλοις σταθμοίς.

8 τρείς και seclusit K; ante εβδομήκοντα (v. 6) posuerunt H-L, alii; defendit Ridgeway, retinuerunt K-W, B.

archaic style with large prominent eye, wearing a round earring and close-fitting crested helmet: on the obverse is an owl with head facing and wings closed; also an olive-spray and the letters A O E (ib. p. 310, fig. 209). After the time of Solon, coins of Eretria, stamped with the head of a bull, together with other Euboean coins, may have circulated in Attica, side by side with the Solonian 'owls.' there is no authority earlier than Philothere is no authority earlier than Philo-chorus (in the generation after Aristotle), for stating that the early didrachms, which preceded the Solonian 'owls,' were impressed with the figure of an ox (Head, Lc. p. 309). Cf. Schol. on Arist. Av. 1106, η γλαῦξ ἐπὶ χαράγματος ῆν τετραδράχμου, ὡς Φιλόχορος: ἐκληθη δὲ τὸ νόμαμα τὸ τετραδραχιων τότε [ἡ] γλαῦξ. τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τετράδραχμον τότε [ή] γλαῦξ. την γάρ γλαθέ έπίσημον και πρόσωπον 'Αθηνάς, των πρότερον διδράχμων όντων ἐπίσημον δέ βοθν έχόντων. Pollux, ix 60, δίδραχμον το παλαιόν δέ τοθτ' την 'Αθηναίοις νόμισμα, και έκαλείτο βούς, ότι βούν είχεν έντετυπωμένον. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that archaic coins of Euboea, bearing the bull's head, have repeatedly been found in Attica (cf. Koehler, Mittheilungen, ix 357—9).

ἐποίησε—ἀγούσαs] 'He also instituted

standard weights corresponding to the coinage, 63 minae weighing the talent, i.e. 'at the rate of 63 minae to the weight of a talent.' Cf. c. 51, τον σταθμόν αγονται δσον αν αυτοί τάξωσιν.

Much difficulty has been felt respecting these 63 minae, on the ground that, in every standard, a talent invariably consists of 60 minae. Thus it is ingeniously suggested by Mr Kenyon and others that Tpeis kal 'was written as an explanation of παραπλήσιον above, and was subsequently inserted in the text in the wrong place, and this suggestion has been regarded with considerable favour. But the text, as it stands, admits of a ready explanation if we regard it as stating the weight of the Solonian currency as compared with the average weight of the corresponding coins of the Euboic standard.

The average weight for the Solonian silver coinage was slightly higher than that of the Euboic. Solon made his new talent consist of 63 old minae of the average Euboic weight; and this talent was, like all other talents, divided into 60 minae. As the post-Solonian mina weighed about 6750 grains, the talent must have weighed 60 times that amount, or 405,000 grains. To obtain the weight of the mina superseded by the Solonian mina, we divide by 63 and the result is 6428\$ grains. stater, or fiftieth part of this, is 128‡ grains. In other terms, 63:60:135: 128‡. This is in sufficiently close agreement with the actual weights of the coins of Euboea, as compared with those of Attica. The two-drachma piece of the former weighs 130 grains (only one grain and three-sevenths more than the weight above mentioned); that of the latter, 135 grains. The substance of this explanation is due to Prof. Ridgeway, who also shews that, while the Aeginetan standard was used for silver, the Euboic was used for gold and silver, being in fact the only standard used for gold. Solon framed for the coinage of Athens a standard founded on that already in use for all transactions in gold. Possibly to adjust his silver currency to the standard gold unit, he augmented the silver standard, making 63 old minas go to his new talent of 60 minae. Thus, while about 70 Aeginetan drachmas are equal in weight to 100 Attic drachmas, rather less than 63, or, strictly speaking, 622 Euboic minas are equal in weight to 60 of the Solonian standard.

The above note refers to the average weight of coins of the Euboic standard. In the case of coins of full weight, that standard is practically identical with the Solonian, the staters of both weighing 135 grains (see Head's Brit. Mus. Cat. of

Coins of Corinth, 1889, p. xix).

ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν] The minae were divided into fractions consisting of (lit. 'were apportioned out by') the stater and the other weights.' ἐπιδιανέμω, "' to distribute besides,' Philo 2, 651; τυί τι Josephus, B. J. 2, 6, 3" (L and S).

στατήρ is the general term for a standard unit of weight and (more frequently of money. It here denotes the weight of a fittieth part of a mins. The weights

a fiftieth part of a mina. The weights here meant are probably coin-weights alone, market-weights being apparently left out of consideration. Solon made no change in the weights used in com11. διατάξας δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅνπερ εἴρηται τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ προσιόντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν νόμων ἠνώχλουν, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντες τὰ δὲ ἀνακρίνοντες, βουλόμενος μήτε ταῦτα κινεῖν μήτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι παρών, ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο κατ' ἐμπορί[αν] ἄμα καὶ θεωρίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, [εἰπ]ὼν ὡς οὐ[χ ἤξ]ει δέκα ἐτῶν' οὐ γὰρ 5 οἴεσθαι δίκαιον εἶναι [το]ὺς νόμους ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρὼν ἀλλ' ἔκαστον 2 τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιῆσαι. ἄμα δὲ καὶ συνέβαιν[εν] αὐτῷ τῶν τε γνωρίμων διαφόρους γεγενῆσθαι πολλοὺς διὰ τὰς τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπά[ς, κ]αὶ τὰς στάσεις ἀμφοτέρας μεταθέσθαι διὰ τὸ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ῷετο το

XI 2 ενωχλογν (κ¹, κ-w, β): ἡνώχλουν J B Mayor (H-L, κ³); verbum in codicibus optimis augmentum duplex habere constat. 3 κεινειν. 5 εἰπὼν ὡς οὐχ ἤξει Wessely (κ³, β); λέγων ὡς οὐχ ἤξει coniecerat van Leeuwen; [περὶ Κα]νώπου [πόλ]ει κ¹. 6 δίκαιος Jackson (H-L). 7 ποιῆσαι κ, H-L: ποιεῶν κ-w, Β.

K...CTACIN 10 THNIC ANTAZIN: The ouser katástasu K^1 ; the katástasu K-W, B; the ouser táxu H-L.

TESTIMONIA. 2-5 Heraclidis Epitoma, Rose, Frag. 611, 33, ώς δὲ διώχλουν (codd.; δ' ἐνώχλουν Κ-W) αὐτῷ τινὲς περί τῶν νόμων, ἀπεδήμησεν είς Αίγυπτον.

merce, the Aeginetan mina being still retained unaltered (see Dr Percy Gardner on Pondera, in Smith's Dict. Ant. ii p.

449 δ).

ΧΙ § 1. διατάξας—ποιήσαι] Plut. Sol. Σ5, έπεὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσενεχθέντων Ενιοι τῷ Σόλωνι καθ' ἐκάστην προσήσαω ἡμέραν ἐπαινοῦντες ἡ ψέγοντες ἡ συμβουλεύοντες ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὅ τι τόχοιεν ἡ ἀφαιρεῖν, πλεῖστοι ὅ ἡσαν οἱ πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀνακρίνοντες καὶ κελεύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἔπαστον ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἡν κεῖται διάνοιαν ἐπεκδιδάσκειν καὶ σαφηνίζειν, ὁρῶν, ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἀποπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἐπίφθονων, ὁλως δὲ ταῖς ἀπορίαις ὑπεκστῆναι βουλόμενος καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν χαλεπόν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰρηκε), πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε δεκαετῆ παρὰ τῶν Αθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος. ἡλπιξε γὰρ ἐν τολτών καὶ τοῖς νόμως αὐτὸς ἐσεσθαι συνήθεις. πρώτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αίγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ διέτριψεν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῆσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

 ψωχλεῖτο (Bekker, Franke, Schultz), and ἐνωχλεῖτο. Voemel, *Proleg. Dem.* § 67, quotes Photius: ψνείχετο και ψωχλει... κοινὸν τῶν ᾿Αττικῶν ἰδίωμα. See also Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 154.

αποδημίαν έποιήσατο] c. 13 init. δέκα έτῶν] For the fact cf. Hdt. i 29, ἀπεδήμησε έτεα δέκα. For the construction, cf. ib. vi 58, ἐπεὰν θάψωσι, ἀγορὸ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ Ισταταί σφι. Χεη. Απαδ i 7, 18, οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν. Plat. Gorg. 516 D, Ινα αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν μἡ ἀκούσειαν τῆς φωτῆς (of Cimon's exile).

dκούσειαν της φωνής (of Cimon's exile).

οὐ γὰρ οἰεσθαι δίκαιον εἶναι παρών]
The nom. c. inf. after δίκαιον εἶναι may
perhaps be defended (1) by Dem. 15 § 16,

ων οὐδενὸς αὐτοὶ δοῦναι δίκην δίκαιον ἀν
εἶναι (where, however, several editors
prefer δίκαιου ἀν, which involves a hiatus);
(2) by Dem. Procem. p. 1439, 14, ἐγὰ
μὲν δὴ δίκαιου ὑπείληφα πρῶτου ἀπάντων
αὐτὸς εἶπεῦν. In the text the construction
after δίκαιου ἐναι is apparently identical
with that often found after δεῦν (Rehdantz,
Ind. Dem. s. v. οἴεσθαι).

Ind. Dem. s. v. οξεσθαι).
§ 2. άμα δὲ καὶ κτλ.] Plut. Sol. το
init., ήρεσε δ' οὐδετέροις, άλλ' ἐλόπησε καὶ
τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνελών τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ
μᾶλλον ἔτι τοὺς πέντητας, ὅτι γῆς ἀναδασμὸν
οὐκ ἐποξησικ ἐλέσσους οὐτοῦς.

ούκ ἐποίησεν ἐλπίσασιν αὐτοῖς.

μεταθέσθαι] 'changed their opinion
with regard to him,' i.e. 'were alienated
from him.'

ό μεν γάρ δήμος κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 14, Φανίας ὁ Δέσβιος αὐτὸν Ιστορεί τον Σόλωνα

πάντ' ανάδαστα ποιήσειν αὐτόν, οί δὲ γνώριμοι [πά]λιν ἡ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἀποδώσειν ἡ [μικρὸν] παραλλάξ[ειν. ὁ δὲ ά]μφοτέροις ηναντιώθη, καὶ έξὸν αὐτῷ μεθ' ὁποτέρων έβούλετο συστά[ντι] τυραννείν, είλετο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀπεχθέσθαι σώσας τὴν πατρίδα 15 καὶ τὰ βέ[λτι]στα νομοθετήσας.

12. ταῦτα δ' ὅτι τοῦτον <τὸν> τρόπον ἔσχεν οἴ τ' ἄλλοι συμφωνοῦσι πάντες, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῆ ποιήσει μέ[μν]ηται περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε

δήμω μέν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον γέρας ὅσσον ἀπαρ[κεί], τιμής ούτ' άφελων ούτ' έπορεξάμενος. οί δ' είχου δύναμιν και χρήμασιν ήσαν άγητο[ί], καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀ[ει]κὲς ἔχειν. έστην δ' αμφιβαλών κρατερόν σάκος αμφοτέροισι, ν[ι]καν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.

10 πάλιν δ' ἀποφαινόμενος περί τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς α[ὐτ]ῷ δεῖ χρῆσθαι· 2 δημος δ' ωδ' αν άριστα σύν ηγεμόνεσσιν εποιτο, μήτε λίαν ἀν[ε]θεὶς μήτε βιαζόμενος.

11 \hbar scrips. K-W², cf. Pol. 1296 a 40 ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν: εις (K, H-L), secl. K-W¹, B. 12 \hbar σ[μκρὸν] παραλλάξ[ειν δ δε] Blass (K-W, H-L, K³); lacuna in altera ρ discerni putat K, in altera spatium plurium litterarum capax superesse. 18 ΗΒΟΥΛΕΤΟ (K-W, B), quod in titulis Atticis ante annum 300 A.C. μικρόν K-W. non apparet, Meisterhans, p. 1342. 14 аптехвесвинал.

XII 1 <τον> propter homoeoteleuton exciderat. είχεν K-W. 4 AHMOL ἀπαρκεῖ: ἐπαρκεῖ Plut. (Β), ubi ἀπαρκεῖ coniecerat Coraës: γέρας: κράτος Plut. ἀπαρκεῖν H-L (nisi forte ἀπήρκει legendum). 5-6 ATTOPEZAMENOCOCOI. 7 τοῖσ' Η-L. 12 Myr Plut. βιαζόμενος: πιεζόμενος Plut.

TESTIMONIA. XII 4-9 Plut. Sol. 18.

11-14 Plut. Comp. Sol. et Popl. 2.

χρησάμενον άπάτη πρός άμφοτέρους έπλ σωτηρία της πόλεως ύποσχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς μέν απόροις την νέμησιν, τοις δε χρηματικοις βεβαίωσυ των συμβολαίων.

ανάδαστα] Dem. 24 § 149, γης άναδασ-

μόν, Plat. Leg. 684.

Κόν αὐτῷκτλ.] Paraphrased by Aristides,
ii 360 Dind., παρὸν αὐτῷ στασιαζούσης
τῆς πόλεως ὑποτέρων βούλοιτο προστάντι τυραννείν, ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον άμφοτέροις

elhero ὑπερ τοῦ δικαίου. XII § 1. δήμφ dδίκως] These six lines are quoted in Plut. Sol. 18= frag. 5

Bergk.

1. 4. απαρκεί] 'is sufficient,' as in Aesch. Pers. 474, Soph. O. C. 1769, Eur. frag. 892, 4 Nauck², ων ούκ απαρκεί πλησμονή, Arist. frag. 395 οὐκ ἀπήρκει, 'it was not enough' (L and S). Grote (ii 326), who had before him Plutarch's

reading emapreî, translates: 'I gave to the people as much strength as sufficed for their needs'; but ἐπαρκεῖν must mean either (a) 'to supply' or (b) 'to be strong enough' (whether to help or to hinder). Plutarch's ἐπαρκεῖ is the only instance of the absolute use of the verb given in L and S, except Soph. Ant. 612, έπαρκέσει νόμος δδ', 'this law shall prevail' or 'hold good,'=διαρκέσει. Such is the satisfactory explanation given by Professor Jebb, who adds that in the only other instance, i.e. in Plutarch's quotation from Solon, 'we must surely read ἀπαρκεῖ with Coraës.' This opinion is conclusively confirmed by the reading given us by the

papyrus. § 2. δῆμος—βιαζόμενος] quoted in Plut. Solonis et Poplicolae comparatio, c.

2; frag. 6 Bergk.

20

τίκτει γάρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὅλβος ἔπητ[αι] ανθρώποισιν όσοις μη νόος άρτιος ή.

3 καὶ πάλιν δ' [έτέρ]ωθί που λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν 15 βουλομένων.

οι δ' έφ' άρπαγαισιν ήλθον, έλπί[δ' εί]γον άφνεάν, κάδόκουν εκαστος αὐτῶν ὅλβον εὑρήσειν πολύν, καί με κωτίλλουτα λείως τραχύν ἐκφανεῖν νόον. γαθνα μέν τότ' έφράσαντο, νθν δέ μοι γολούμενοι λο[ξὸν ό]φθαλ[μοῖ]ς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὅστε δήιον. ου χρεών α μεν γαρ είπα συν θεοισιν ήνυ[σα], $[\~aλλa δ' ο] ਂ μ[\'a]την ἔερδ[ο]ν, οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος$ άνδάνει βία τι [ρέζ]ειν, οὐδὲ πιε[ίρα]ς χθονὸς πατρίδος κακοίσιν έσθλούς ισομοιρίαν έχειν.

18 ΠΟλγς: κακ $\hat{\varphi}$ Theognis 153. 14 ἀνθρώτ φ καὶ ὅτ φ Theognis 154. 15 καὶ secl. κ-w. δ' ἐτέρωθὶ που R D Hicks, Wyse, Sidgwick, idem ego quoque conieceram (κ-w, κ 3 , Β); δ' ἄλλοθὶ που J B Mayor, Bywater, Blass; ἀλλαχόθι που Naber (H-L); διαγνώθι ποῦ κ 1 . διανέμεσθαι H-L. 17 οἱ δ' ἐ φ ' ἀρπαγαῖσιν ἐλπίδ' 18 'Fortasse airòs' Richards. ήλιθ' είχου? K-W. 21 όφθαλμοῖσ' Β. AHION (K-W, K3, B): Thio in Plutarcho Reiskium secutus Bergk (K1, H-L). 22 å µèv αλο άλλατα Aristidis (ii 536) codices Γθ; ἄμα γὰρ ἄκλατα Stephanus, S Jebb; ἄμἐν ἄκλατα coniecit Gaisford, recepit Bergk, versus initium arbitrati.

23 In Aristidis loco άλλα coniecit Gaisford; legebatur ἄμα.

οὐ Bury, H-L, κ-w, κ³, Β: αὖ in 23 In Aristidis 24 ανδάνει κτλ.: ήνδανεν (Richards) βίαια λήματ' H-L. Aristide Bergk (K1).

TESTIMONIA. 20, 21 Plut. Sol. 16.

22-23 Aristid. ii 536.

τίκτα-Επηται] quoted as Solon's by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromateus, vi 740): Σόλωνος δέ ποιήσαντος τίκτει γὰρ (υ. Ι. τοι) κτλ. ἄντικρυς ὁ Θέογνις γράφει. τίκτει τοι κόρος υβριν όταν κακῷ όλβος #πηται (Theognis 153, followed by the line ἀνθρώπφ, καὶ ὅτφ μὴ νόος ἀρτιος ἢ). The Schol. on Pindar Ol. xiii 12 cites the first line as 'Homer's.' In the Proverbs of Diogenianus, viii 22, it appears in the form τίκτει τοι—κακφ ἀνδρί

Diog. Laert. i 50 quotes, among the apophthegms of Solon; καὶ τὸν μέν κόρον ύπο του πλούτου γεννασθαι, την δε υβριν ύπο τοῦ κόρου.

§ 3. και πάλιν δ'] και-δέ is common in Ar.; e. g. Pol. 1252 a 13, 1254 b 24, 1287 a 7, 1297 b 16; and especially in Ethics iv, viii, ix, x; 'adjungit autem καί-δέ rem novam, saepe tam leni modo, ut idem fere valeat atque ré. Etiam saepius quam Aristoteles Theophrastus iis particulis utitur' (In the Historia Plantarum there are about 100 instances; in the Characters more than 70)-Eucken, De Ar. dicendi ratione, i 32.

έτερωθί που λέγει] Ar. de Anima i 2,

Lines 17—19, 24 and 25 are entirely new; 20 and 21 are quoted by Plutarch Sol. 16; part of 22, 23 by Aristides, ii 536 Dind., δ δε δη Σόλων και βιβλίον εξεπίτηδες πεποίηκεν...els αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείαν, ἐν $\ddot{\phi}$ άλλα τε δὴ λέγει καὶ ταῦτα \ddot{a} μὲν ξρδον. Two other fragments in the same metre are assigned by Bergk to the same poem. The first of these is described in Plut. Sol. 14 as addressed πρὸς Φῶκον; the second is quoted by Plutarch immediately afterwards, beginning with ούκ ξφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων.

1. 10. καί με κυτίλλοντα νόον] 'and that I, though smoothly glozing, would reveal my rude intent.' ἐκφανεῦν cannot be translated as though it were synonymous with κρύψαι. For κωτίλλοντα λείως, cf. Theognis 852, δε τὸν ἐταῖρον μαλθακὰ

κωτίλλων έξαπατάν έθέλει.

26 [πάλιν] δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπ[οκ]οπῆς τῶν χ[ρε]ῶν καὶ τῶν δουλευόν- 4 των μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν σεισάχθει[αν]:

έγω δὲ τῶν μὲν οῦνεκα ξυνήγαγον

26 ἀποκοπής των χρεων Wessely (κ³, Β): ἀπο[ρ[ας της των [πενητ]ων κ¹ (Η-L); ἀπορίας] της των [υπόχρε]ων κ.ω². 26—52 δουλευόντων—έχηρωθη πόλις in fragmenti Berolinensis pagina prima continentur. 27 < τότε> διά Η-L. 28 ούνεκα, in poetis Atticis a criticis suspectum, saeculi quinti et sexti in titulis legitur, CIA iv δ 491, 8 άρετης ούνεκα και φιλίας (saec. ν), CIA i 487, Ι ούνεκα πιστός έφυς (saec. νί—ν). Meisterhans, p. 177². εἶνεκ' κ.ω. εἴνεκα ξυνήγαγον Platt, coll. Pol. 1285 δ 7 διά τὸ συναγαγεῖν (τὸ πλήθος) ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἐκόντων. οὕνεκα ξ.νήγαγον Η-L. Equidem Ογνεκά ἔγνημαγον ο βασιλεῖς ἐκόντων. οὕνεκα ξ.νήγαγον απίπαντίτι κ supra litteram ἔ scriptum esse o, et litteras τα litteris λατ αυτ Cατ prorsus esse similes. οὕνεκ ἀξονήλατον κ¹; εἶνεκ' ἀξονήλατον κ.ω¹, ἀξονηλατον κ.ω², οὕνεκα ξενήλατον Jackson et Tyrrell (cf. Plut. Sol. 13 ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι, ἰδ. 15 ἀπήγαγον ἀπό ξένης, et inf. νν. 36—39). οῦνεκ' ἐξανήγαγον ναπ Leeuwen. Αυτ ζυγήλατον (quod nusquam adhuc inventum est) αυτ ζυγηφόρον (quod a papyri scriptura nimis remotum est) Marindin. των μὲν οὕνεκ ἀξονηλατουν δήμων, τὶ τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην; quondam Blass, coll. ἀρματηλατεῖν (Hdt. Xen.), ζευγηλατεῖν (Xen.), πόλω ναυκληρεῖν (Aesch. S. C. Τ. 652, Soph. Απε. 994); eadem fere Crusius (Philol. L. p. 177). τῶν μὲν οῦνεκα ξυνήγαγον δήμων, τὶ τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην; R. C. Jebb, cuius interpretationem unice veram esse patet. ξυνήγαγον etiam Blassio postea placuit.

§ 4. l. 28. The doubtful reading decνήλατον is found in Aesch. Suppl. 181, σύριγγες... ἀξονήλατα, 'whirling on the axle' (L and S); 'the sockets (in the naves) pressed by the axle, or through which the axle is driven' (Tucker). It seems impossible to interpret it (with Mr Kenyon) as a metaphor indicating 'a torture such as that of Ixion.' Much less can we understand it as an allusion to the aξoves of Solon.—aξονηλάτουν, impf. of afornharew, has been suggested; this is supported by O. Crusius (Philologus 1, 177) as a metaphor from the race-course which he considers characteristic of Solon, comparing l. 47 κέντρον...λαβών, and fragm. 23 Bergk, which merely mentions μώνυχες ίπποι. ξενήλατον, 'driven from the country as strangers,' though not found elsewhere, is implied in ξενηλατείν, and might be defended by Plut. Sol. 13, eml την ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι, and ib. 15 ανήyayor and Eerns followed by a quotation

of Il. 38—41, γλωσσω-ξχωντας.

On the whole, I prefer accepting in the first line ξωήγαγω. For the second I gladly adopt a suggestion due to Professor Jebb, who makes the sentence interrogative. He adds that the rhetorical emphasis obtained by placing the relative clause (τῶν μἐν) before the antecedent (τούτων) seems to confirm the view that this is a question. 'But, as to the ends for which I formed the popular party, or

(less probably) gathered the people into one (by healing the divisions which separated the various orders in the state), why did I desist before I had attained those ends?' (With & auva duny, cf. 1.63 in fragment at the end of this chapter: 'anyone else would not have restrained the people' οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο κτλ.) Solon is here quoting the question addressed to him by some of his opponents who held that he had not carried his reforms far enough. He is in fact putting in his own words the complaint which elsewhere he gives in the words of the malcontents, περιβαλών δ' άγραν άγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν μέγα |δίκτυον (frag. 33 Bergk⁴, l. 3). In the triumphant συμμαρτυροίη κτλ., he seems to say, 'Earth is the best witness whether I had cause enough του τον δημον ovvayayev, without going on to do those things which I am blamed for not doing.' Prof. Jebb further points out that it is probable that the first two lines formed a separate sentence, as Aristides does not quote them, and it is unlikely that he would have begun his quotation with the third line, συμμαρτυροίη, κτλ., if it had been in the middle of a sentence. I may add that the sense thus gained is confirmed by a subsequent line, i. 44, in which Solon protests that he has performed all that he has promised: διῆλθον ων ὑπεσχόμην. Cf. 1. 22, α μέν γάρ είπα σύν θεοίσιν ήνυσα.

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δημου, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην; συμμαρτυρ[οί]η ταῦτ' ἀν ἐν δίκη χρόνου μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνω[ν 'Ολυ]μπίων ἄριστα, Γη μέλαινα, της ἐγώ ποτε [δ]ρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχη πεπηγότα[ς],

29 δημον τι τούτων πρίν τυχῶν ἐπαυσάμην, K^1 . δημόν τι τούτων πρίν τυχ $[\epsilon i]$ ν ἐπαυσάμην, K-W, alii; τοιούτων Sidgwick, τοιούτων πρίν τυχὰν van Leeuwen. τί τούτων πρίν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην; recte Blass et Jebb.
30 χρόνου etiam Aristides habet: Κρόνου μήτηρ Clavigerus apud Bergk³, qui ibidem ipse conicit ἐν Δίκης θρόνω. Κρόνου μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων τ' ᾿Ολυμπίων Poste.
33 πολλαχη̂: an πολλ' ἔτη? J B Mayor.

TESTIMONIA. 30-54 Aristid. ii 536-8. 33, 34 Plut. Sol. 15.

11. 30—54. συμμαρτυροίη — λύκος] Quoted by Aristides, ii 536—8, in two portions, (a) 11. 30—49 ending οὐκ ἀν κατέσχε δημον, and (b) el γὰρ ηθελον to the end. (b) is introduced with the words: εἶτα τί φησὺν ὁ Σόλων;

1. 30. ἐν δίκη χρόνου] possibly (1) 'before the tribunal of time,' a bold expression, but less bold than that in Eur. Bacch. 889, δαρὸν χρόνου πόδα. Or, less probably, (2) 'in the justice of time,' i.e. 'justice which time eventually brings.' συμμαρτυρεῶν is combined with χρόνοι in Xen. Hell. iii 3 § 2, συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦν' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατοι λεγόμενοι χρόνοι εἶναι. Solon appeals to Earth to bear witness before the tribunal of Time that he had attained the ends he had in view.

1. 31. μήτηρ—Γη] Even the Attic land set free from its encumbrances is boldly personified as Mother Earth. Cf. Plato, Leg. 740 A, δεῖ τὸν λαχόντα τὴν λῆξω ταὐτην νομίζεων μὲν κοωτὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως ξυμπάσης, πατρίδος δὲ οδσης τῆς χώρας θεραπεύεων αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως η μητέρα παίδας, τῷ καὶ δέσποωταν θεὸν αὐτὴν οδσαν θνητῶν ψτων γεγονέναι, and 741, τῆς γῆς leρᾶς οδσης τῶν πώτων θεῶν.

θνητών δυτων γεγονέναι, and 741, τῆς γῆς lepâs οδσης τῶν πάντων θεῶν.

11. 33, 34. δρους έλευθέρα] These lines, and part of 11. 38—41, are quoted in Plut. Sol. 15, σεμνύνεται γὰρ Σόλων ἐν τούτοις, ὅτι τῆς τε προϋποκειμένης γῆς ὅρους ἀντίλε—νῦν ἐλευθέρα:

καλ τών άγωγίμων πρός άργύριος γεγονότων πολιτών τούς μέν άνήγαγεν άπό ξένης

γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' 'Αττικήν—ἔχοντας.

1. 33. Spows] Sir George Cox, Hist. of Greece, i 201, has suggested that this means boundaries, and similarly in the Edinburgh Review, 1891, p. 493, 'These boundary stones were the marks of the religious ownership of the Eupatrids.' This view is refuted in Mr Evelyn Abbott's History of Greece, i 407.

As regards the meaning of opos and cognate words in early Greek literature, the ambiguity in 11. xii 421, ἀμφ' οδροισι δύ ἀνέρε δηριάασθον, is made clear by other passages, which prove that the obpa are stones (xxii 405) marking off the allotments, and are easily moveable by a fraudulent neighbour (xxi 489),' Leaf ad loc. In Hdt. i 93 obpos is used of stones bearing inscriptions. In the present passage we have the earliest instance of spot in the sense of 'mortgage pillars,' 'stone-| slabs or tablets set up on mortgaged property, to serve as a bond or register of the debt' (Land S). This use is common in the time of Demosthenes, e.g. Or. 31 § 1, ribnow boons ent uer the olklar diaxiλίων, έπι δε το χωρίον ταλάντου, 42 § 5, ούδεις δρος έπεστιν έπι τη έσχατιά, and § 28, έκέλευον δείξαι όρον είπου Επεστι, 49 § 13, τους δρους ανέσπακε, 'has (illicitly) removed the tablets,' and § 11, ή οὐσία ὑπόχρεως ἡν ἄπασα καὶ ὅροι αὐτῆς ἔστασαν, ib. § 61, όσοις αὐτοῦ ή οὐσία άφωρισμένη ήν, 25 § 69, οι τεθέντες δροι έστηκότες, 41 § 6, δρους έπιστήσαι χιλίων δραχμών έμοι τής προικός έπι την οικίαν. Isaeus 6 § 36, δπως . . δροι τεθείεν. In Theophrastus (Char. 10 = 24 Jebb) it is characteristic of the μικρολόγος to inspect the δροι day by day. Harpocr. s. v. δρος: οῦτως ἐκάλουν οἱ ᾿Αττικοὶ τὰ ἐπόντα ταις ύποκειμέναις οίκίαις και χωρίοις γράμματα, δηλούντα ότι ύποκείνται δανειστή.

Originally the $\delta \rho o \tau$ was doubtless a boundary-stone or land-mark. In the absence of other means of registration, it became customary to inscribe on these boundary-stones a notice of the charges on the property. Solon, by his $\sigma \epsilon \iota \sigma d \chi - \theta \epsilon \iota a$, released the poorer classes from the burden of their debts, and set the land, which was security for these debts, free from encumbrances. No sooner was the debt itself abolished, than the stones in-

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[πρόσθ]εν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ελευθέρα. πολλούς δ' 'Αθήνας, πατρίδ' είς θεόκτιτ[ον], 44/6 by KAN [ἀνή]γαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως, άλλον δικαίως, τούς δ' αναγκαίης ύπο χρειούς φυγόντας, γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Αττικήν ίέντας, ώς αν πολλαχή πλαν[ωμένους], τους δ' ενθάδ' αὐτοῦ δ[ουλί]ην ἀεικέα [έ] χοντας, ήθη δεσποτών τρομευμέν [ους],

34 δè: γε J B Mayor (H-L). νῦν δ' H-L. 35 θ€0KTICTON: idem habent Aristidis codices prope omnes. 88 χρησμὸν λέγοντας (quod intelligi nequit)
Aristides. 41 ἦδη Aristides, correxit Bergk.

scribed with the record of the security were removed, and the land set free. (Cf. Blass in *Hermes*, xv 286 ff.)

timber . The

Many exx. of these inscribed opa have been found. Those of Attica are published in CIA ii, the ordinary boundary-stones forming nos. 1062-1102 and the termini fundorum pigneratorum nos. 1103—1153. A specimen is figured in Duruy's Histoire des Grecs, i 385; and all the extant Greek inscriptions of this kind are collected and classified in the Inscriptions Juridiques Greeques by MM. Dareste, Haussoullier and Th. Reinach, 1891, i p. 107-142. Classes A and B are securities (aroruntminors (1—9) or married women (10—24). Class C (25—59), records of sale with right of redemption, 'ostensibly a purchase, but really a loan of money se-cured by the conveyance of property.'
The debtor continues to occupy it, paying interest on the purchase-money and possessing the power of redemption within a certain time' (Hager in Smith's Dict. Ant. s. v. HORI). The following are some of the more interesting dated examples: A 5 (CIA ii 1138) έπὶ Νικοκλέουτ ἄρχοντος (Β. C. 302/1). δρος χωρίων καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τοῦ ΰδατος τοῦ προσώντος τοις χωρίοις κλήρων δυείν αποτετιμημένων παισίν όρφανοις τοις Χαρίου Ισοτελούς Χαιρίππω και Χαρία. Β 17 (CIA ii 1137) έπι Εύξενίππου άρχοντος (Β. C. 305/4) δρος χωρίων και οικιών άποτιμημάτων προικός Ζεναρίστει Πυθοδώρου Γαργηττίου θυγατρί, τὸ κατά τὸ ημισυ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον αἰτεῖ εἰς Λεώστρατον ἄρχοντα γιγνόμενον αιτει εις Λεωστρατων ωμχυν... ΧΧΓΗΗ... C 49 (CIA ii 1133) έπὶ Πραξι-βούλου άρχοντος (B.C. 315/4)' δρος οἰκίας πεπραμένης έπὶ λύσει. D 61 (CIA ii 1134) έπι Θεοφράστου άρχοντος (Β. C. 313/2)· δρος χωρίου τιμῆς ένοφειλομένης Φανοστράτφ Παιανεί XX = 2000 dr.

All these inscriptions belong to the

latter part of the fourth century. It cannot be supposed, however, that lending money on mortgage was unknown in the previous century. Under the Second Athenian Confederation (CIA ii 17), the Athenians were forbidden to purchase lands or houses in the territory of their allies or to lend money on mortgage. This implies that, under the First Confederation, lending money on these terms was not forbidden. But it would appear that for some centuries the Athenians, while still employing boundary-stones for their public or sacred domains, gave up using them as records of mortgages. It has been suggested that 'in the early times, which followed the reforms of Solon, no one had recourse to recording his claims on the detested tablets of stone whose removal from the land had been celebrated with such enthusiasm by the legislator himself' (Inscr. Juridiques, i 122). -For a similar reform among the Jews in the latter part of the fifth century,

see Nehemiah v, I—13.

πεπηγόταs] Lycurg. Leocr. § 73, δρους τοις βαρβάροις πήξαντες. Thuc. iv 92, 4, τοις μεν άλλοις οι πλησιόχωροι περί γης όρων τάς μάχας ποιούνται, ήμῶν δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν, ήν νικηθώμεν, είς δρος ούκ άντίλεκτος παγή-

1. 36. πραθέντας] Solon ap. Dem. F. L. p. 421, των δε πενιχρών | Ικνούνται πολλοί αΐαν ές άλλοδαπην | πραθέντες κτλ. Cf. Grote, c. 11, ii 310 n.

1. 37. dvaykalys two xperous] Cf. II.

1. 37. χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίη.
1. 38—41. γλώσσαν—ἔχοντας] quoted by Plut. Sol. 15.
1. 40. δουλίην] Ionic forms are characteristic of Solon's verses: cf. l. 41, τρομευμένους, and in Plut. Sol. 14, αίδεθμαι and dorew.

l. 41. ¶θη—τρομευμένουs] 'trembling at each mood of their masters.'

[έλ]ευθέρους ἔθηκα. ταῦτα μὲν κράτει νόμου, βίαν τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας, [έρ]εξα, καὶ διηλθον ώς ὑπεσχόμην. θεσμούς δ' όμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε κάγαθῷ, εὐθεῖαν εἰς ἔκαστον άρμόσας δίκην, έγραψα. κέντρον δ' άλλος ώς έγω λαβών, [κακ]οφραδής τε καὶ φιλοκτήμων ἀνήρ, οὐκ αν κατέσχε δημον εί γαρ ή[θε]λον \hat{a} τοις εναντίο[ισι]ν ηνδανεν τότε, αθθις δ' à τοισιν ουτεροι φρασαίατο, πολλών αν ανδρών ηδ έχηρώθη πόλις. των ουνεκ' άλκην πάντοθεν ποιεύμενος

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42 κρατεει: κράτει (κράτη cod. θ, Bergk) Aristides: κρ.τη Papyrus Berol. 48 ΝΟΜΟΥ (K, H-L): ὁμοῦ Aristides, Plut., Papyrus Berol. (K-W, B). 44 EpeFa διήλθον: διήνων? Herwerden.

45 τε, ut videtur, correctum in θ' des (Wyse, K-W, H-L, B).

διμοίουν Bergk, Aristidis codices duos

49 ΔΗΜΟΝ: idem habent Aristides et Plut. Sol. 16: θυμον hic et infra (K): δ' Aristides (Wyse, K-W, H-L, B). v. 63 legendum suspicantur H-L; idem olim Cantero et Reiskio placuerat. τότε: ποείν Sidgwick (H-L). TOIS: AYTOIC. 51 å τοισιν ούτεροι φρασαίατο τοις: ΑΥΤΟΙΟ. τότε: ποεῦν Sidgwick (H-L). 51 α τοισιν συτεροι φρασαιατο Platt, K-W, K³, Β. ΑΥΤΟΙΟΙΝΟΥΤΕΡΟΙ(vel al)ΦΡΑCΑΙΑΤΟ. α τοισιν ατέροις δράσαι, διά (κακά Valckenaer, βία Schaefer, δίχα Ο Schneider et Ahrens, δράσαι δίχα Bergk) Aristides. α τοισιν θάτέρα δράσαι δίχα Ellis. α τοισιν οὐτέρα (=οὶ ἐτέρα) φρασαίατο quondam Blass. α χωρίς ατεροι φρασαίατο Sidgwick (H-L). α τοισιν διά ατεροι φρασαίατο Τyrrell.

52 ἐχειρώθη Aristides, correxit Valckenaer.

53 ΟΥΝΕΚ (Κ, H-L): ebeek' K-W (cf. v. 28). dλxip: dρχip Arist., δργip Bergk. (k1): ποιεύμενος Platt, K-W, H-L, K3; κυκεύμενος Arist. TOIOYMENOC

TESTIMONIA. 38-41, 43 Plut. Sol. 15.

1. 45. θεσμούε] In Plut. Sol. 19 end, θεσμός εφάνη δδε is quoted from one of Solon's laws. Cf. note on c. 4 § 1.
1. 47. κέντρον] the 'goad' is here the symbol of strong control, as in Soph. Frag. 666 (of sovereignty), λαβών δὲ

χεροί κέντρα κηδεύει πόλι».

1. 49. σύκ αν κατέσχε δήμον] With these words the first quotation in Aristides ends. Plutarch, however (Sol. 16), cites two lines with the following introduction: καίτοι φησίν, ώς, εί τις άλλος έσχε την αύτην δύναμιν,

ούτ' αν κατέσχε δήμον ούτ' έπαύσατο πρίν αν ταράξας πίαρ έξέλη γάλα. Hence in Bergk's ed. of frag. 36 these two lines are added to the passage quoted by Aristides; and the passage el γὰρ ἤθελον—λόκου, quoted subsequently by Aristides, is treated as a separate frag-ment (37). But the text makes it clear that this last passage followed immediately after his first quotation, while the couplet in Plutarch comes from a subsequent portion of the same poem quoted near the end of this chapter.

1.51. Tolory ourspot opassalato] 'what their foes devised within their hearts' (K.). This does not explain the construction; roso cannot go with obrepos, for 'their foes' would be των οbrepos, 'those different from these.' τοισι must be dative after φρασαίατο. 'φράζεσθαι c. dat. and inf...=to tell one to do so and so,' but the inf. is sometimes omitted, as in Hom. Od. x 549, άλλ' louer δή γάρ μοι ἐπέφραδε πότνια Κίρκη. The sense seems to be 'whatever at any time the other party would devise for their opponents,' or perhaps, 'urge their opponents (roin: erar-toins) to do.' The erar-toin are the party opposed to Solon's remedial measures. The obverou are the popular party. With ppasalaro cf. mosolaro at end of next quotation.

1. 52. ἀνδρῶν—ἐχηρώθη] Hdt. vi 83, Αργοι ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη.

1. 53. moievuevos] An Ionism; cf. note

ώς εν κυσίν πολλαίσιν εστράφην λύκος.

55 καὶ πάλιν ὀνειδίζων πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον αὐτ[ῶν] μεμψιμοιρίας ἀμ- 5 φοτέρων.

> δήμφ μεν εί χρη διαφάδην ονειδίσαι, ά νῦν ἔχουσιν οὖποτ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν άν εύδοντες είδον

δσοι δὲ μείζους καὶ βίαν ἀμείνονες 60 αίνοιεν άν με και φίλον ποιοίατο.

εί γάρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης της τιμης έτυχεν, ούκ αν κατέσγε δημον ούδ' έπαύσατο, πρίν ἀνταράξας πίαρ έξείλεν γάλα. || έγω δε τούτων ωσπερ έν μεταιχμίω 65 δρος κατέστην.

[Col. :

54 ΕΤΡΑΦΗΝ vel ΕΓΡΑΦΗΝ: ἐστράφην Arist. (K, K-W, H-L, Β). 55 αὐτῶν 57 ΔΙΑΦΡΑΔΗΝ: διαφάδην Kontos et K-W (K3, B): Blass (K-W, K3): αὖθις H-L. μ' ἀμφάδην Platt (H-L). 64 πρικακταραξασπγαρεξείλεκ: πρίν αν ταράξας παρ ξέλη γάλα Plut. (et κ-w¹), unde Adam ad Plat. Cris. 44 D coniecerat πρίν drapáξas—ἐξείλεν, etiam Gildersleeve drapáξas legendum esse olim viderat; eadem postea protulerunt Sidgwick, Blass, H-L (κ³). πρίν ή ταράξαs πῖαρ ἔξείλεν γάλα κ-w³.

TESTIMONIA. 63, 64 Plut. Sol. 16.

65-66 Cf. Aristid. infra exscriptum.

on 1. 40, δουλίην. In Soph. O. C. 459, άλκην ποιείσθαι means 'to succour.

1. 54. ώς έν κυσιν-έστράφην λύκος] A reminiscence of Homer, Il. 12, 42, & τε κύνεσσι...κάπριος ής λέων στρέφεται. Cf. Solon 15, 23, ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμφ στρέφεται κακά.

§ 5. διαφάδην] διαφράδην is unknown. διαφραδέως means 'distinctly' (of sound) in Hippocrates 408. διαφάδην, 'openly,' is here accepted. This is found in Pollux ii 129, αρρήδην, διαρρήδην, διαφάδην.

1. 59. **εδδοντες**] 'even in their dreams.' Dem. F. L. 275, α μηδ' δναρ ήλπισαν πώποτε.

1. 60. Sooi] sc. elol. The last two lines refer to the rich, the first three to The whole of this passage the poor. (57—61) is new.
1. 62. et γάρ τις κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 16,

1. 62. et γαρ ττς κτλ.] Flut. 361. 16, quoted in note on l. 49.

1. 64. πρίν—γάλα] πρίν c. subj. aor. (or πρίν αν in Attic Gk) is properly only used after negative clauses, to denote a point in future time before which something else must happen; or (as Goodwin puts it, Moods and Tenses, § 638), 'when a clause with \(\pi \) \(\pi \ ture, and depends on a negative clause of future time (not containing an optative),

mply takes the subjunctive.' Such a construction is out of place here, where we require wolv c. indic. With the text, as emended, cf. Plat. Meno 86 D, our dr επεσκεψάμεθα πρότερον είτε διδακτόν είτε οὐ διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή, πρίν ὅ τι ἔστι πρώτον ἐζητήσαμεν (ib. 84 C and Theaet. 165 D: Goodwin, § 637). dvrapáfas] In

drapafas] In Ionic (as well as Doric poetry) dr- and dμ- stand for dra. Od. ί 440, άγκρεμάσασα, and elsewhere ανστήσων, ανστήτην, ανστήμεναι; *Π.* χχίν 756, ανστήσεις; *Οd.* ν 320, ανσχεθέειν;

4 τος ήσεσθαι, άνοχεο, άνοχετός.

**παρ] (πίων) lit. 'fat,' an Epic and Ionic word; 11. xi 550, xvii 659, βοών έκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι, of cream in Solon; also used metaphorically of 'the cream' of a thing, the choicest and best (L and S). Hesychius, πιαρ: το κράτιστον. This suits the context better than $\pi \partial a \rho$, which is 'the first milk after calving,' beestings,' or the rennet made from it. The sense requires not a particular kind of milk, such as 'beestings'; but the best part of the milk, the 'cream.' The constr. is either πρίν ἀνταράξας γάλα έξείλεν πίαρ, or else γάλα is acc. after the complex verb πίαρ εξείλεν.

1. 65. tyal-karterny] 'I set myself as

13. την μεν οὐν ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας. Σόλωνος δ' ἀποδημήσαντος, ἔτι τῆς πόλεως τεταραγμένης, ἐπὶ μὲν έτη τέτταρα διήγον [έ]ν ήσυχία το δε πέμπτο μετά την Σόλωνος

a landmark between two armed hosts.' Hdt. viii 140, 2 (of debateable land), δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβω τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων των συμμάχων πάντων αἰεί τε φθειρομένων μούνων, έξαίρετον μεταίχμιδο τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. δρος, 'landmark,' or 'wall,' seems a harsh metaphor, except perhaps in one who, like Solon, had the opos, the boundaries as well as the mortgage-tablets, of Attica much in his mind. The passage is paraphrased in Aristides, ii 360 (of Solon), έστη δ' έν μεθορίω πάντων άνδρειότατα και δικαιότατα, ώσπερ τινας ως αληθως έκ γεωμετρίας περιγραπτούς φυλάττων δρους. ΧΙΙΙ § 1. ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο] c.

11 § 1.

Σόλωνος — τεταραγμένης κτλ.] 'When S. had gone abroad, although the state was still disturbed by divisions, yet for four years they lived in peace, but in the fifth year' &c. ἀποδημεῖν has two meanings (1) to be abroad, and (2) to go abroad. (1) is found in Pol. 1303 b 23, and Poet.
17, 1455 b 17, ἀποδημούντος: (2) in the present passage. The fact that τεταραγuterns precedes, accounts for the article in την στάσιν.

τῷ δὲ πέμπτφ μετά τὴν Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν]
The archonship of Solon is usually placed in B.C. 594/3 = Ol. 46, 3. This is the date given by Diog. Laert. i 62 on the authority of Sosicrates of Rhodes, the author of a work on the History of Crete and on the Succession of Philosophers, who flourished between 200 and 128 B.C. The archons about this time are given

by Clinton as follows:

Ol. B.C. 46, 2 = 595Philombrotus

3=594 Solon 4=593 **Dropides**

47, I = 592 Eucrates?

Simon

2=591

3=590 [Simon, in Marmor Parium]

Jerome places Solon in 592: and the Armenian version of Eusebius in 590. 592 is already occupied by Eucrates, and 590 (in the Marmor Parium, see § 2 n) possibly by Simon. The text of c. 14 § 1 appears to place Solon 31 years before the archonship of Comeas (B.C. 560), i.e. in 591. But if Solon is placed in 591. Philombrotus and Dropides must be placed in 592 and 590, which are already

assigned to other archons. Again, if Comeas is (by another method of reckoning) assigned to 561, Solon falls in 592, the year assigned to Eucrates. Eucrates, however, may really belong to a later date. Sosicrates (ap. Diog. Laert. i 101) places him in Ol. 47 (592—589) and makes Anacharsis visit Solon during the archonship of Eucrates. But Solon left Athens for ten years when his own archonship was over, so that, if Sosicrates (our only authority for Eucrates) is right about the date of the visit of Anacharsis, Eucrates cannot be earlier than 583. On the year of Solon's archonship, cf. Clinton, Fasti, ii 298; Fischer's Gr. Zeittafeln, p. 114; and Busolt, i 524.

If Solon was archon in 594, and if in the fifth year' means four years after Solon, then the first year of anarchy falls in 590, and the second in 586. Then, if διά τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων is retained in the sense, 'after the same interval of time, i.e. four years later, the archonship of Damasias begins in 582. This is Mr Kenyon's view. In this calculation the first period of four years of peace must include either the year of Solon's archonship or the first year of anarchy; and the second period must include one of the

years of anarchy.

On the other hand, if the first 'four years' extend from B.C. 593 to 590, then the first year of anarchy is 589; again, if the first year of anarchy is 589; again, if ξτει πέμπτω is taken as meaning 'five years afterwards,' the second year of anarchy is 584. Further, if διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων is regarded as an inter-polation, the beginning of the rule of Damasias follows at once in 583. This is the view of Bauer, and of Kaibel and Wilamowitz. But the first year of Wilamowitz. But the first year of Damasias coincides with that in which the Pythian festival was transformed into an draw orequestrys, and the festival was held in the third year of each Olympiad, whereas 583 is the second year. The opinion that it fell in the second year of the Olympiad, which has been inferred from Thuc. iv 117 and v 1, is refuted in Clinton's Fasti, ii p. 195=

Again, if the archonship of Solon is placed in 591, the years of anarchy may be put at intervals of four years in 587 and 583. Then, if διά των αὐτων χρόνων ἀρχὴν οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα διὰ τὴν στ[άσ]ιν, καὶ πάλιν ἔτει 5 πέμπτ< διὰ > τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ <math>2 ταῦτα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων $\Delta[a\mu]a[\sigma$ ίας αἰρε]θεὶς ἄρχων ἔτη

XIII 4 ΟΥΚΑΤΕCΤΗCΑΝ (Κ-W, K^3): οὐκ ἐπέστησαν K^1 (H-L). 4 ἀρχοντα—18 διώκειν continentur fragmenti Berolinensis in pagina secunda. 5 < διὰ > add. e papyro Berol. ΔΙΤΙΑΝΑΡΧΑΙΑΝ: αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν Campbell, Jackson, Housman, Burnet, K-W, H-L, K^3 . 6 διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων secl. K-W; διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου? Herwerden.

be omitted, we get 582 as the first year of Damasias. This is the view of T. Reinach and of Poland. It has the advantage of leaving the text in c. 14 & 1 untouched, and it gives a date for Damasias which is consistent with Pausanias x 7, 5, where the first Pythian dyww στεφανίτης, which coincided with the first year of Damasias, is placed in 582. If so, the archonship of Simon which, according to the Scholiasts on Pin-

dar, was five years before Damasias, may provisionally be placed in 587, instead of 590, the year assigned to it by the Parian Marble; but 587 was on this view a year of anarchy; hence it is not improbable that Simon was really archon in 586.

All the above views agree in placing the beginning of the archonship of Damasias later than 586 B.C., in or about 582. The following is a conspectus of the views above mentioned.

	Mr Kenyon	Bauer and K-W.	Reinach and Poland
Solon, archon First period of 4 years First year of anarchy Second period of 4 years Second year of anarchy Third period of 4 years Damasias, archon	irst period of 4 years irst year of anarchy econd period of 4 years econd year of anarchy hird period of 4 years 590-87 580-87 586 586 586-3 586-3		591 591-588 587 586-583 583 nil 582

A space of 13 years, 594 to 582 inclusive, does not allow of three periods of four years, and four years besides. It only admits of three periods of three years (and four years over). But these can only be obtained by altering τέτταρα into τρία and πέμπτψ twice into τετάρτψ. This, however, would perhaps be going too far.

§ 2. Aaµaar(as) On the discovery of the Berlin fragments, much controversy arose respecting the Damasias there mentioned. It was at first proposed to identify him with Damasias I, the archon of 639 B.C. This opinion was conclusively refuted by Diels (Berlin Acad. 1885, p. 12); and, now that we have the context of the fragment before us, it is obvious that Damasias II can alone be meant.

Hitherto the determination of the date of Damasias II has depended on a mutilated passage in the Parian Marble. (This important chronological document was bought in Smyrna by an agent of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, 1585—1646, and sent to Arundel House in 1627. It was first edited by Selden, 1628. In 1667, at the instance of John Evelyn, Letters, Aug. 4, 1667, Diary, Sept. 19, Oct. 8, 17, 25, it was presented by the Earl's grandson to the University of Oxford, and in 1676 it was edited once more by Prideaux. After being preserved for many years in the Ashmolean Museum, it was removed to the University Galleries in 1889. It has been edited by Boeckh, CIG ii 2374, and C. Müller, FHG i 535—590. The authority for the chronology recorded in this Marble is probably Phanias of Eresos, a pupil of Aristotle. The dates are reckoned by the number of years that had elapsed before the archonship of Diognetus, B.C. 264—3.)

δύο καὶ δύο μῆνας ἦρξεν, ἔως ἐξηλάθη βία τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἶτ ἔδοξε[v] αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἑλέσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἀ[γρ]οίκων, δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὖτοι

7 €ΣΗλΑCΘΗ: correxerunt Richards, K-W, H-L (κ³). < ἐκ>τῆς ἀρχῆς Η-L.
 9 ἀποίκων Berol.; litterae p partem inferiorem cerni posse putat K.

TESTIMONIA. 9 Hes. άγροιῶται άγροικοι (locus infra exscriptus).

The passage, with which we are concerned, is restored as follows: ll. 53—54, [dφ' οῦ 'Αμφικτύονες ἐνίκησαν ἐλ]όντες Κύρραν, καὶ ὁ ἀγῶν ὁ γυμνικὸς ἐτθη χρηματίτης ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων, ἔτη ΗΗ[Η] ΔΔΓΙΙ (327), ἀρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Σίμωνος. ἀφ΄ οῦ [ἐν Δελφοῖς στεφ]ανίτης ἀγῶν πάλω ἐτθη, ἔτη ΗΗΗΔ..ΙΙ, ἀρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Δαμασίου τοῦ δευτέρου. The interval between the year of Diognetus and that of Damasias is here denoted by the symbols HΗΗΔ..ΙΙ (312). (a) Boeckh and C. Müller insert ΓΙ (6), thus making the number 318; (δ) Chandler and Clinton, Δ (10), making it 322; while Dopp (the latest editor) proposes ΔΙ (11), making it 323. The corresponding dates Β.C. are: (a) 582/1 or 581/0, according as we reckon exclusively or inclusively; or (b) 586/5, according as we reckon inclusively with 323 or exclusively with 322. But the archonship of Damasias coincides with a Pythian festival; this excludes 581 and leaves us the choice between 586 and 582.

It has been urged in favour of 586/5 that Diog. Laert. I i 22 describes Thales and the other Wise Men of Greece as flourishing in the archonship of Damasias; and that 586/5 would be an appropriate year to mark their epoch, because the eclipse predicted by Thales took place on May 28, 585 B.C. (Cf. Busolt, i 493.)

On the other hand, 582/1 is supported

On the other hand, 582/1 is supported by Pausanias (x 7, 4—5), who implies that the first dγών στεφανίτης was in 582/1, and the last dγών χρηματίτης in 586/5.

It may here be suggested, that probably the first year of Damasias coincided with the first celebration of the Pythian games after their transformation into an αγων στεφανίτης, i.e. with 582. Subsequently, a confusion may have arisen between the year of that celebration and the actual year in which the change was made (586). The archonship of Damasias was thus put four years too early. If the archonship of Simon coincided with the last αγών χρηματίτης and if that αγών was four

years earlier than the change in the Pythian games (586), it follows that the archonship of Simon must be put in 590. Simon is placed in that year in the Parian Marble; and the evidence of the text, which gives at least 10 years between the year of Solon and that of Damasias, points to 582 as the year of Damasias.

If Damasias was archon in 582, Solon would by that date have returned to Athens after his absence of ten years (593—584 inclusive). This may be held to favour the conjecture of Diels (Berl. Acad. 1885, p. 13 f.) that Solon refers to the usurpation of Damasias in fragm. 32 and 33, quoted in Plut. Sol. 14, εl δὲ γῆς ἐφευσάμην κτλ., and οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων. The trochaic passage quoted above in c. 12 has been ascribed to the same poem, πρὸς Φώκον.

ἐξηλάθη] The form ἐξηλάσθη is given

atηλαθη The form εξηλασθη is given in the papyrus and in the restoration of the Berlin fragment by Blass εξηλά[σ]θη. For ηλάσθην Veitch, s.v. ελαθνω, quotes Diod. Sic. 20, 51, συν- Plut. Caes. 17. Gaisford, however, edits ἀπ· and ἐξηλάσθην in Hdt. iii 54, vii 6 &c [Hdt. vii 6 ἐξηλάσθην το Ἰππάρχου...ἐξ γλθηνέων. ἐξηλάσθη cod. Florentinus: ἐξηλάθη al. iii 51 and i 173, ἐξελασθείς, in the latter passage the cod. Parisinus has ἐξελαθείς].

dpxorras—8ka] Owing to a lacuna in the Berlin fragment, which only mentions the three archons elected by the second class and the two by the third, it was supposed that the first class elected four, making nine archons in all. It now appears that in this particular year the number was ten. This election was a reactionary measure. It implied an abandonment of the classification by assessment which was the cardinal point of Solon's constitution.

dypo(κων) The Berlin fragment has dπο(κων). There is a similar confusion in 1. 2 of the poems of Herondas, where AΠΟΙΚΙΗC was first written and then corrected into AΓΡΟΙΚΙΗC. The usual name for this class is γεωμόροι (Plut. Thes. 25; Bekker's Amed. Gr. 257, 7; Etym. Mag. p. 395, 50, &c), or γεωργοί

το τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν [ή]ρξα[ν ε]νιαυτόν. ος καὶ δήλον ὅτι μεγίστην είγεν δύναμιν ὁ ἄρχων φαίνονται γὰρ ἀεὶ στ[α]σιάζοντες περὶ ταύτης της άρχης. όλως δε διετέλουν νοσούντες τὰ πρὸς εαυτούς, 3 οί μέν άρχην και πρόφασιν έχοντες την των χρεών αποκοπήν, συνεβεβήκει γάρ αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι πένησιν, οἱ δὲ τῆ πολιτεία 15 δυσχεραίνοντες διὰ τὸ μεγάλην γεγονέναι μεταβολήν, ένιοι δὲ δ[ιὰ τὴν] πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονικίαν. ἢσαν [δ'] αἱ στάσεις τρεῖς, 4 μία μεν των παραλίων, ων προειστήκει Μεγακλής δ 'Αλκμέωνος, ο[ί]περ εδόκουν μάλιστα διώκειν την μέσην πολιτείαν· άλλη δε τῶν $\pi \epsilon \delta ia[\kappa \hat{\omega} \nu]$, οἱ τὴν ὀλιγ $a \rho \chi$ ίαν ἐζήτουν, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτ $\hat{\omega} \nu$ Λυ-20 κοῦργος: τρίτη δ' ή τῶν διακρίων, ἐφ' ἢ τεταγμένος ἢν Πεισίστρα-

11 δύναμιν είχεν Berol. del Berol. (H-L): AIEI (K, K-W, B). 16 ήσαν [δ'] K, H-L: ήσαν δέ Berol. (K-W, Β). δέ: 'an δ' ή?' Blass. 19 έζητουν: έζηλουν hic om. Berol. 15 δè: μèν Berol. 18 οίπερ: οἱ δὲ (ut videtur) Berol. 19 έζήτουν: έζήλουν hic et c. 34 § 3 coniecit Bury (H-L).

TESTIMONIA. 16-20 Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1223...κατά γάρ τούς Σόλωνος νόμους τρεις ήσαν αl τάξεις (sic), μία μέν των παραλίων, ων προειστήκει Μεγακλής, έτέρα δε των πεδιέων, ων προειστήκει Λυκούργος, τρίτη δε των διακρίων, ων προειστήκει Πεισίστρατος.

(Schol. on Plat. Axioch. p. 253, Moeris, s. v. γεννηταί). But άγροικοι is the term used in Dion. Halic. ii 8 (after mentioning the εύπατρίδαι), άγροίκους δὲ (ἐκάλουν) τους άλλους πολίτας οι των κοινών ούδενος ήσαν κύριοι σύν χρόνω δέ και ούτοι προσελήφθησαν έπι τὰς ἀρχάς. Cf. Hesych. s. v. άγροιῶται άγροικοι. καὶ γένος 'Αθή-νησιν, οἱ ἀντιδιεστέλλοντο πρός τοὺς Εὐπατρίδας. ἡν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν. καὶ τρίτον τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν. (Landwehr in Philologus, Suppl. v, 1889, p. 139—155, Die drei Stände in Attika.)

§ 3. vocovres] of faction, c. 6 near

end.

of per...of 82... [viol 82] The first two are different sections of the Eupatridae, some of whom resented the loss of money involved in Solon's σεισάχθεια, while others lamented the loss of political influence; besides these, a few were actuated by the mere spirit of factious rivalry.

§ 4. στάσεις τρείς...τών παραλίων .. τών πεδιακών... τών διακρίων] Hdt. i 59, (Peisistratus) στασιαζόντων τῶν πα-ράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ᾿Αθηναίων, και των μέν προεστεώτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ 'Αλκμέωνος των δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου 'Αριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας την τυραννίδα ήγειρε τρίτην στάσω, συλλέξας δε στασιώτας και τῷ λόγψ τῶν ὑπερακρίων, προστάς μηχανάται τοιάδε. (Dion. Hal. i 13, ώς ύπερακρίους τινάς καί παραAlous 'Aθήνησιν.) Plut. Sol. 29, ol δè èν άστει έστασίαζον άποδημούντος τού Σόλωνος. καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μέν Πεδιέων Αυκούργος, των δέ Παράλων Μεγακλής ό 'Αλκμαίωνος, Πεισίστρατος δε των Δια-κρίων, εν οις ήν ο θητικός όχλος και μάλιστα τοις πλουσίοις άχθόμενος. ib. 13 (of the ordoes just before the legislation (of Solon), την παλαιάν αδθις στάσιν ύπέρ τής πολιτείας έστασίαζως, δσας ή χώρα διαφοράς είχεν, είς τοσαθτα μέρη τής πόλεως διαστάσης: ήν γάρ το μέν τών Αλακοίλα κάποι Επιστοπείνατως Αλι ποικώς οιαστασής την γαρ το μεν το λιακρίων γένος δημοκρατικώτατον, όλι-γαρχικώτατον δέ το τών Πεδιέων τρίτοι δ' οί Πάραλοι μέσον τυνά και μεμιγμένον αλρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον έμποδών ήσαν και διεκώλυον τους έτέρους κρατήσαι. (Μοralia 805 D των Διακρίων...των Πεδιέων ...των Παραλίων, 763 D Παράλων, Έπα-κρίων, Πεδιέων). Πεδιειε is the form found in Diog. Laert. i 58, and Schol. on Arist. Vesp. 1223, a confused account (founded on this passage, see Testimonia), in which the rates, as they are there called, are apparently regarded as the result of Solon's legislation. Suidas s. v. Πάραλοι mentions the Πεδιάσιοι and Διάκριοι.

On these three parties, cf. Schömann, Ant. p. 327 f., E. T.; Gilbert, i 126 f.; Duncker, 6, 447 f.

For the form wiblaker, cf. Pol. viii (v)

1305 a 21—24, πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ

ς τος, δημ[οτ]ι[κ]ώτατος είναι δοκών. προσεκεκόσμηντο δε τούτοις οί τε ἀφ[η]ρημένοι τὰ χρέα διὰ τὴν ἀπορ[ί]αν, καὶ οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροί διὰ τὸν φόβον σημεῖον δ', ὅτι μετὰ τὴν < τῶν > τυράννων κατάλυσιν εποίησαν διαψηφισμόν ώς πολλών κοινωνούντων τής πολιτείας οὐ προσήκου. είγου δ' έκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀπὸ τῶν 25 $\tau[\delta]\pi\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ of $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\sigma\nu\nu$.

21 προσεκεκόλληντο Η-L, Kontos, Gennadios; προσενεύμηντο Butcher, coll. Dem. Ol. ii 29 προσνενέμησθε οl μέν ώς τούτους, οl δὲ ώς ἐκείνους, Ερ. iii 2 ταῖς τοῦ δήμου προαιρέσεσι προσένειμεν ἐαυτόν, Aristog. i 43 προσνέμοντες αὐτοὺς τούτω. 23 Tŵr addiderunt Rutherford, Blass, Gennadios, K-W, H-L (K3). 24 AIAOH-MICMON: διαψηφισμών scripsi, idem scripserunt Blass, K-W, H-L (K3).

άπέχθεια ή πρός τους πλουσίους, οίον 'Αθήνησί τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρός τούς medianois.

δημοτικώτατος] 14 § 1; 16 § 8; 22 § 3. § 5. προσεκεκόσμηντο] 'had joined their ranks'; the compound verb is not found elsewhere in this sense.

ol τε φόβον] The faction of Peisistratus was joined by those whom Solon's legislation had deprived of the debts due to them. The allegiance of these was prompted by their losses. Peisistratus was also joined by those who were not of pure descent. The latter were afraid of the oligarchical faction gaining the asthe oligarchical faction gaining the ascendency and depriving them of the privileges of citizenship in consequence of their inferior birth. Landwehr, who doubts whether the parties really existed before the time of Solon (*Philol.* Suppl. v 155), suggests that of deprementation to the mapairon who had lost their money, whereas the making still had their land as the πεδιακοί still had their land.
σημείου δ' -- προσήκου] The writer in-

fers that the party of Peisistratus included persons of dubious origin from the fact that, after the rule of the Peisistratidae was brought to an end, there was a revision of the list of citizens. Cf. note on

8 § 1, δθεν έτι διαμένει.

διαψηφισμόν] The word occurs in Athenaeus, 218 Α, διαψηφισμός ὁ γενόμενος κατὰ τῶν Ἐρασινίδην στρατηγών.

The verb is used in c. 42 § 1, 1. 4, διαψηφίσε Corrai. The admission of citizens took place in their 18th year, when, if their title to citizenship was sufficiently proved, they were entered on the register called ληξιαρχικόν γραμματείον and (probably two years afterwards) in the πίναξ ἐκκλησιαστι-Ros. The lists of citizens were revised on special occasions, particularly when there was reason for suspecting that a number of persons had been improperly registered. The names were then read one by one from the register, and, as each was read, it was asked whether any objections were to be made to it. Such Such objections were discussed and evidence brought forward, so that the matter could not be despatched in one assembly, but required several meetings of the members of the deme (Dem. Eubulides § 9 seq.). If, finally, a vote was taken, and the result was unfavourable, the name was struck out (Schömann, Ant. 368 f. E. T.). See esp. Dem. Eubul. (an appeal against the vote of the onworal, who had struck the τη προτέρα διαψηφίσει. Hitherto, the earliest known revision of the roll of citizens has been that in the archonship of Lysimachides B.C. 445/4 (Philochorus in Schol. on Ar. Vesp. 718; Plut. Pericles 37. Philippi, however, contends that the procedure of Artifacture cedure of διαψήφισι was not resorted to on this occasion, Bürgerrecht, pp. 34—49). The next was in the archonship of Archias, 346 B.C. Cf. Harpoer. s. v. δια-Ατετιίας, 340 B.C. Cl. Πατροστ. 3. ο. οια-ψήφισις: ίδίως λέγεται έπι τῶν έν τοις δήμιοις έξετασέων, αι γίγνονται περι έκαστου των δημοτευομένων, εί τῷ ὅντι πολίτης καί δημότης έστιν ή παρεγγέγραπται ξένος ών Αίσχίνης κατά Τιμάρχου (§ 77, γεγόνασι διαψηφίσεις έν τοῦς δήμοις, καὶ έκαστος ὑμῶν ψῆφον δέδωκε περί τοῦ σώματος, δστις 'Αθηναῖος δυτως έστι και ὅστις μή). έντελέστατα δε διείλεκται περί τῶν διαψη-φίσεων, ώς γεγόνασω ἐπί ᾿Αρχίου ἀρχοντος, ᾿Ανδιουίω. 'Ανδροτίων έν τῆ 'Ατθίδι και Φιλόχορος έν 5' τῆς 'Ατθίδος. Cf. Schol. Aeschin. I 8\$ 77, 114; Hermann, Staatsalt. 8 121, 19, and Meier and Schömann, p. 989 Lips. etyov 8' Incorror - hympyowy 'These

parties derived their respective designa-tions from the districts in which they held their lands,' the Plain, the Shore 14. δημοτικώτατος δ' είναι δοκῶν ὁ Πεισίστρατος, καὶ σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμηκὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμῳ, κατατραυματίσας έαυτὸν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον, ὡς [ὑ]π[ὸ] τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ταῦτα πεπονθ[ώ]ς, φυλακὴν ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τοῦ σώματος, 'Αριστίωνος $[\gamma] \rho [\dot{a}] \psi$ αντος τὴν γνώμην. λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς κορυνηφόρους καλου-

XIV 2 ηὐδοκιμηκώς H-L.

8 ὑπὸ K-W (K3, B): παρὰ K1.

and the Mountain (or Highlands). The men of the Mountain led a hard life in the uplands of Parnes which afforded pasturage for sheep and goats, and were scantily supplied with the fruits of the field or of trees. (2) The men of the Shore enjoyed more abundant means of support in the building of boats, in ferrying and fishing, and in the manufacture of salt. (3) The men of the *Plain* formed the wealthiest class, with their groves of olives in the valley of the Cephisus and their fields of corn stretching inland from Eleusis. (Cf. Curtius, H. G., i 311 E. T.) Grote, c. 11, ii p. 300 n, observes that Plutarch's description of the men of the Plain, as representing the oligarchical tendency, and the men of the Mountain, the democratical, is 'not quite accurate when applied to the days of Solon. Democratical pretensions, as such, can hardly be said to have existed.' Plutarch (or the authoto have existed. Plutarch (or the authority he follows in c. 13) possibly makes these parties come into existence too early; elsewhere, c. 29, he places them after Solon's time, probably on the authority of the text, which distinctly describes the men of the Plain as oligarchical in spirit.

XIV § 1. εὐδοκιμηκὸς πολίμφ] Hdt. i 59, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρὰς γενομένη στρατηγίη. Niσαιόν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἀλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. Plut., Sol. 8, mentions the long and distressing war with Megara for the possession of Salamis, and describes Peisistratus as taking the lead in supporting Solon in his endeavour to rouse the people to fight once more for the recovery of the island. At the end of c. 9 he says of Solon, ἐνίκησε τοὺς Μεγαρέας. He implies that the war for the possession of Salamis was the origin of Solon's influence in Athens; if so, it can hardly be put later than 600 B.C. But Daimachus of Plataea (third century B.C., quoted in Plut. Sol. et Popl. comp. 4) denied that Solon acted as general in the war against Megara. That Peisistratus took any prominent part in a war as early as 600 B.C. is improbable, as he lived to 527 B.C.

(Abbott, H. G., i 400 n). Solon, who was some 30 years older than Peisistratus, took a leading part in the conquest of Salamis before he was archon, i.e. possibly about 600 B.C.; Peisistratus in the capture of Nisaea, probably about 570 B.C. (Busolt, i 521 n). Curtius (i 672, not 135) places the capture of Nisaea in 565, and Holm (i 481) shortly before the tyranny. In c. 17 we are told that the relative ages of Solon and Peisistratus make it impossible to accept the story that the latter was στρατηγό in the war with Megara for the possession of Salamis (i.e. the first Megarian war), in which Solon was concerned. Salamis and Nisaea were, however, recaptured by the Megarians (Plut. Sol. 12); and Pesistratus may have distinguished himself in a subsequent war with the Megarians for the recovery of the island.

κατατραυματίστας κτλ.] Hdt. i 59, τρωματίστας έωντόν τε και ήμιόνους ήλασε ές τὴν άγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἱ μεν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἡθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδἐετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι... ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν ᾿λθηναίων ἐξαπατηθέα... ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν ἀνθεναίν ἐξαπατησα... ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν ἀντῶν καταλέξας ἀνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου κορυνηφόροι δὲ΄ ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχωντες εἰποντό οἱ δπισθε΄ συνεπανατάντες δὲ οὖτοι ἀμα Πεισιστράτω ἔχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Plut. Sol. 30 § 1, κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν ὁ Πεισίστρατος. Polyaen. i 21 § 3 and Diogen. Laert. i 60 have κατατρώσας, οι κατέτρωσεν, ib. § 66 ἐαυτώ τραύματα ποιήσας. Diod. Sic. xiii 95 end, (οf P.) ἐαυτόν κατατραυματίσω is also found in Polyb. xv 13 § 1, Dion. Halic. and Dio Cass.

"Αριστίωνος κτλ.] Plut. Sol. 30 § 2, 'Αριστώνος (sic) δε γράψωντος, δπως δοθωσι πεντήκοντα κορυνηφόροι τώ Πεισιστράτω φυλακή τοῦ σώματος.

στράτφ φυλακή τοῦ σώματος.
κορυνηφόρους] Plat. Rep. 566 B, τὸ δή τυρωνικόν αίτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητος...αίτεῦν τὸν δήμον φύλακὰς τινας τοῦ σώματος.
Ατ. Rhet. i 2, 19, Πεισίστρατος ἐπιβουλεύων ήτει φυλακήν καὶ λαβών ἐτυράν-

μένους, έπαναστάς μετά τούτων τῷ δήμφ κατέσχε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν έτει †δευτέρφ‡ καὶ τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέσιν, ἐπὶ 2 Κ[ωμ] έου ἄρχοντος. λέγεται δὲ Σόλωνα, Πεισιστράτου τὴν φυλακήν αἰτοῦντος, ἀντιλέξαι καὶ εἰπεῖ[ν ὅ]τι τῶν μὲν εἴη σοφώτερος, τῶν δ' ἀνδρειό[τερο]ς ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι Πεισί- 10 στρατον επιτιθέμενον τυραν[νίδι], σοφώτερος είναι τούτων, όσοι δ' είδότες κατασιωπώσιν, ανδρειότερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων [οὐκ ἔπει]θεν, έξαράμενος τὰ ὅπλα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη βεβοηθηκέναι

7 δευτέρ φ : δ' (=τετάρτ φ) K-W et Bauer (B). 8 micicrpatoy ut saepe: Πεισ. ubique K3 etc. 12 KATACIWITWNTEC: correxit K. ούκ Επειθεν R D Hicks (K-W, H-L, K3). 18 εξαιραμένος κ (K-W, H-L).

TESTIMONIA. 8-15. Verbis fere isdem rem narrat Aelianus, Var. Hist. viii 16: 18511ΜΟΝΙΑ. 8-10. Verois tere isaem rem narrat Aenanus, Var. 21st. Vili 10: ... (Σόλων) έφη δτι τών μέν έστι σοφώτερος, τών δὲ ἀνδρειότερος ὁπόσοι μὲν μὴ γινώσκουστό τι φυλακήν λαβών περί τὸ σώμα τύραννος έσται, άλλά τούτων μέν έστι σοφώτερος ὁπόσοι δὲ γινώσκοντες ὑποσιωπώσι, τούτων ἀνδρειότερος ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ λαβών τὴν δύναμν τύραννος ἦν. καθεζόμενος δὲ Σόλων πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας, τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ παραθέμενος έλεγεν ὅτι ἐξώπλισται καὶ βοηθεῖ τῆ πατρίδι ἦ δύναται.

νευσε. Pol. viii (v) 9, 1310 b 15, σχεδόν γάρ οι πλείστοι τών τυράννων γεγόνασιν έκ δημαγωγών ώς είπειν, πιστευθέντες έκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τούς γνωρίμους, and ib. 30, οδον ...Πεισίστρατος 'Αθήνησι...έκ δημαγωγίας τύραννος κατέστη.

κατέσχε την ακρόπολιν] Plut. Sol. 30 § 4, την ακρόπολιν κατέσχε. Phaedrus i 2, 5, arcem tyrannus occupat Pisistratus. The political importance of the citadel in revolutions is exemplified in Juv. x 307 n, Lucan viii 490, Diod. Sic. xvi 70 § 4, Plut. Timol. 20 § 1 (Mayor).

**TER—TPURKOST®] As Comeas was archon in 560 B.C., it would follow from the manuscript test the Co.

from the manuscript text that Solon was archon in 591. But, as Solon was more probably archon in 594, δευτέρφ should be altered into τετάρτφ, the former being possibly a corruption of δ . We thus get

an interval of 33 years and keep the usual date for Solon's archonship (Bauer, p.

45 f).

ἐπὶ Κωμέου] Plut. Sol. 32, ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὐν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Διασιστού και Διασιστού διασισ τυρανεειν, ανχνόν χρόνον, ώς δε Φανίας ό Ερέσιος ελαττονα δυοῦν έτων. έπι Κωμίου άρχοντος μέν γὰρ ήρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισίστρατος, έφ' Ήγεστράτου δε Σόλωνά φησιν ο Φανίας αποθανείν τοῦ μετά Κωμίαν dofarros. (Plutarch is possibly quoting from the work of Phanias, on ruparrow dralpeous eκτιμωρίαs. Oncken, Staatslehre, ii 445 n.)

The present treatise and the *Politics*, v

5, 23, agree in stating that Peisistratus lived for 33 years after usurping the government of Athens; the Peisistratidae ruled for 18 years (Pol. 1.c.), and the interval between their expulsion and the battle of Marathon was 19 years (Thuc. vi 59). Thus the rule of Peisistratus began 70 years before B.C. 400, i.e. in 560. The year given by the Parian Marble 1 ne year given by the Farian Mariote (297+264/3=) 561/0 (as well as by Jerome and the Armenian version of Eusebius) must be corrected to 560 (Clinton's Fasti, sub anno).

§ 2. εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν—ἀνδρειότερος] Plut. Sol. 30, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πένητας ὡρμημένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Πεισιστράτω και θορυβούντας, τούς δὲ πλουσίους ἀποδιδράσκοντας και αποδειλιώντας, απήλθεν είπων, ότι των μέν έστι σοφώτερος, των δε ανδρειότερος σοφώτερος μέν τῶν μὴ συνιέντων τὸ πραττό- -μενον, δυδρειότερος δε τῶν συντέντων μέν, έναντιοῦσθαι δε τῆ τυρανίδι φοβουμένων. Cf. Diog. Laert. i 49—50, 65; Aelian Var. Hist. viii 16 (who tells the story in almost the same words as the text); and Aristid. i 765 Dind. The story is also told in Valer. Max. v 3 E 3, viii 9 E 1.

ξαράμενος τα δπλα] Plut. Sol. 30,

Πεισιστράτου δημαγωγίας ότι τυραννικόν ην μηχάνημα φανεράς γενομένης, μηδενός

τη πατρίδι καθ' όσον ην δυνατός (ήδη γαρ σφόδρα πρεσβύτης ην), 15 άξιοθν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ταὐτὸ τοθτο ποιείν. Σόλων [μὲν οθν 3 οὐ δεν ήνυσεν τότε παρακαλών Πεισίστρατος δε λαβών την άρχην διώκει τὰ κοινὰ πολιτικώς μάλλον ή τυραννικώς. οὖπω δὲ της άρχης έρριζωμένης όμοφρονήσαντες [οί] περί τὸν Μεγακλέα καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦ[ργο]ν ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔκτω ἔτει μετά τὴν πρώτην

16 Aruse H-L.

άμύνεσθαι μηδέ κωλύειν τολμώντος, αὐτὸς έξενεγκάμενος τὰ δπλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας θέμενος, ήξιου βοηθείν τους πολίτας. Diod. Sic. ix 29 Bekker, οὐδενὸς δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος αναλαβών την πανοπλίαν προήλθεν els την άγοραν γεγηρακώς, και τους θεους επιμαρτυρόμενος έφησε και λόγφ και έργφ τη πατρίδι κινδυνευούση βεβοηθηκέναι το κατ' αὐτὸν μέρος. Grote, ii 352, says of this incident, as related by Plutarch: 'As a last appeal, he put on his armour and planted himself in military posture before the door of his house.' Oéperos, however, is not used absolutely, but must be construed with δπλα

§ 3. πολιτικώς μάλλον ή τυραννικώς] Cf. inf. c. 16 § 8. Hdt. i 59, ουτε τιμάς τάς ἐούσας συνταράξας ουτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, έπι τε τοισι κατεστεώσι ένεμε την πόλιν κοσμέων καλώς τε και εύ. Thuc. vi 54.

οί του Αυκούργου, έξελαύνουσί μιν. ០ពីវាយ μέν Πεισίστρατος έσχε το πρώτον 'Αθήνας, και την τυραννίδα οδκω κάρτα έρριζωμένην έχων ἀπέβαλε.

έκτω έτα] The sixth year from 560/50

would be 555/4.

The following are the notes of time given in the manuscript text for the chronology of Peisistratus:

14 § 1. Beginning of rule. ἐπὶ Κωμέου.

14 § 3. First exile. ἔκτψ ἔτει. 14 § 4. First return. ἔτει δωδεκάτψ μετὰ ταῦτα.

15 § 1. Second exile. έτει μάλιστα έβδόμφ.

15 § 2. Second return. ἐνδεκάτψ... ETEL.

17 § 1. Total duration of rule. (ετη) ένδς δέοντα είκοσι.

ib. Death, 33 years from beginning of rule. ἐπὶ Φιλονέω ἄρχοντος.. ἔτη τριáкорта каl трia.

The above data alone account for a total of at least (5+11+6+10=) 32 years; and, as Peisistratus lived for

33 years after usurping the government, they leave only one year for the third period of rule. But c. 17 § 1 tells us that he ruled for 19 years in all; if so, his third period of rule must have lasted (19-5-6=) 8 years. On the other hand, the passage in Pol. v 9 § 23, p. 1315 b 32, gives 17 years for the total duration of his rule, thus leaving 6 years for the third period. The chronology has been much discussed both before and after the discovery of this treatise. The following table gives a conspectus of some of the arrangements proposed. As typical instances, before the discovery of this treatise, I have selected Clinton (Fasti, vol. ii, Appendix 11) and Busolt (i 551). To these I have added the years as arranged by Bauer (Forschungen zu Ar. 'Aθ. πολ.), and Poland (in the notes to his German transl.). Thus far the chronology proposed accords, in the total number of years of rule and exile, with the data in the *Politics*. The other two estimates, the Politics. those of Mr Kenyon and M. Th. Reinach, adhere more closely to the data of the present treatise.

	Clinton	Busolt	Bauer	Poland	Kenyon	Reinach
ISL TUPAVVÍS	6	5	5	5	5	5
ıst exile	6	5	6	6	4	3
and τυραννίς	1	1	1	6	6	6
and exile	10	11	10	10	10	10
3rd tuparris	10	11	11	6	8	c. 9
years of ruparris	17	17	17	17	19	c. 20
years of exile	16	16	16	16	14	c.13

It will be observed that there is a general consensus as to the duration of the first ruparris and the second exile. The greatest discrepancies are in the duration of the second and third ruparvis.

4 κατάστασιν, εφ' 'Ηγησίου άρχοντος. έτει δε †δωδεκάτφ‡ μετά 20 ταθτα περιελαυνόμενος ὁ Μεγακλής τή στάσει, πάλιν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος πρός [τό]ν Πεισίστρατον έφ' & τε την θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ λήψεται, κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἀρχαϊκῶς καὶ λίαν ἀπλῶς. προδιασπείρας γάρ λόγον ώς της 'Αθηνάς καταγούσης Πεισίστρατον, καὶ γυναῖκα μεγάλην καὶ καλὴν έξευρών, ώς μεν Ἡρόδοτός φησιν 25 έκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Παιανιέων, ὡς δ΄ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Κολλυτοῦ στεφανόπωλιν Θράτταν, ή ὄνομα Φύη, την θεον απομιμησάμενος τῷ κόσμῷ συν[εισή]γαγε[ν] μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν Πεισίστρατος

20 δωδεκάτ ψ (K, H-L): τετάρτ ψ Thompson (K-W1); πέμπτ ψ K-W2. 21 ταθτα:

ταύτην Bauer. 23 αρχαϊκώς άρχαϊκώς (κ, Η-L, Β), cf. *Met.* 1089 α 2 Bonitz άρχαϊκώς άπορήσαι: άρχαίως Η-W, cf. *Pol.* 1330 b 33 λίαν άρχαίως ύπολαμβάνουσι. 25 [καί] γυναῖκα K-W². *фησω* : фн. 26 Haiariûr H-L. κολγτογ, etiam altera T, et fortasse altera A, suprascripta. 28 συνεισήγαγεν (H-L, K3) potius quam κατήγαγεν (κ1, κ-w) in papyro legi putat κ; είσηγαγε coniecerat Richards.

28 Plut. Sol. 3 § 5 (de alia re) ἀπλοῦς ἐστι λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος, unde apparet hanc narrationem Plutarcho fuisse notam.

In the first exile, Bauer and Poland assume that έτει δωδεκάτω (14 § 4) is reckoned from the beginning of the usurpation and that mera ravra is to be either omitted or altered into μετά ταύτην; while Mr Kenyon and M. Reinach alter while Mr Kenyon and M. Reinach alter δωδεκάτω into τετάρτω. In the second τυραννίς, Bauer alters έτει...ἐβδόμω (15 § 1) into μηνι...ἐβδόμω. For the length of the third τυραννίς we have no data except those gained by subtracting the two earlier periods of rule from the total duration of actual rule. Of the above arrangements. Mr Kenyon's alone strictly arrangements, Mr Kenyon's alone strictly adheres to the total of 19 years. The 19 years of this treatise do not seem to admit of being reconciled with the 17 years of the *Politics*. It is suggested by Bauer that the difference may be obtained by supposing that the fractions of the years in the three periods of rule were excluded in one reckoning and included in the other. This would imply that each of the three periods of rule, as estimated in the present treatise, extended to an average of two-thirds of a year beyond the duration stated in the *Politics*. This is possible, but not probable. It may be added that the genuineness of the passage in the *Politics* is not certain. Suseminl, in his 2nd and 3rd editions, brackets the whole of the paragraph in which it occurs; and, even if both passages are equally due to Aristotle, the present treatise may possibly represent his latest views.

§ 4. This would naturally mean 'eleven years after the first exile.' But the sum of the two periods of exile was (according to 17 § 1) 33-19, or 14 years; and the second exile lasted 10 years (15 § 2), leaving only four years for the first exile. Such a number of years may perhaps be obtained by altering $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega$ into $\tau\epsilon\tau\Delta\rho$ - $\tau\omega$ (see N. C.), and by assuming that the symbol 3 followed by the erroneous explanation δεκάτψ led to the reading δωδεκάτφ. Another alternative (adopted in Kaibel and Kiessling's transl.) is to count the eleven years from the beginning of the rule of Peisistratus. This involves either omitting μετά ταῦτα or altering it into μετά ταύτην (την πρώτην κατάστασιν). See Bauer, p. 50 f.
περιελαυνόμενος κτλ.] Hdt. i 60, περι-

ελαυνόμενος δε τη στάσει ο Μεγακλής έπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτω, εί βούλοιτό οί την θυγατέρα έχειν γυναϊκα έπὶ τῆ τυραν-

θυγατέρα] Κοισύραν, Schol. Arist. Nub.

49, 800, and Suidas, s.v.

'Hρόδοτος] i 60 ad fin., er τῷ δήμω
τῷ Παιανιέι. This is the only passage in $\tau \hat{\psi}$ Hacardi. This is the only passage in which any writer of prose is named in this treatise. The only poet quoted by name is Solon.

Κολλυτοῦ] Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii

Pún] The Schol. on Arist. Eq. 440 calls her Mupping.

έφ' ἄρματος εἰσήλαυνε παραιβατούσης τῆς γυναικός, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ 3ο ἄστει προσκυνοῦντες ἐδέχοντο θαυμάζοντες.

15. ή μεν οὖν πρώτη κάθοδος ε[γέν]ετο τοιαύτη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς εξέπεσε τὸ δεύτερον ἔτει μάλιστα εβδόμφ μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον,—οὐ γὰρ πολὺν χρόνον κατεῖχεν, ἀλλ[ὰ] διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τἢ τοῦ Μεγακλέους θυγατρὶ συγγύγνεσθαι φοβηθεὶς ἀμ-5 φοτέρας τὰς στάσεις ὑπεξῆλθεν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνώκισε περὶ 2 τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον χωρίον δ καλεῖται 'Ραίκηλος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, ὅθεν χρηματισά-

30 προσκυνοῦντες delet Gennadios τοῦ θαυμάζοντες interpretamentum arbitratus. θαυμάζοντες delet Richards (H-L), defendit Gennadios coll. Xen. Hell. i 6, 11.

XV 2 ΤΑΥΤΑΨΟ (K, B): ταῦτ' ἐξέπεσε (K, W). ταῦτ' αὖθις ἐξέπεσε (K, W). ἐβδόμφ: τρίτφ coni. (K, W). **3** κατέσχεν (K, W) κατέσχεν (K, W) ((K, W)): διακατέσχεν (K, W) ((K, W)): (K, W) (K,

(H-L, B). 6 PAKHΔOC.

παραιβατούσης] A noteworthy Ionism, but not derived from the account in Hdt. The same word is used as a reference to the same incident in Cleidemus, αρ. Athenaeum, 609 C, στεφανόπωλις δὲ ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκε πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ὁ ΠεισΙστρατος Ἰππάρχω τῷ υἰῷ, ώς Κλείδημος Ιστορεῖ ἐν δγδόω νόστων "ἐξέδωκε δὲ καὶ Ἰππάρχω τῷ υἰεῖ τὴν παραιβατήσασαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Φύην, τὴν Σωκράτους θυγατέρα" (Müller, FHG i 364). Cleidemus, who wrote an ᾿Ατθις (Athen. 235 A), has been identified with Cleitodemus, mentioned by Pausanias (x 15, 5) as the most ancient writer of Athenian history. Plutarch (Arist. 19) refers to his account of the battle of Plataea; so that his date is after 479 B.C. The story is also told in Polyaen. i 21,

The story is also told in royaem. 12., 1; Val. Max. i 3, 3; Hermogenes de Invent. ii 185, 21 Spengel, with Schol.; and Phylarchus ap. Athen. 609 C (Mayor). XV § 1. Iris μαλιστα iβδόμω] It has been urged by Bauer (p. 51) and Rühl (Rhein. Mus. 1891, p. 442), that it is improbable that Megacles waited so long as six years to avenge the neglect of his daughter by her husband, Peisistratus; and the text implies that the duration of the second ruparvis was short. Bauer accordingly suggests that Free should be altered into μηνί, and for similar reasons K-W alter έρδόμω into τρίτω. On the other hand it is plausibly suggested by Gomperz (p. 23 n) that the compact between Megacles and Peisistratus was made before the daughter of the former had attained a marriageable age.

τῆ τοῦ Μεγακλέους θυγατρί] Hdt. i δι, οἶα δὲ παίδων τέ οἰ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν ᾿Αλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικός τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἰ οὐ κατὰ νόμον.

ύπεξηλθεν] Hdt. i 61, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἄμα τοῖς παισί. Herodotus mentions the help offered by the Thebans and Argives, and by Lygdamis of Naxos, and then continues: ἐξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο δπίσω. Eretria alone is there mentioned in connexion with this period of exile.

of exile.
§ 2. 'Paixylos] The Schol. on Lycophron, 1236, states that this was the old name of Abos in Macedonia. It is identical with the Abos of Hdt. vii 123, and is situated to the S. of the promontory at the extreme west of Chalcidice, opposite the mouth of the Axius and Ludias. (There was another Abos in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus.)

τούς περί Πάγγαιον τόπους] the region near the mouth of the Strymon. Though Herodotus says nothing of this region in connexion with the second exile of Peisistratus, the account in the text is illustrated by the passage in which the historian says of the tyrant on his final restoration: (i 64), ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούρουσί τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων συνόδουσι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνίδντων. Here τῶν μὲν and τῶν δὲ naturally refer to χρημάτων alone, and συνίδντων in the second clause echoes

μενος καὶ στρατιώτας μισθωσάμενος, ελθών εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ενδεκάτω πάλιν ἔτει τό<τε> πρῶτον ἀνασώσασθαι βία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεχείρει, συμπροθυμουμένων αὐτῷ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, το μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Λυγδάμιος τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔτι δὲ τῶν 3 ἱππέων τῶν ἐχόντων ἐν Ἐρετρία τὴν πολιτείαν. || νικήσας δὲ τὴν Col. 6.]

9 $\tau \dot{\phi} < \tau e > \text{Blass (K-W, H-L, K}^3).}$ ANACWCACOAI, ἀνασώσασθαι K^3 , B: C ANAKTHCACOAI?, ἀνακτήσασθαι Herwerden (K-W).

ΤΕSTIMONIA. 12—18 * Schol. Arist. Ach. 234 Παλλήναδε: οΙ Παλληνεῖς δῆμός έστι τῆς 'Αττικῆς, ένθα Πεισιστράτω βουλομένω τυραννεῶν καὶ 'Αθηναίοις ἀμυνομένοις αὐτὸν συνέστη πόλεμος...μέμνηται δὲ τούτου καὶ 'Ανδροτίων καὶ 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. (Rose, Frag. 355^2 , 393^2).

συνόδοισι $(=\pi \rho \sigma \sigma \delta \delta \sigma \sigma \iota)$ in the first. We may therefore agree with Thirlwall (ii p. 61), as against Grote (iii g2 n), who refers τῶν μὲν to χρημάτων and τῶν δὲ to ἐπικούρουσι. Thirlwall had said of Peisistratus that he 'possessed lands on the Strymon in Thrace, which yielded him a large revenue.' Grote thought this im-probable, adding: 'If Peisistratus had established any settlement at the mouth of the Strymon, we must surely have heard something of it afterwards. text does not indeed tell us that Peisistratus made an actual settlement near that river, but it supplies us with exactly the kind of evidence which would have removed Grote's hesitation in accepting Thirlwall's inference from the account in Herodotus. The text tells us more than the historian. It informs us definitely that Peisistratus visited the region near the mouth of the Strymon, and thence drew his supplies of men, as well as of money

It is interesting to notice these details respecting Rhaecelos and the country around Mount Pangaeus. The Pangaean Mount is plainly visible across the gulf of the Strymon from the neighbourhood of Stageira; and the bold promontory, north of Rhaecelus, is in full view across the plains that extend to the mouth of the Ludias from the Macedonian capital at Pella. These topographical considerations may serve to support the ascription of the treatise to the authorship of Aristotle, who was a Macedonian by birth and spent the first seventeen years of his life, and seven years besides, at his native town of Stageira. In the Historia Animalium, pp. 592 a 7, 597 a 10, Aristotle makes special mention of the eels and the pelicans of the Strymon.

maker] confirms the account of Hdt., implying that Peisistratus had in the first

instance retired to Eretria, though we are not expressly told so in the text.

ἀνασψόσασθα... την ἀρχήν] Hdt. i 73, ἀνασψόσασθαι την ἀρχήν, and in the same chapter ἀναλαβεῖν and ἀνακτᾶσθαι την ἀρχήν.

αρχη».
Θηβαίων] Hdt. i 61, πολλών δὲ μεγάλα
παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαίοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τῆ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων.
Δυγδάμιος] Hdt. l.c., καὶ γὰρ ᾿Αργεῖοι

Αυγδάμιος] Η dt. Lc., και γαρ 'Αργεῖοι μισθωτοί ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, και Νάξιος σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οδυομα ἢν Λύγδαμις. Ar. Pol. viii (ν) 5, 1305 α 42, δταν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβῷ τῆς ὁλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καθάπερ ἐν Νάξω Λύγδαμις, δι καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ϋστερον τῶν Ναξίων. The story of the way in which Lygdamis became tyrant of Naxos is quoted in Athen. viii 348, from 'Aristotle ἐν τῷ Ναξίων πολιτεία.' In consequence of the wrongs done by some Naxian youths to the wealthy and popular Telestagoras and his two daughters, ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ Νάξιω καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ἀναλαβόντες ἐπῆλθον τοῦς νεανίσκοις καὶ μεγίστη τότε στάσις ἐγένετο, προστατοῦντος τῶν Ναξίων Λυγδάμιος, δι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας τύρανσος ἀνέρατη τῆς πατρίδος. (Frag. 558' Rose ².)

τών [ππέων πολιτείαν] 'the Knights who held the supreme power in the constitution of Eretria' (K.). πολιτεία is here ius civilatis, potestas in civilate, often used in the Politics in the phrase μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας (Index Ar. s. v. 3). Eretria was under the rule of an oligarchy of Knights, which was overthrown by one Diagoras, probably not long before the Persian wars, Pol. viii (v) 6, 1306 a 35, τῆν ἐν Ἐρετρία δ' δλιγαρχίαν τῆν τῶν ἰππέων Διαγόρας κατέλυσεν ἀδικηθείς περὶ γάμων, αnd vi (iv) 3, 1289 δ 36, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων δσαις πόλεσιν ἐν τοῦς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις ἡν, δλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἡσαν:

έπὶ Παλληνίδι [μάχη]ν καὶ λαβων [τὴν ἀρχὴ]ν καὶ παρελόμενος τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα κατεῖχεν ἤδη τὴν τυραννίδα βεβαίως, καὶ 15 Νάξον ἐλων ἄρχοντα κατέστησε Λύγδαμιν. παρείλε[το] δὲ τοῦ 4 δήμου τὰ ὅπλα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐξοπλισίαν ἐν τ[ῷ] ೖπσείφ

13 ἀναλαβών? Richards.

14—15 καὶ γὰρ Νάξον ἐλών Κ-W: καὶ Νάξον ἐλών Κ³, Β; καὶ εἰς Νάξον ἐλών κ¹ (H-L).

15 παρείλεν κ¹.

16 εξοπλασίαν retinuerunt Kontos, κ-W, Β, titulis nonnullis freti (Dittenberger 158, 11, titulo Iliensi post Alexandri mortem scripto, τῶν ἐξοπλασιών, et 349, 40, lapide in insula Ceo invento, ἐν τῷ ἐξοπλασία ἐξετάξεν; eadem scriptura etiam in Diodori Siculi codicibus servata est).

θησείωι nunc in papyro legit κ (Β): Δ Νακείωι legunt κ-W, quod ex Polyaeno quondam sumpserat κ¹ (Η-L).

έχρῶντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, οἶον Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς κτλ. An inscription preserved in the temple of Artemis, about a mile from the city, recorded that the Eretrians used to march to that temple with 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen, and 60 chariots (Strabo, p. 448). Cf. Gilbert, Gr. N. ii 67 p.

The deme Pallene lay near Gargettos, between Pentelicus and the northern spurs of Hymettus. It has been proposed to place it S.E. of Hymettus, near Koropi (Ath. Mittheilungen, xvi 200—234); but this appears to have been the site of Sphettos, and the proposed identification does not suit the data in Hdt.; while the name of Pallene survives in Ballána between Kantsa and Hieraka (Milchhöfer in Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1892, no. I and 2). Cf. Arist. Ach. 233 βλέπευ Βαλλήναδε. In the Austrian map the name Balánas is given to a stream which rises near Kantsa and falls into the sea at Araphen, after flowing in a direction parallel to the route by which Peisistratus marched to Athens round the S. of Pentelicus.

Ρεπεπειας.

Νάξον—Λύγδαμιν] Hdt. i 64, και γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμφ και ἐπέτρεψε Λύγδαμι. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 355, Νάξος ἐάλω ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου.

As Polycrates came to the end of his rule of 16 years in B.C. 521, having been aided in its establishment by Lygdamis, it follows that Lygdamis was in power at Naxos in 537 (Duncker, G. d. A. vi 465 and 512). As Peisistratus, who restored Lygdamis, died in 527, it would follow that the third ruparvis probably lasted 10 or 11 years. The only alternative is to suppose that Lygdamis aided Polycrates

before he himself needed the aid of Peisistratus.

§ 4. παρείλετο — το δπλα] characteristic of a τυραννίς. Pol. viii (v) 10, 1311 a

12, το τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν (διὸ καὶ
τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιούνται τῶν δπλων).

την παραίρεσω ποιούνται τῶν δπλων).

ἐξοπλισίαν] Cf. Xen. Απαδ. i 7 § 10, ἐν τῷ ἐξοπλισία, of an armed mustering of troops in preparation for a battle, the only passage in which the word is used by Xenophon. Cyrop. viii 5 § 9 ἐξόπλισις. ἐξοπλίζεσθαι occurs in Απαδ. i 8 § 3, ii 1 § 2, iv 6 § 7, v 9 § 11, ἐξοπλισμένος iii 1 § 28, iv 3 § 3. Diodorus xix 3 ἐν ταῖε ἐξοπλισίαις φέρεω πανοπλίαν.

The story is told as follows in Poly-

The story is told as follows in Polyaenus i 21 § 2, Πεισίστρατος 'Αθηναίων τό δπλα βουλόμενος παρελέσθαι, παρήγγειλεν ήκειν άπαντας είς τὸ 'Ανάκειον μετὰ τῶν δπλων. οἱ μὲν ήκον ὁ δὲ προήλθε βουλόμενος δημηγορήσαι, καὶ σμικρὰ τῆ φωνῆλέγειν ήρχετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξακούειν μὴ δυκλωνοι, προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡξίωσαν εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον, ἴνα πάντες ἀκούσειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἡσυχῆ διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ ἐντείναντες τὰς ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθύντες ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθύντες ἀράμενοι τὰ δπλα κατήγεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἰερὸν τὸ 'Αγραύλου. 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ γυμνοί καταλειφθέντες, τότε ἡσθοντο τῆς Πεισιστράτου βραχυφωνίας, ὅτι ἄρα ῆν τέχνασμα κατὰ τῶν ὅπλων.

The Ardrews, or temple of the Dioscuri or Arakes (Plut. Thes. 33, Cic. Nat. Deor. iii 53), mentioned by Polyaenus, stood S.E. of the market of the Ceramicus (Curtius, Text der Sieben Karten, p. 53; Stadtgeschichte von Athen, pp. XLVI and 82). It was probably some way up the northern slope of the Acropolis. Lucian, Piscator, 42, humorously describes the philosophers 'planting their ladders against the 'Ardrews, and swarming up' the Acropolis. Andocides, De Myst. ie 45, mentions a cavalry muster at the 'Ardrews, and Thucydides, viii 93, says that the hoplites who had destroyed the

ποιησάμενος ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπεχείρει, [τῆς δὲ φωνῆς ἐχάλ]ασεν μικρόν· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ κατακούειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς προσαν[α]-βῆ[ναι] πρὸς τὸ πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἵνα γεγώνη μᾶλλον. ἐν δ δ ἐκεῖνος διέτριβε δημηγορών, ἀνελόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τούτω 20

17 τῆς δὲ φωτῆς ἐχάλασεν coniecit Kontos (laudant H-L in praefatione, accepit $κ^3$): $[φθέγγεσθαι δ' ἐσπούδ]ασεν κ-W; ἐπιτηδὲς δ' ἐφώνησε Tyrrell et Gertz (H-L in textu). 20 διετρείβε. 20—21 τογτ(ωΝ). τέτας: τούτω Rutherford et <math>J \to B$ Mayor, coll. Plut. Sulla 14 § 10 Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτω τεταγμένου ($κ^3$, B), τοῦτο κ-W, τοῦτ' ἐπιτεταγμένοι H-L.

fort of Ectioneia εθεντο εν τῷ 'Ανακείω τὰ ὅπλα (Miss Harrison, Mythology etc. of Athens, 152).

The precinct of Agraulos, also mentioned by Polyaenus, may be placed below the ancient stone staircase in the N. cliff of the Acropolis, some 60 yards W. of the N. Porch of the Erechtheum. (Cf. Curtius, Stadtgeschichte, pp. XLIV,

37.)

The Θησείον is mentioned in the text. Its position is approximately determined by the description of Pausanias. After leaving the Gymnasium and the Θησείον, which are near one another and 'not far from the Agora,' he passes from the Θησείον to the 'Αράκειον, and adds that above the latter is the precinct of Agraulos (i 17 § 2, 18 §§ 1, 2). The Θησείον was probably E. of the Agora and is not to be confounded with the building on the walls propulated.

(i 17 § 2, 18 §§ 1, 2). The Θησείον was probably E. of the Agora and is not to be confounded with the building on the 'hill of Colonus' within the walls, popularly called the 'Theseum,' but now generally identified as the temple of Hephaestus (Miss Harrison, I. c. 145, 118). According to Polyaenus, the weapons are at first left in the 'Ανάκειον and transferred to the 'Αγραύλιον'. According to the text, they are left in the Θησείον and are then locked up els τὰ πλησίον οἰκήματα τοῦ Θησείον, not 'the buildings near the Theseum,' The latter phrase suggests that some other building than the Θησείον has already been mentioned, and this (so far as it goes) is in favour of ἐν τῷ 'Ανακείῳ although it is not in the Ms. If ἐν τῷ 'Ανακείῳ is accepted, it proves that the Theseum is near the Anaceum, below the N. cliff of the Actopolis (C. Wachsmuth, Rheinisches

Museum, xlvi 327). τῆε δὲ φωνῆε ἐχάλαστν μικρόν] Lucian, Bis Accus. 21, χαλώντες τοῦ τόνου, Aelian, Hist. Anim. xii 46.

With φθέγγεσθαι δ' έσπούδασεν μικρόν, printed by K-W, may be compared Dem.

F. L. 206, φθέγγεσθαι μέγιστον άπάντων, 216, καλόν καὶ μέγα οδτος φθέγξεται.... φαϊλον έγώ, 337, καλόν φθεγγομένω, Pant. 37 § 52, μέγα φθέγγεται, Steph. 45 § 77, λαλεῖν μέγα, Lysias 16 § 19, μκρόν διαλεγόμενοι. ἐσπούδασεν is not, however,

το πρόπυλον] Apparently used on purpose to avoid the grander term προπύλαια, which would have been an anachronism in so far as it would have suggested the Propylaea of the time of Pericles. πρόπυλον itself is seldom used in the singular. Cic. ad Att. vi 1, 26,

in the singular. Cic. ad Att. vi 1, 26, audio Appium πρόπυλον Eleusine facere, Plut. Mor. 363 F, έν τῷ προπύλω τοῦ lepοῦ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς (at Sais), Plin. N. H. xxxv 101, Minervae delubri propylon, xxxvi 32, in propylo Atheniensium. Pliny may have borrowed this exceptional form from Heliodorus, who possibly lived under Ptolemy Epiphanes, and wrote a work on the Acropolis (Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, i 36). The word is found (in pl.) in Hdt., Hippocrates, and in an inscription from Smyrna. Mr H. Richards accordingly suggests that it may be an Ionism. But the word is also found in an inscr. of the 5th century from the Peiraeus, CIA ii 521 e, p. 122, προπύλου δημοσίου δρος.

521 e, p. 122, προπύλου δημοσίου δρος.

Traces of the foundations of this ancient portal have been noticed S. of the E. hall of the Propylaea. It faced S. W. (Milchhöfer in Baumeister. Denkin. i 201 a).

of the Propylaea. It faced S.W. (Milchhöfer in Baumeister, Denkm. i 201 a). Υεγώνη] Aτ. De Anima ii 8, 420 a 1, διά τὸ ψαθυρὸς εἶναι ὁ ἀρρ οῦ γεγωνεῖ. περὶ ἀκουστῶν, 804 b 24, φθέγγονται μὲ ἀλλ' οὐ δύνανται γεγωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον φωνοῦσιν, cf. 802 b 6, a 23. Probl. 917 b 21, b αὐτὸς τῆ αὐτῆ φωνῆ πορρωτέρω γεγωνεῖ μετ' ἀλλων άδων ῆ μόνος, cf. 901 b 31 γεγώνασι, 904 b 35 γεγωνώς (Index Ar.). Antiphon, de caede Herod. 44, πολλῷ πλέον γεγωνεῖν ἔστι νύκτωρ ῆ μθ' ἡμέραν (Cobet, Μπεm. iv 153). γεγωνεῖν is the normal form in Attic prose, but the word is far from common.

τεταγμένοι τὰ ὅπλα [καὶ κατα]κλήσαντες εἰς [τὰ] πλησίον οἰζκήματα τοῦ Θησείου διεσήμηναν έλθόντες πρός τον Πεισίστρατον ό δέ, [έπεὶ τ]ὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἐπετέλεσεν, εἶπε καὶ περὶ τῶν 5 ὅπλων, τὸ γεγονὸς [ώς οὐ] χρὴ θαυμάζειν οὐ[δ' ά]θυμεῖν, άλλ' 25 απελθόντας έπὶ τῶν ἰδίων είναι, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν [αὐτὸς ἐπι]μελήσεσθαι πάντων.

[ή μεν οθν Πει]σιστράτου τυραννίς εξ άρχης τε κατέστη [τοῦτον] τὸν τρόπον καὶ [μεταβο]λὰς ἔσχε τοσαύτας. διώκει δ' ὁ 2 Πεισίστρατος, ώσπερ εἴρηται, [τὰ κατὰ] τὴν πόλιν μετρίως καὶ μάλλον πολιτικώς $\hat{\eta}$ τυραννικώς $\hat{\epsilon}$ ν τε γάρ τοις άλλοις $[\mathbf{\phi}_i]\lambda \dot{a}$ ν-5 θρωπος ήν και πράος και τοις άμαρτάνουσι συγγνωμονικός, και δή καὶ τοῖς ἀ[πό]ροι[ς] προεδάνειζε χρ[ήμα]τα πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, ὥστε διατρέφεσθαι γεωργοῦντας. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει δυοῖν $[\chi a]$ ριν, ἵν[a] 3 μήτε εν τῷ ἄστει διατρίβωσιν άλλά διεσπαρμένοι κατά τὴν χώραν,

21 αὐτῶν [καὶ συγ]κλήσαντες Κ (K-W, H-L), sed αὐτῶν quidem in papyro abesse, partem autem notae quae κατά significaret apparere, indicavit Blass. οὐ χρη] H-L (K³), [ώς οὐ] χρη Β, [λέγων ώς οὐ χρη] Κ¹; [ἔφη δ' οὐ δεῖν] Κ-W. ἀθυμεῖν Κ-W (Κ³, Β): [ἀγανακτ]εῖν H-L. 25 εἶναι add. Marchant coll. Aesch. 3 § 8, Dem.

XVI 3 ϵ l $\rho\eta\tau$ aι $[\tau\dot{a}$ κ a $\tau\dot{a}]$ B: ϵ l $\rho\eta\tau$ aι $[\eta\dot{\delta}\eta]$ (K³, K-W): ϵ l $\rho\eta\kappa$ a μ e ν (K¹, H-L). άλλοις (K³, K-W): τοῖς θ[εσμοῖς] K¹, ταῖς ὁμιλίαις H-L. 5 ΠΡΑΟΣ (K, B), cf. Voemel, Prolegomena Grammatica ad Dem. Contiones, § 29: πρᾶος K-W, H-L. 5 TTPAOC (K, B), cf.

6 προσεδάνειζε Rutherford et quondam Wyse. 7 Δια... ΦΕΓΓΕωΡΓΟΥΝΤΑΟ litteris incertis scripta (κ-w, κ³, Β): διαμπερές έγεωργοῦντο quondam κ, διανεκές έγεωρ-7 AIA ... ΦΕCΓΕWPFOYNTAC 8 διεσπαρμένοι < ωσι > Kontos (H-L). γούντο Η-L.

τεταγμένοι] Pol. 1298 a 23, τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τεταγμέτας. τετάχθαι may have ἐπὶ with the dat. or acc., the former is found in Xen., and both in Plato. Plat. Rep. 345 D, ἐφ' ῷ τέτακται, Τιαιτ τερ. 343 Β, εφ ψ τετακται. Crit. 50 D, ol έπὶ τούτοψ τεταγμένοι νόμοι, Leg. 952 Ε, τοὺς έπὶ τούτοις ἄρχοντας τεταγμένους, ib. 772 Β, έπὶ πάντα καὶ ἔκαστα ταχθείς (χρόνος), Tim. 47 C, λόγος ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τέτακται. The gen. is comparatively rare

§ 5. αθυμείν] Met. iii 5, 1009 b 37, πως ούκ άξιον άθυμησαι. δυσθυμείν (Hdt. viii

10) is not found in Ar.

tπl των ίδίων είναι] c. 16 § 3. Pol. viii (v) 8, 1309 a 6, οι γάρ αποροι ού βουλήσονται άρχειν τῷ μηδὲν κερδαίνειν, άλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ίδιοις είναι μᾶλλον, οι δὲ εύποροι δυνήσονται διά το μηδενός προσδείσθαι τών κοινών.

XVI § 2. «Γρηται] 14 § 3.
καὶ δή καὶ] § 10.
τοῖς ἀπόροις—γεωργοῦντας] In the

same spirit, we read in Plut. Sol. 31, wis δὲ Θεόφραστος Ιστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς άργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, άλλὰ Πεωίστρατος, φ τήν τε χώραν ένεργεστέραν και την πόλιν ήρεμαιοτέραν εποίησεν. For διατρέφεσθαι Mr Wyse compares Xen. de Red. i 1; iv 49; Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1446, έργαζόμενοι διατρέφοιντο. For the general sense, cf. Pol. 1320 b 7, (even under a democracy) χαριέντων έστι και νοῦν έχόντων γνωρίμων και διαλαμβάνοντας τούς άπόρους άφορμάς διδόντας τρέπειν έπ' έργασίας.

προεδάνειζε] In this verb προ does not mean 'beforehand,' but 'in advance.' προδανείζειν, originally 'to make an advance, develops the meaning to lend without interest. The conjecture $\pi \rho o \sigma$ eδάνειζε, 'he also lent money,' is with-drawn. It rested on the assumption that προεδάνειζε meant 'he lent beforehand. a sense unsuitable to the context (Wyse in Class. Rev. vi 254. § 3. µήτε...dad] Pol. viii (v) 8, 1308

καὶ ὅπως [εὐπο]ροῦντες τῶν μετρίων καὶ πρὸς τοῖς [ί]δίοις ὅντες μήτ' ἐπιθυμῶσι μήτε σχολάζ[ωσιν] ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. 10 4 αμα δε συνέβαινεν αὐτώ καὶ τὰς προσόδους γίγνεσθαι μ[είζο]υς έξεργαζομένης της χώρας επράττετο γάρ από των γιγνομένων 5 δεκάτην. διὸ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ [δήμ]ους κατεσκεύαζε δικαστάς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξήει πολλάκις εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐπισκοπῶν [καλ] διαλ[ύ]ων τοὺς διαφερομένους, ὅπως μὴ καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ παρα- 15 6 μελώσι τών [άγρ]ών. τοιαύτης γάρ τινος έξόδου τῷ Πεισιστράτῷ

11 FIN (K-W) sed in versu proximo FIFN (K-W etc.). 12 έξ έργαζομένης Η-L. 14 διαλύων (K3, K-W, B): διαλ-13 κατευκεγαζε (K, H-L): κατεσκεύασε K-W, B. λάττων K1 (H-L); lacuna vix quattuor litterarum capax.

δ 11, μήτ' αὐξάνειν λίαν μηδένα παρά την συμμετρίαν, άλλα μαλλον πειρασθαι. Rhet. ουμμετριαν, αντα μαννου πειρασού. Απελ.

1 4, 1359 δ δ. For the general sense,

Pol. viii (v) 10, 1311 α 14, το έξ αστεος

απελαύνεω και διοικίζεω άμφοτέρων κουνόν,

απεκαινειν και οιοκιζειν αμφοτερον κοινον, και τῆς διωταρχίας και τῆς τυραννίδος.

διωταρμένοι κατά τὴν χώραν] Pol. vii (vi) 4, 1319 α 30, διά τὸ περί τὴν άγορὰν και τὸ ἄστυ κυλίωσθαι πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος ως εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως ἐκκλησιάζει. οἱ δὲ γεωργοῦντες διά τὸ διεσπάρθαι κατά τὴν χώραν οὐτ' ἀπαντώσιν οδθ δμοίως δέονται της συνόδου ταύτης. vi (viii) 5, 1292 ο 25, όταν μέν οδν το γεωργικόν και το κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ή της πολιτείας, πολιτεύονται κατά νόμους. Έχουσι γάρ έργαζόμενοι ζήν, ού δύνανται δέ σχολάζειν, ώστε τόν νόμον έπιστήσαντες έκκλησιάζουσι τάς άναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας. vii (vi) 4, 1318 b 9, καίας ἐκκλησίας. vii (vi) 4, 1318 b 9, βέλτιστος γάρ δήμως ὁ γεωργικός ἐστιν...διά μὲν γάρ τὸ μὴ πολλὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν ἄσχολος, ὥστε μὴ πολλὰν οὐσίαν ἔχειν ἄσχολος, ὥστε μὴ πολλάκε ἐκκλησιάζειν. Diogenes Laert. i 98 says of Periander, on the authority of Ephorus and Aristotle, οὐκ εἴα ἐν ἀστει ζὴν τοὺς βουλομένους. Similarly, in the abstract of Aristotle, by Heracleides, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων ἐν ἀστει ζῆν (Rose, Frag. § 611, 20).

Cf. Aelian V. H. ix 25; Max. Tyr. xxix 3; and Dion Chrys. Or. 7 i p. 257 f. R., i 520—1 R. (Mayor).

R., i 520—1 R. (Mayor).

τών μετρίων] 27 § 3.
πρός τοις ίδίοις δντες] See note on 15 § 5, ἐπὶ τῶν lỗlων εἶναι

inte oxold[wow] Similarly in Pol. viii (v) 11, 1313 b 23, the object of the Peisistratidae, in beginning the building of the Olympieum, was do χολίαν (και πενίαν) των αρχομένων. Cf. ib. 19 ff.

§ 4. Seccity Hitherto, the main evidence for this has been the spurious letter of Peisistratus to Solon, Diog. Laert. i 53. The present passage supports the view of

Boeckh (iii 6), Arnold (on Thuc. vi 54 § 5) and Thirlwall (c. xi, p. 72—74), that Peisistratus levied a tax of ten per cent. Grote demurred to accepting this, on the ground of insufficient evidence. (It is mentioned in Zenobius iv 76, Mantissa Proverb. i 76, and Proverbiorum Appendix, ii 66.) Thuc. I. c., after mentioning Hipparchus, says exertiseuras έπι πλειστον δή τύραννοι ούτοι άρετην και ξύνεσιν, και 'Αθηναίους είκοστην μόνον πρασσόμενοι κτλ., and the scholars abovementioned accordingly assumed that the tax was reduced by the Peisistratidae. The text implies that this assumption was correct.

§ 5. τον κατα δήμους—δικαστας]
The origin of these 'district-judges,' who went on circuit through the demes of Attica, is here for the first time ascribed to Peisistratus. Their number is stated as 30 under Pericles (c. 26 § 5). After the time of the Thirty Tyrants the number was changed to 40, four from each tribe

(c. 53 § 1). § δ. τοιαύτης γάρ τινος ξόδου κτλ.] Zenobius, *Proverb. cent.* iv 76, καὶ σφά-κελοι ποιοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν (= Suidas s. v. καὶ σφάκελοι p. 189, ε σφακελισμός): Πεισίστρατος, ω εφασίν, ο τύραννος δεκά-την των γεωργουμένων απήτει τους 'Αθηναίους παριών δέ ποτε, και ίδων πρεσβύτην πέτρας έργαζόμενον και τόπους λιθώδεις, ήρετο τον πρεσβύτην, τίνας έκ των τόπων κομίζοιτο τούς καρπούς. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Οδύνας και σφακέλους, και τούτων δεκάτης Πεισίστρατος φέρει. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος την παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ της δεκάτης ἀτέλειαν έδωκε και έκ τούτου οι 'Αθηναιοι τη παροιμία έχρησαντο, Mantissa Proverb. cent. i 76 (= Apostolius x 80 ed. Pontini). Diodorus Sic. ix 57 Bekker, ... ο έργάτης έφησε λαμβάνειν έκ τοῦ χωρίου κακάς όδύνας, άλλ' οὐθέν αὐτῷ μέλειν

γιγνομένης συμβήναί φασι τὰ περί τὸν ἐν τῷ ['Υμητ]τῷ γεωργούντα τὸ κληθὲν ὕστερον χωρίον ἀτελές. ἰδών γάρ τινα πα[ττά]λω πέτρας σκάπτοντα καὶ έργαζόμενον, [[διὰ τὸ θαυμάσαι]] τὸν πα[ίδα] 10 εκέλευεν [ερ]έσθαι τί γίγνεται εκ τοῦ χωρίου ο δ', δσα κακά καὶ όδύναι, έφη, καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν [ό]δυνῶν Πεισίστρατον δεὶ λαβεῖν τὴν δε[κά]την. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος [ά]πε[κρί]νατο αγνοών, ό δὲ Πεισίστρατος ήσθεὶς διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν [ά]τελη άπάντων εποίησεν αὐτόν. οὐδεν δε το πληθος 7 ~ 25 οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις παρώχλει κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ π [α]ρεσκ[εύ]αζεν εἰρήνην καὶ ἐ[τ]ήρει τὴν ἡσυχίαν· διὸ καὶ πολλάκις έθ[ρυ]λλ[εί]το, ώς [ή] Πεισιστράτου τυραννίς ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόν[ου] βίος είη συνέβη γὰρ ὕστερον δια[δεξαμένων] τῶν υίέων πολλῷ γενέσθαι τραχυτέραν την άρχην. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ην [τῶν 8 30 επαινου μένων το δημοτικον είναι τῷ ἤθει καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. Εν τε γάρ τοις άλλο[ις προηρείτο] πάντα διοικείν κατά τούς νόμους, οὐδεμίαν έαυτῷ πλεονεξίαν διδ[ούς, καί ποτ]ε προσκληθεὶς φόνου δίκην είς "Αρειον πάγ[ον] αὐτὸς μεν ἀπήντησεν ὡς [ἀπολο]γησό-

17 Τα: τὸ H-L. ΥΜΜΗΤωι? 18 παττάλψ K; π...λω[s] K-W, παντελῶς Wessely, B; sed exspectares potius ἐπιμελῶς νεὶ ἐπιπόνως: πρεσβύτην invita papyro H-L. 19 πέτραις?, [ἐν] πέτραις Κ-W et Wessely. διὰ τὸ θαυμάσαι secl. K-W, 'θαυμάσαι scriptum malis' H-L. παΐδα K-W, H-L, K³, B: πάτταλον Κ¹, sed spatium non sufficit. 20 [περι]γίγνεται K-W invita papyro. 21 τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ὁδυνῶν οπ. H-L; τῶν ante ὁδυνῶν secl. K-W. 23 <αὐτὸν > ἀγνοῶν H-L. 25 παρωχλει (κ): παρηνώχλει J B Mayor (K-W, H-L, B). 26 ἐτήρει τὴν ἡσυχίαν (κ³, K-W, H-L, B); ἐπηρείας ἡσυχίαν coniecerat Blass. 27 [παρωμάζ]ετο Κ; [τοῦτ' ἐλέ]γετο Κ-W, [ὕστερον ἐλέγετο] H-L; ἐθρύλησαν Wessely (litteras priores saltem cum papyri indiciis obscuris congruere existimat κ); ἐθ[ρυ]λλ[εῖ]το B. 28 δια[δεξαμένων] Ε Bruhn (Β): διὰ τὴν ῦβριν Sidgwick, Gennadios, K-W, H-L, K³. 30 ἐπαινουμένων J B Mayor, Newman, Bury, K-W, H-L (κ³, B). 31 εἰώθει Κ (H-L); προηρεῖτο K-W, B.

των γάρ το μέρος Πεισιστράτω διδόναι. ο δὲ δυνάστης...γελάσας ἐποίησε το χωρίον ἀτελές, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ παροιμία 'καὶ σφάκελοι ποιοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν.' Procopius in Villoison, Απεζά. ii 40.

The story has been traced to Demon, the writer of a work on proverbs, who is probably the same as the writer of an 'Ar\theta', earlier than Philochorus (Zenob. Athous ii 4 quoted by O. Crusius Anal. ad Paroem. p. 132 f). But, if this Demon is the same as the nephew of Demosthenes bearing that name, he is later than the date of this treatise.

§ 7. παρώχλει] παροχλέω is found in Theophr. C. P. iii 10, 5. παρενοχλέω is less uncommon.

δ thi Κρόνου βίοι] 'the golden age.' [Plat.] Hipparch. 229 B (after the death of Hipparchus) τρία έτη έτυραννεύθησαν

'Αθηναίοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Ιππίου, καὶ πάντων ἀν τῶν παλαιῶν ἡκουσας, ὅτι ταῦτα μόνα τὰ ἔτη τυραννίς ἐγένετο ἐν 'Αθήναις, τὸν δ' ἀλλον χρόνον ἐγγύς τι ἔξων 'Αθηναίοι చσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βασιλεύοντος. The same proverbial phrase is applied by Plutarch, Arist. 24, to the happy condition of the Athenian allies under the administration of Aristeides, and in Cimon 10 to the liberality of Cimon (inf. C. 27 § 3).

C. 27 § 3).

συνίβη—dρχήν] C. 15 § 1.

§ 8. δημοτικόν] C. 14 inii.

καί ποτε προσκληθείς—Ωιπεν] Pol.

viii (ν) 12, 1315 δ 21, φασί δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς ἄρειον πάγον. Plut. Sol. 31, δς γε καὶ φόνου προσκληθείς εἰς ἄρειον πάγον ἤδη τυραννών ἀπόντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ ὑπήκουσε.

9 μενος, ό δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος φοβηθεὶς Ελιπεν. διὸ καὶ πολύν χρόνον ἔμεινεν <έν> [τ $\hat{\eta}$ ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$, καὶ] ὅτ' ἐκπέσοι πάλιν ἀνελάμ β ανε 35 ραδίως. έβούλοντο γάρ καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν [δημο]τικῶν οί πολλοί τους μέν γάρ ταις όμιλίαις τους δέ ταις είς τά ίδια βοηθείαις προ[σ]ήγετο, καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεφύκει καλῶς.

10 ήσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις οἱ περὶ τῶν [τυ]ράννων νόμοι πρᾶοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς οί τ' ἄλλοι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ μάλιστα 40 καθ[ήκ]ων πρὸς τὴν <κατάστασιν> τῆς τυραννίδος. νόμος γὰρ 🤇 αὐτοῖς ἢν ὅδε θέσμια τάδε ᾿Αθηναί[οις] καὶ πάτρια ἐάν [τιν]ες τυραννείν επανιστώ[ν]ται [[επὶ τυραννίδι]], ή τὴν τυραννίδα τις συγκαθιστή, ἄτιμο[ν είναι καὶ] αὐτὸν καὶ γένος.

17. Πεισίστρατος μέν ουν έγκατεγήρασε τη άρχη και άπ-[έθ]ανε νοσήσα[ς ἐπὶ] Φιλόνεω ἄρχοντος, ἀφ' οῦ μὲν κατέστη τὸ

34 éfélurer Richards coll. Dinarch. 3, 98 et Plat. Leg. 943 A (H-L). 35 ér $d\rho\chi\hat{y}$ H-L (K³): ér $\tau\hat{y}$ $d\rho\chi\hat{y}$ quondam Blass, K-W; cf. 17, 3—4. In papyro χ cerni posse putat K et post épeuver partem inferiorem litterae ϕ , deinde quinque sexve litterae rarum spatium. επελαμβανε (κ1); ἀπελάμβανε Wyse, Gennadios, Ferrini, H-L, K⁸; ἀνελάμβανε K-W (B). . 38 ἀμφοτέρας H-L. 39 TTPAOI (K), cf. v. 5. 41 καθήκων Κ (Β): ἀνήκων Η-L; κα[θεστώs] Κ-W. ΤΗΝΤΗΟ: τὰ τῆς Η-L. κατάστασιν addidit nost συμενίδος Κ. post την Β: lacunam indicant K-W. 42 Αθηναίοις addidit post $\tau \nu \rho \alpha \nu \nu l \delta \sigma s$ K, post $\tau h \nu$ B; lacunam indicant K-W. Kontos (B): 'A $\theta \eta \nu \alpha l [\omega \nu]$ K etc. $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau l$ K (H-L): $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha}$ $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ έστί κ (H-L): κατά τά κ-W; κ(al) Blass. 43 μεπιτγρακιλιτικγνικαθιστητηντρακιλα: ή την τυραννίδα τις συγκαθιστής, Blass. ἐπὶ τυραννίδι secluserat κ (κ-w), utpote quondam supra verbum τυραννέδι per formulam usitatiorem interpretandi causa scriptum. ἡ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τις συγκαθιστŷ συνωμοσίαν, άτιμον Η-L. έπι<τιθŷται> τυραννίδι Richards coll. Pol. 1108 a 22, Lycurg. Leocr. 125. έαν τις έπι τυραννίδι έπανιστŷται ἡ συγκαθίστη τὴν τυραννίδα $<\hat{\eta}>\tau_1<\hat{\tau}>K^3$: cum in papyro $\hat{\eta}$ et τ_1 prorsus similia sint, fortasse endum suspicatur K; $\hat{\eta}$ K-W, B. nihil nisi † legendum suspicatur K; † K-W, B. K), B: elra K.

XVII 1 ENKATE THPACE (probat Rutherford).

διο ἐποφύκει καλώς] Cf. the § 9. δια πεφύκει καλώς] Cf. the sketch of the best means for maintaining

a ruparvis in Pol. 1314 a 30—1315 b 10.

br' interior devalupare] Optative of indefinite frequency, followed by the impf., as in Pol. viii (v) 5, 1305 a 7, έπι δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς ὅημαγωγος και στρατηγός, els τυραννίδα μετέ-βαλλον. For ανελάμβανε cf. Hdt. iii 73, (τὴν ἀρχὴν) ἀναλαβεῖν. § 10. καὶ δή καὶ] as often with of τε

dλλοι preceding; supra § 2.

idv τινες—καὶ γίνος] Andocides, De Mysteriis, § 97, έαν τις τυραννείν έπαναστῆ η τον τύραννον συγκαταστήση. In later times such an offence would be met by a καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου γραφή, and the penalty would be death and confiscation of property. The decree against the orator Antiphon and Archeptolemus (one of the Four Hundred) required them to be put

to death and their property to be confis-cated. It also declared each of them to Cf. Arist. Thesm. 338, et τις...τυραφτεῦ

έπινοει ή τον τύραννον ξυγκαταγείν, Vesp. 495, 498, 502, Lys. 630. The text shews that in Andoc. 1. c. Dobree's suggestion,

\[
\lambda t \overline{\pi} \sigma \tau \overline{\pi} \overline{\pi} \sigma \tau \overline{\pi} \overline{\pi} \sigma \tau \overline{\pi} \overline{\pi} \overline{\pi} \sigma \overline{\pi} \o Kee is similarly used c. dat.

Cf. Thuc. vi 54, 2, II. γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαιτος; Val. Max. viii 9 E 2, 'decrepitum.'
Φιλόνεω άρχοντος] B. C. 527. The name of the archon of the year is now ascertained for the first time. The date of the death of Peisistratus was known

πρώτον τύραννος, έτη τριά[κο]ν[τ]α καὶ τρία βιώσας, ά δ' έν τῆ άργη διέμεινεν, ένὸς δέοντα εἴκοσι· ἔφ[ευγ]εν γὰρ τὰ λοιπά. διὸ 2 5 καὶ φανερώς ληροῦσιν <οί> φάσκοντες | ερώμενον είναι Πεισί- [Col. στρατον Σόλωνος καὶ στρατηγείν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμφ περί Σαλαμίνος οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ταις ἡλικίαις, ἐάν τις ἀναλογίζηται του έκατέρου βίου καὶ ἐφ' οῦ ἀπέθανεν ἄρχοντος. τελευτή- 3 σαντος δε Πεισιστράτου, κατείχον οι υίεις την αρχήν, προάγοντες 10 τὰ πράγματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἦσαν δὲ δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς, 'Ιππίας καὶ "Ιππαρχος, δύο δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Αργείας, 'Ιοφῶν καὶ 'Ηγησίστρατος, φ παρωνύμιον ην Θετταλός. Εγημεν γάρ Π εισίστρατος έξ 4

4 έφευγεν J B Mayor, Rutherford, κ-w, H-L, κ*: εφ. ΓεΝ: έφυγεν κ¹, Β. 5 ληρούσιν οί κ-w, H-L, Lacon, Hude (κ3, B). 7 CANAMEINOC. 9 TIPOATATONTEC: corr. Rutherford, J B Mayor, Blass, K-W, H-L (K3). 10 <'Aττικής > γαμετής Η-L.

TESTIMONIA. 3 Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Ar. Frag. 611, 43) Πεισίστρατος λη έτη τυραννεύσας γηράσας άπέθανεν.

already. He died in the beginning of B.C. 527, the latter half of Ol. 63, 1. The date is fixed by Ar. Pol., quoted below, and by Thuc. vi 59 § 5. The former makes the rule of the Peising in the latter says stratidae last 18 years; the latter says that the battle of Marathon was in the 20th year after the expulsion of Hippias. 490+18+19=527 (Clinton, Fasti, ii

254). Етη триакочта кай тріа] Pol. viii (v) 12, 1315 b 30, η των Πεισιστρατιδών (άρχη) 'Αθήνησιν. ούκ εγένετο δε συνεχής' δίς γάρ έφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννών ώστ' έν έτεσι τριάκοντα καλ τρισλν έπτακαίδεκα έτη τούτων έτυράννευσεν, όκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παίδες, ώστε τὰ πάντα έγένετο έτη τριάκοντα καί πέντε. The passage is part of a paragraph regarded as an inter-

polation by Susemihl, ed. 2 and 3.

evòs δέοντα «κοσι] In Pol. quoted above, the rule of Peisistratus is said to have lasted 17 years. It has been proposed to reconcile the two accounts by supposing that fractions of a year are included here, and excluded in the Politics.

See, however, note on 14 § 3. § 2. epóperov] Ael. V. H. viii 16,

8 2. ερωμανον | Ael. V. 12. VIII 10, λέγεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι. Μεγαρίαs] c. 14 § 1. ἀπέθανεν | Solon died not long after 560 B.C. (Plut. Sol. 12); Peisistratus, in τον αυτόν τρόπου] Thuc. vi 54

έκ της γαμετής] The name is not known.

έκ της 'Apyelas] Hdt. v 94, Πεισιστρατος...κρατήσας αυτοῦ (sc. Σιγείου) κατέστησε τύραννον είναι παίδα τον έωυτοῦ νόθου Ήγησιστρατου, γεγουότα έξ Αργείας γυναικός. "Herodotus calls Hegesistratus κόθω, because after the middle of the fifth century (c. 26 ad fin.) women of foreign blood certainly could not occupy at Athens the position of a lawful wife: the children of a ξένη were both νόθοι and Etros. The same distinction is present to the writer: he contrasts 'the wedded wife' of Athenian birth with the 'Argive wo-The reading need not be altered. Thucydides (vi 55 § 1) seems to include Thessalus among the legitimate sons of Peisistratus, τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν" (Wyse, Class. Rev. v 226 b). In i 20 § 2, after stating that Hippias was the eldest son, he adds that Hipparchus and Thessalus were his brothers. The name of Thessalus was probably given him out of com-pliment to the Thessalian allies of the billient to the Anessalian and of the Anessalians ineffectually sent 1000 horse to defend Hippias shortly before his expulsion (Hdt. v 63). Plutarch, Cato major 24, calls Thessalus the son of Peisistratus and Timpanases but we now know for the and Timonassa, but we now know for the first time that this was another name for Hegesistratus. As regards the nationality of his mother it will be remembered that Peisistratus was aided, during his second exile, by mercenary troops from Argos (Hdt. i 61). παρωνύμιον] = ϵπωνυμία (c. 45 § 1).

"Αργους ἀνδρὸς 'Αργείου θυγατέρα, ῷ ὄνομα ἢν Γοργίλος, Τιμώνασσαν, ην πρότερον έσχεν γυναίκα 'Αρχίνος ό' Αμπρακιώτης των Κυψελιδών δθεν καὶ ή πρὸς τοὺς 'Αργείους ἐνέστη φιλία, καὶ συνεμα- 15 χέσαντο χίλιοι την έπὶ Παλληνίδι μάχην Ἡγησιστράτου κομίσαντος. γημαι δέ φασι την 'Αργείαν οι μέν έκπεσόντα το πρώτον, οί δὲ κατέχουτα τὴν ἀρχήν.

18. ήσαν δὲ κύριοι μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἡλικίας "Ιππαρχος καὶ 'Ιππίας, πρεσβύτερος δ' ών δ

14 έσχε H-L.
15 εΝΕCΤΗ: συνέστη H-L.
detexit J B Mayor (κ-W, H-L, K³, B): Πεισιστράτου Κ¹. XVIII 1 TWN MEN: μέν τῶν Blass, Richards, edd.

16 Ήγησιστράτου primus

έκπεσόντα...κατέχοντα] If Peisistratus

married Timonassa on his first usurpation of the government in 560 B.C., Hegesistratus may have been either 21, 23, 24 or 26 years of age at the battle of Pallene

(Bauer), 536 (Reinach), 535 (Kenyon) or 533 (Poland). If he married her on his first expulsion, the son may have been

four years younger (17 to 22) in the year of the battle. The latter view seems preferable, as his marriage with the 'Argive woman' is more likely to have

taken place, when it was to his interest to secure the aid of Argos, than on his

first usurpation, when her presence in the

palace would not have ingratiated him

with his Athenian subjects or with his

wedded wife. The beginning of the second tyranny, four to six years later, is

out of the question, partly because Peisi-stratus was then in alliance with Megacles,

while Timonassa was probably no longer

Plat. Soph. 228 C. The adj. παρωνύμισε is found in Plat. Leg. 757 D, and the corresponding verb in Ar. Phys. vii 3, 245 b 11, 28, παρωνυμιάζοντες λέγομεν, and Eth. 11, 28, παρωνυμαζωτες λέγομες, and Επ.
Eud. iii 1, 1228 α 35, παρωνυμάζεσθαι =
παρωνύμως παρά τι λέγεσθαι. The ordinary form of the adj. in Ar. is παρώνυμος.
§ 4. 'Αρχίνος ὁ 'Αμπρακώτης τῶν
Κυψελιδῶν] Cypselus (tyrant of Corinth
for 30 years from B.C. 658 or 655) was succeeded by his son Periander. Among the contemporaries of the latter was another Periander, son of Gorgus, who was either a son or a brother of Cypselus. This second Periander was a tyrant of Ambracia. The establishment of a branch of the Cypselidae in Ambracia was in accordance with the ambitious policy of that dynasty. They attempted to occupy the dynasty. They attempted to occupy the coast of the Ionian sea as far as Illyria (Müller, Dor. i 8 § 3). Periander was deposed probably after the death of the Corinthian tyrant of the same name (B.C. 585). Pol. viii (v) 10, 1311 a 39, Пере-304 το το το Του 1311 α 30, 11ερο το δενδρο το έν 'Αμβρακία τυράννο, and 4, 1304 α 31, έν 'Αμβρακία ... Περίανδρον συνεκβαλών τοις έπιθεμένοις ο δήμος τον τύραννον είς έαυτον περιέστησε την πολιτυρανων εις εαυτον περιεστησε την πολι-τείαν. Ambracia was colonised in the reign of Cypselus (Strabo, p. 452) either by that tyrant's brother, Torgus, or his son Gorgus. Strabo, p. 328, describes Ambracia as Τόλγου (sic) τοῦ Κυψέλου κτίσμα (Clinton's Fasti, sub anno fiz B.C.). In the Politics the affair of Har-modius and Aristopeiton is mentioned modius and Aristogeiton is mentioned just before the fall of the Ambracian tyrant, Periander: here it is narrated shortly after a reference to another member of the Ambracian branch of the Cypselidae.—On Ambracia see Duncker, H. G. ii 353 E.T. ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι] 15 § 3.

alive; and partly because this would make the son 15 at the most on the occasion of the battle. Within about eight years of this time Hegesistratus was old enough to be placed in charge of Sigeum (Hdt. v 94). He was 'much younger' than Hipparchus (c. 18 § 2). Hipparchus, again, was younger than Hippias, and Hippias was an old men in 8 C. 400 (Thue, vi 50 § 5). younger than Hippias, and Hippias was an old man in B.C. 490 (Thuc. vi 59 § 5). If Hippias was more than 70 in 490, he was born before 560. Hippias and Hippiarchus were already 'young men' (Hdt. i 61) when their father married the daughter of Megacles, either 8, 9 or 11 wears after 160. All these considerations years after 560. All these considerations are in favour of placing the marriage at

the time of the first exile.

XVIII. Harmodius and Aristogeiton. § 1. πρεσβύτερος—δ Ίππίας] Thuc. i

Ίππίας καὶ τῆ φύσει πολιτικὸς καὶ ἔμφρων ἐπεστάτει τῆς άρχης. ό δὲ "Ιππαρχος παιδιώδης καὶ ἐρωτικὸς καὶ φιλόμουσος 5 ην, καὶ τοὺς περὶ 'Ανακρέοντα καὶ Σιμωνίδην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητάς ούτος ήν ο μεταπεμπόμενος Θετταλός δε νεώτερος πολύ 2 καὶ τῷ βίω θρασὺς καὶ ὑβριστής. ἀφ' οὖ καὶ συνέβη τὴν ἀρχὴν

6-7 Θετταλός--ὑβριστής delet Herwerden: defendit Heraclides infra laudatus.

TESTIMONIA. 4-7 Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Ar. Frag. 611, 43) Ίππαρχος ὁ υίδη Πεισιστράτου παιδιώδης ήν και έρωτικός και φιλόμουσος, Θεσσαλός δέ νεώτερος και θρασύς. τοῦτον τυραννοῦντα μή δυνηθέντες ανελεῖν Ίππαρχον απέκτειναν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

20, 2, 'Αθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πληθος Ίππαρχον οδονται ὑφ 'Αρμοδίου και 'Αριστογείτονος αισταί υψη Αρμοσίου και Αματογειτοιού στι Ίππίας μέν πρεσβύτατος ών ήρχε των Πεισιστράτου υιέων, Ίππαρχος δέ και Θεσσαλός άδελφοι ήσαν αύτοῦ, and vi 54

§ 2; 55 §§ 1, 2. In [Plato], Hipparchus, 228 B, Hipparchus is wrongly described as the eldest

φιλόμουσος] Hipparchus is said to have set up in the demes of Attica Hermae inscribed with verses. Hipparch. 229 A, μυήμα τόδ' Ίππάρχου στείχε δίκαια μνημα τόδ' φρονών...ξστι δε των ποιημάτων και άλλα έν άλλοις Έρμαις πολλά και καλά έπιγε-γραμμένα. The Homeric recitations introduced by Peisistratus at the Panathenaea were improved in certain respects by Hipparchus (ib. 228 B, Aelian, V

τούς περί] 'Formula of περί τινα...interdum ita usurpatur, ut ab ipso personae nomine non multum differat, ol wepl' Euweδοκλέα και Δημόκριτον de Caelo ii 7, 305 b οσκικά και Σημοκριτον σε Caeso II 7, 305 ο (cf. Εμπεδοκιλής και Δημόκριτος 305 α 34). οι περί Ίπποκράτην Μετον. i 6, 342 ο 35 (cf. Ίπποκράτης 343 α 28). ἡ τῶν περί Γέ-λωνα τυραννίς και νῦν ἡ τῶν περί τὸν Διο-νύσιον, ἡ μὲν Γέλωνος Ροί. ν 10, 1312 ο 10. Cf. de Gener. et Corrupt. 314 a 25, Pol. v 6, 1305 b 26', Index Aristotelicus. In such cases the proper name has no article

(Eucken, Sprachgebrauch, Praep. p. 66).
'Ανακρέοντα και Σιμωνίδην] Ηίρρατολ.
228 C, (Hipparchus) ἐπ' 'Ανακρέοντα τον Τήϊον πεντηκόντορον στείλας εκόμισεν els την πόλιν. Σιμωνίδην δε τον Κείον άει περι αυτόν είχε, μεγάλοις μισθοίς και

δώροις πείθων.

Simonides (born 556 B.C.) was 29 years of age on the death of Peisistratus in 527. It was probably after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae that he wrote the epitaph on Archedice, daughter of Hippias, quoted in Thuc. vi 59. Cf. Plat. Protag.

346 B. He also celebrated the death of his patron Hipparchus (ἡ μέγ ᾿Αθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ ἡνικ ᾿Αριστο-γείτων Ἱππαρχον his patron implaitants (17) φόως γένεθ' ἡνικ' 'Αριστο-γείτων' Ίππαρχον κτεῖνε καί 'Αριμόδιος, 134 Bergk). After spending some years at the court of the Aleuadae in Thessaly, he returned to Athens and there commemorated in verse some of the great events of the Persian wars. See also Freeman's Sicily, ii 258-264.

There is no evidence of intimate relations between Simonides and Anacreon. unless we ascribe to Simonides the epitaphs on Anacreon in Anthol. Pal. vii 24, 25, which are assigned with greater probability to a later poet, Leonidas.

Anacreon lived for many years at the court of Polycrates of Samos (Hdt. iii 121, Strabo, xiv 638), who was put to death in 522. The death of his patron and the unpopular rule of his successor would prompt him to accept the invitation of Hipparchus. At Athens he made of hipparchies. At Athens he made the acquaintance of various members of noble families, such as Critias, son of Dropides (Plat. *Charmides*, 157 E) and Xanthippus, afterwards the victor of Mycale and the father of Pericles. On the death of Hipparchus, he probably went (like Simonides) to the court of the Aleuadae.

τους άλλους ποιητάς] e.g. the founder of the Athenian school of Dithyrambic poetry, and the teacher of Pindar, Lasus of Hermione, one of the rivals of Simonides (Aristoph. Vesp. 1410 Schol.). His detection of the forgeries of Onomacritus led to the banishment of the latter by Hipparchus (Hdt. vii 6).

§ 2. Gerralds] Diodorus Sic., x 16, 1, gives him a character for wisdom: drel-

πατο την τυραννίδα.

κάφ' ού] Whether ού is neuter or (more probably) masculine, it is clear that the troubles of the Peisistratidae are here ascribed to the Opper of Thessalus, who is naturally the subject of the next sentence

αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πάντων τών κακών. Ερασθεὶς γὰρ τοῦ Αρμοδίου καὶ διαμαρτάνων της πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας, οὐ κατείχε την ὀργήν, άλλ' έν τε τοις άλλοις ένεσημαίνετο πικ[ρ]ως, και τὸ τελευταίον 10 μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν κανηφορεῖν Παναθηναίοις ἐ[κώ]λυσεν, λοιδορήσας τι τὸν Αρμόδιον ώς μαλακὸν δυτα, ὅθεν συνέβη παροξυνθέντα τὸν Αρμόδιον καὶ τὸν Αριστογείτονα πράττειν τὴν 3 πράξιν μετεχόντων πολλών. ήδη δε [παρατη]ρούντες εν ακροπόλει

10 πικρώς K-W (K⁸, B); ένεσήμαινε το πικρόν K¹, ένεσημαίνετο το πικρόν Richards (H-L). 13 παροξυνθέντας H-L, sed 'spatium deest.' 14 μετεχόντων πολλών 'satis clare legitur' Blass: μετά πολιτών πολλών Κ; μετά πολιτών οὐ πολλών Gennadios; μετά συνει
 $\delta \dot{\phi} > \tau \omega v < o \dot{\psi} > \tau o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} v$] Β Mayor (κ-w); μετά συνωμοτών ού πολλών Thompson; μετ' όλιγων άλλων Richards; μετ' [άλλων ού] πολλών H-L.

έρασθεις γάρ κτλ. This is so completely at variance with the account in Thucy dides that Mr Kenyon in his first ed. felt constrained to throw the description of Thessalus into a parenthesis. But the writer does not hesitate to disagree with Thucydides in several of his details, and he may have deliberately disagreed with him in this important point. It does not follow that Thucydides is wrong. The whole of the episode on Harmodius and Aristogeiton is apparently written with extreme care to refute a popular error.

It must also be remembered that (according to Hermippus, in Marcellinus, Vit. Thuc. p. ix, and Schol. on i 20) the historian was related to the Peisistratidae. Cf. vi 55 § 1, elδώτ...και ἀκοῦ ἀκριβέστερον άλλων. On the other hand, the writer of this treatise shews in the latter part of c. 17 that he knows more than Thucy-dides about Thessalus, and Thucydides himself tacitly corrects in book i 20 some of the details in the account in book vi (Weil, Journal des Savants, avril 1891). **Epastels Toü Apuo8(ou] This is re-

ported of Hipparchus by Diod. Sic. x 16 § 2, Plut. Amator. 16 § 27, p. 760, Athen. p. 602 A (Mayor).

tyes malvero murpus] On the other hand, Thuc. (vi 54 § 4), with greater partiality towards the Peisistratidae, says of Hipparchus, βίαιον μέν οὐδέν έβούλετο

μάλλουσαν - ἐκαίλυσεν] Thuc. vi 56 § 1, άδελφην γάρ αὐτοῦ κόρην, ἐπαγγείλαντες ήκειν κανοῦν οἴσουσαν ἐν πομπή τινί, ἀπήλασαν, λέγοντες ούδε έπαγγείλαι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξίαν είναι. Ατ. Pol. viii (v) 10, 1311 b 36, (the rule of the ντι (γ) 16, 1311 ο 30, (the full of the Peisistratidae was attacked) διά το προπηλακίσαι μέν την 'Αρμοδίου άδελφην έπηρεάσαι δ' 'Αρμόδιον (δ μέν γὰρ 'Αρμόδιον (δ διά την άδελφήν, ὁ δὲ ᾿Αριστογείτων διά τὸν ᾿Αρμόδιον). The text connects this τον Αρμόδιον). The text connects this incident with the approaching Panathenaic festival, at which Hipparchus was put to death. The Panathenaea are mentioned in connexion with the sister

mentioned in connexion with the sister of Harmodius by Aelian V. H. xi 8, and Max. Tyr. 24, 2. The year was B.C. 514. On κανηφορίν, cf. Aristoph. Ecci. 732, Av. 1551, and Harpocr. s. v. κανηφόροι...Φιλόχορος έν β΄ Άτθίδος φησίνως Έριχθονίου βασίλευσητος πρώτον κατένειτας κανημένου κανακά του καν στησαν αι έν αξιώματι παρθένοι φέρειν τὰ κανά τῆ θεῷ, ἐφ' οἰς ἐπέκειτο τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, τοῦς τε Παναθηναίοις καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαις πομπαῖς (for other authorities, see Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 329 f.). The Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 329 f.). The Panathenaea had been revived by Peisistratus, but even in 566 B.C., six years before his first usurpation, it was attended by a large concourse in consequence of the institution of gymnastic contests at that date (Marcellinus, Vit. Thuc. i). The Scholiast on Aristides, iii 323 Dind., says of the great Panathenaea, Ileidiorparos

μαλακόν] 'effeminate,' opp. to καρτεριkos in Eth. 1147 b 23, 1150 a 14, 33; Eth.

κος in Ε/π. 1147 ν 23, 1150 α 14, 33; Ε/π. Εμd. 1229 δ 7, πρός τὸν θάνατον μαλακός ἢ περίφοβος. Cf. c. 3 l. 7. μετεχόντων πολλών] This contradicts Thuc. vi 56 § 3, ἢσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοί οἱ ξυνομωμοκότες ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα. § 3. ἐν ἀκροπόλει] Thucydides (vi s. δ. ἐν ἀκροπόλει] Thucydides (vi s. δ. ἐν ἀκροπόλει) σα πονελείδηση

57 § 1) describes Hippias as marshalling the procession outside Athens in the (outer) Cerameicus, and adds that, on noticing one of the conspirators conversing with him, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, fearing that the plot was discovered, rushed within the gates (dow τῶν πυλῶν), found Hipparchus near the Leocorium and stabbed him to death. Hippias, meanwhile, had remained outside the 15 τοις Παναθηναίοις Ίππίαν (ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ οὖτος μὲν [δ]εχόμενος, ό δ' «Ιππαρχος ἀποστέλλων την πομπήν), ἰδόντες τινὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων της πρά[ξ]εως φιλανθρώπως έντυγχάνοντα τῷ Ἱππία, καὶ νομίσαντες μηνύειν, βουλόμενοί τι δράσαι πρό της συλλήψεως, καταβάντες καὶ προεξαναστάντες τῶν [λοιπῶν], τὸν μὲν "Ιππαργον 20 διακ[οσ]μούντα την πομπην παρά το Λεωκόρειον ἀπέκτειναν, [τὴν δ' δ]λην έλυμήναντο πράξιν. αὐτῶν δ' ὁ μὲν Αρμόδιος εὐθέως 4 έτελεύτησεν ύπὸ τῶν δ[ορυφό]ρων, ὁ δ' ᾿Αριστο[γε]ίτων ὕστερον συλληφθείς και πολύν χρόνον αικισθείς. κατηγόρησεν δ' έν [τ]αις ἀνάγκαις πολλών οι και [τή] φύσει τών ἐπιφανών και φίλοι 25 τοις τυράννοις ήσαν. οὐ [γὰρ έ]δύναντο παραχρήμα λαβείν οὐδὲν ໃγνος της πράξεως, άλλ' ὁ λεγόμενος λόγος ὡς ὁ Ἱππίας ἀποστήσας

15 μεν δεχόμενος K-W, H-L (K^3 , B); μετερχόμενος K^1 . 19 λοιπών Β; άλλων Κ, 21 την δ' K-W (K3, B); [την K-W2, H-L; ἐτέρων K-W1. 20 παρα: περί H-L. $\mu \hat{e} \nu \hat{o} \hat{v} = K^1; \quad \hat{\psi} \quad \hat{\tau} \hat{\eta} \nu \quad H-L.$ δ': γὰρ invita papyro K-W.

gates, and it was there that he disarmed the citizens. The text describes H and A as waiting for Hippias on the Acropolis. On observing some one conversing with Hippias, they descend (καταβάντες) and slay Hipparchus near the Leocorium. The two accounts are im-possible to reconcile. In more than one point our author deliberately differs from the historian (inf. § 4).

186ντες συλλήψεως Thuc. vi 57 § 3,

ώς είδόν τινα τών ξυνωμοτών σφίσι δια-λεγόμενον οίκείως τῷ Ἰππία...ξδεισαν καὶ ἐνόμισαν μεμηνῦσθαί τε καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ήδη ξυλληφθήσεσθαι. πρό τῆς συλλήψεως confirms Thuc. i 21, πρω συλληφθήναι, suspected by Cobet.

προεξάναστάντες των λοιπών] 'having begun the attack without waiting for their

confederates.'
"Ιππαρχον διακοσμούντα την πομπήν]
Thuc. i 21 § 3, τψ Ίππαρχω περιτυχώντες περί το Λεωκόριον καλούμενον την Παναθηναϊκήν πομπήν διακοσμούντι απέκτειναν. In vi 57, the historian mentions Hippias alone as marshalling the procession outside the gates: (Harm. and Ar.) περι-έτυχον τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ παρά τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον

τό Λεωκόρειον] The monument of the three daughters of Leos who, at the command of an oracle, sacrificed themselves for their country, [Dem.] 60 § 29, Cic. Nat. Deor. iii 50. Harpocration places it in the midst of the (inner) Cerameicus. It is mentioned in connexion with the dyopd in Dem. 54 § 7. Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 417,

and Judeich in Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1890, p. 756.

p. 750.
§ 4. πολύν χρόνον αἰκισθείε] Thuc.
vi 57 § 3, οὐ ῥαδίως διετέθη.
κατηγόρησεν—ἦσαν] The story is told
of Aristogeiton and Hippias by Seneca,
de Ira, ii 23, and Justin. ii 9 §§ 1—6.
Cf. Diod. Sic. x 16 §§ 3. 4. The like
story is told of Zeno of Elea, Cic. Tusc.
ii 52, Val. Max. iii 3 E § 1 (where the
tyrant is Phalaris. as in Heraclides Pontyrant is Phalaris, as in Heraclides Ponticus in Athen. 652 B), Diog. Laert. ix 26, 27, Plut. ii 505 D (Mayor). Polyaenus i 21, 'Αριστογείτων, ύπο τῶν δορυφόρων στρεβλούμενος περί τῶν συνειδότων, τῶν μέν συνειδότων ώμολόγησεν ούδένα, πάντας δέ τούς 'Ιππίου φίλους κοινωνήσαι τής έπιθέσεως ὁπότε δε τούτους 'Ιππίας άπέκτεινε, τότε δ 'Αριστογείτων ώνείδισεν αὐτῶ

τό στρατήγημα των φίλων.
ταις ανάγκαις] Hdt. i 116, 'Αστυάγης
δέ μιν ούκ εὐ βουλεύεσθαι έφη έπιθυμέωντα. ές ανάγκας μεγάλας απικνέεσθαι, αμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς άνάγκας οδτω δή έφαινε τον έόντα λόγον. Antiphon, de Chor. 25. Thuc. i 99 § 1,

προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας.

φόσα] 'in birth', as in c. 5 § 3.
'(χνος) met. as in Antiphon, Tetral. A γ 10, φανερώς δέ τὰ ίχνη τής ὑποψίας els τοῦτον φέροντα, and A δ 10, τὰ ίχνη τοῦ Ar. Hist. An. 8, 588 a 33, er rois παισί των δστερον έξεων έσομένων έστιν ίδεῦν οδον έχνη και σπέρματα, α 19; 9,

ό λεγόμενος λόγος] Thuc. vi 58, (Hippias) έκελευσεν αὐτούς, δείξας τι χωρίον, ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς πομπεύοντας ἐφώρασεν τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας οὐκ ὰληθής ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔπεμπον τό<τε> μεθ΄ ὅπλων, 5 ἀλλ' ὕστερον τοῦτο κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δῆμος. κατηγόρει δὲ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου φίλων, ὡς μὲν οἱ δημοτικοί φασιν, ἐπίτηδες ἵνα ἀσεβή- 30 σαιεν ἄμα καὶ γένοιντο ἀσθενεῖς ἀνελόντες τοὺς ἀναιτίους καὶ φίλους ἑαυτῶν, ὡς δ΄ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, οὐχὶ πλαττόμενος ἀλλὰ τοὺς 6 συνειδότας ἐμήνυεν. καὶ τέλος ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πάντα ποιῶν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὡς ἄλλους μηνύσων πολλούς, καὶ πείσας αὐτῷ τὸν Ἱππίαν δοῦναι τὴν δεξιὰν πίστεως χάριν, ὡς ἔλαβεν 35 ὀνειδίσας ὅτι τῷ φονεῖ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν δέδωκεν, οὕτω παρώξυνε τὸν Ἱππίαν ὥσθ΄ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς οὐ κατεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν διέφθειρεν αὐτόν.

19. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινεν πολλῷ τραχυτέραν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ τιμωρεῖν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς

27 εφωράς \mathbf{B} : $-\sigma\epsilon$ \mathbf{K} etc. 28 αλήθες. Επέμποντο: ξπεμπόν τό $-\tau$ ο correxi cum \mathbf{H} -L. \mathbf{K} -W, etc. (\mathbf{K}^3) ; ξπεμπόν τω Papabasileios (B). 31 $-\sigma\epsilon$ eu \mathbf{H} -L. αρθές \mathbf{K} -K-W, εθς επέμπον τω Papabasileios (B). 31 $-\sigma\epsilon$ επέμπον \mathbf{H} -L. αρθές \mathbf{K} -K-W, εθς επέμπον τω Papabasileios (B). 31 $-\sigma\epsilon$ επέμπον \mathbf{H} -L. αργές \mathbf{K} -K-W, εθς επέμπον \mathbf{H} -L. \mathbf{H} Α-Γ. \mathbf{H} Α-Γ

ΧΙΧ 2 ΤΙΜωρείν τιμωρών Κ-W. Ταλελφωι (Κ-W, B). και διά τὸ secl. Κ-W.

άπελθεῖν ès αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων. καὶ οἰ μέν ανεχώρησαν οίδμενοί τι έρεῖν αὐτόν, δ δέ τοις έπικούροις φράσας τὰ δπλα ὑπολαβείν έξελέγετο εύθύς ους έπητιατο και εί τις ευρέθη έγχειρίδιον έχων μετά γάρ άσπίδος καί δόρατος είώθεσαν τὰς πομπάς ποιείν. The conspirators purposely selected the festival of the Panathenaea (about Aug. 13), έν ή μόνον ημέρα ούχ υποπτον έγίγνετο έν δπλοις τους την πομπην πέμψοντας άθρόους γενέσθαι. (The passage in Lysias 13 § 80, συνηκολούθει γάρ λαβών τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συνέπεμπε την πομπήν μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, quoted in Michaelis, Par-thenon, 332, does not refer to the Pana-thenaea, but to the festal procession on the restoration of the democracy, on Sept. 21, 403.) The statement in the text is intended as a deliberate correction of the account in Thucydides, but we have now no means of ascertaining the ultimate authority for the correction. The first line of the famous scolium of Callistratus (probably written not long after the Persian war), implies that Harmodius and Aristogeiton concealed their daggers in branches

of myrtle ($\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\mu\dot{\nu}\rho\tau\sigma\nu$ $\kappa\lambda a\delta l$ $\tau\dot{o}$ $\xi l\phi\sigma s$ $\phi\sigma\rho\dot{\eta}$ - $\sigma\omega$), but says nothing about spear or shield.

§ 5. dos βήσαιαν indicates the consequence of their destroying the innocent; γένουτο doθενεῖς, that of their destroying their own friends.

§ 6. πάντα ποιών] [Lys.] 8 § 5, έφασκετε...πάντα ποιώντες ούκ έχειν όπως άπαλλαγητέ μου. Lys. 12 § 84, πάντα ποιούντες δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν ούκ ἀν δύναισθε λαβεῖν. Dem. 21 § 2, πάντα ποιούντος τούτου (ὁ δημος) ούκ ἐπείσθη.

όναδίσας] Cf. Polyaen. quoted on § 4.
'The narrative of the end of Aristogiton

oversions] Cf. Polyaen, quoted on § 4. 'The narrative of the end of Aristogition betrays the same liking for sensational stories as we trace, for instance, in Phylarchus' (W. L. Newman in Class. Rev.

101 δ).

ΧΙΧ. Hippias. § 1. τραχυτίραν] Hdt. ν 62 (of Hippias), έμπικραισομένου Αθηναίοισι διά τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον. Thuc. νί 59 § 1, τοῖς δ' ᾿Αθηναίοις χαλεπωτέρα μετά τοῦτο ἡ τυραννὶς κατέστη, καὶ ὁ Ἱππίας διά φόβου ήδη μάλλον ὢν τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλούς ἔκτεινε κτλ.

ανηρηκέναι καὶ ἐκβεβληκέναι πάσιν ἢν ἄπιστος καὶ πικρός. ἔτει 2 δὲ τετάρτο μάλιστα μετά τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον, ἐπεὶ κακῶς 5 είχεν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἐπεχείρησε τειχίζειν, ὡς έκεισε μεθιδρυσόμενος. Εν τούτοις δ' ών εξέπεσεν ύπο Κλεομένους τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, χρησμών γιγνομένων ἀεὶ τοῖς Λάκωσι καταλύειν την τυραννίδα δια τοιάνδ' α[ίτίαν]. οί φυγάδες, ων οί 3 Αλκμεωνίδαι προειστήκεσαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' αὑτῶν οὐκ ἐδύναντο το ποιήσασθαι την κάθοδον, άλλ' ἀεὶ προσέπταιον | ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς [Col. : άλλοις οίς επραττον διεσφάλλοντο, και τειχίσαντες εν τή χώρα Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος, εἰς δ συνεξηλθόν τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ

4 κακῶς: €ΝΚΑΚωΙ, postea correctum. 3 TT.CTO: TURPOS K etc. 5 elye H-L. $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ a correctore additum abesse propter numeros mavult Blass. passim: Mouriglar K-W, H-L (K⁸, B), cf. Meisterhans, p. 23². MAIXYNYOM 6 ἐκεῖσε J B Mayor, 7 Λακεδαίμονος K1, K-W1. ΓΙΝ (K-W). Sidgwick (H-L, B): EKEI K, K-W. 9 ἐδύναντο K, H-L: ΗΔΥΝΑΝΤΟ (K-W, B); cf. 18, 33. 10 AIEI (K, K-W, B); cf. 5, 19. 12, 15 λιψγλριοΝ, idem habet Suidae cod. Mediceus. γπερ: ὑπὸ? J H Wright, in Herodoto ὑπερ Παιονίης ὑπὸ Πάρνηθος scriptum fuisse arbitratus.

arbitratus.

ΤΕSTIM. 8 πικρόs. Heraclidis epitoma (611, 4⁸) 'Ιππίας δὲ πικρότατα ἐτυράννει.

8—18 Εtym. Μ. p. 361, 32 Gaisf. (= Suidas, Eustath.) ἐπὶ Λειψυδρίφ μάχη: χωρίον ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς Πάρνηθος δ ἐτείχισαν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν τυράννων ὧν οἱ 'Αλκμαιωνίδαι προεστήκεσαν. ἐκπολιορκηθέντων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, σκόλιον εἰς αὐτοὺς ήδετο "alaî—εὐπατρίδας," οἱ τότ' (Etym. Μ. ed. Gaisf.; idem habent Athen. 695 et Suidas; ὁπότ' Etym. Μ. codex Dorvillii Bodleianus, et Apostolius vii 70 ἐδειξαν οίων πατέρων ἐσαν. Cf. Rose, Frag. 356³, 394³.

12 *Schol. Arist. Lys. 666: Λειψύδριον: χωρίον τῆς 'Ατικῆς περὶ τὴν Πάρνηθον (ita codex Ravennas, τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος Suid., ὑπὸ τὴν Πάρνηθον Ετ. Μ.), εἰς δ συτῆλθόν τινες (cod. L et Suidas) τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ὧς φησιν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. 1δ. 665... (οἱ 'Αλκμαιωνίδαι) πόλεμον ἀράμενοι πρὸς 'Ιππίαν τὸν τύραννον καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ἐτείχισαν τὸ Λειψύδριον. Hesych. Λειψύδριον: χωρίον τι ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος δ ἐτείχισαν 'Αλκμαιωνίδαι. Cf. Rose, l.c.

πικρός] Hdt. l. c., έμπικραινομένου.

§ 2. Ετει—τετάρτψ] B.C. 511/0.
την Μουνιχίαν—τειχίζειν] Plut. Sol.
12, λέγεται δε (Epimenides) την Μουνιχίαν ίδων και καταμαθών πολύν χρόνον είπεῦν πρὸς τούς παρόντας, ώς τυφλόν έστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἄν Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ὀδοῦσιν, εί προήδεσαν, ὅσα την πόλιν ανιάσει το χωρίον (Diog. Laert. i 114). The height of Munichia, which commanded the harbours of Munichia and Zea, is 255 Paris feet above the sea, whereas the highest part of the Peiraeus is only 191. It was an important point in the fortification of the harbours, instituted by Themistocles; and its importance is also shewn by the fact that in 411 B.C. we read of the commander Two weptπόλων των Μουνιχίασι τεταγμένων (Thuc. viii 92, 3); it was fortified by Thrasybulus in 403 (Xen. Hell. ii 4, 11—12; Diodor. Sic. xiv 33, M. λόφον έρημον και καρτερόν). In the time of Alexander (325/4) one of the στρατηγοί was specially appointed to guard this point (c. 61 § 1). In 322 it was occupied by a Macedonian garrison (Plut. Phocion 27, 28; Curtius, Stadtgeschichte, p. 222); in 307 the fort was destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plut. Demetr. 10), but was soon restored in the Macedonian interest, to be evacuated in 229. It was probably destroyed by Sulla. By the time of Strabo (p. 395 c) it was in ruins (C. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 42—45).

ὑπὸ Κλεομένους]

Hdt. v 64, 65.

χρησμών] ib. 63 (quoted on § 4). § 3. οι φυγάδει προσέπταιον] Hdt. ν 62, (the Alcmeonidae) ἄμα τοῦσι ἄλλοισι λθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατά το ίσχυρον ού προεχώρεε κάτοδος, άλλά προσ-έπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε και έλευθεροῦν τὰς 'Αθήνας, Λειψόδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες. Duncker, G. d. A. vi 501, places this incident in B.C. 513. Cf. J. H. Wright, The date of Cylon, p. 54. Λειψύδριου] a 'waterless' spot on the southern flank of Parnes. The site has

15

άστεως, έξεπολιορκήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, ὅθεν ὕστερον μετὰ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ἦδον ἐν τοῖς σκολίοις [[aἰεί]].

αἰαῖ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον, οἴους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας μάχεσθαι ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας, οῦ τότ' ἔδειξαν οἵων πατέρων ἔσαν.

4 αποτυγχάνοντες οὖν ἐν ἄπ[α]σι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐμισθώσαντο τὸν ἐν

13 ΜΕΤΑ: els K-W (B) ex Etym. Mag. 361, 33 σκόλιον els aύτους ήδετο.
14 alel secl. Hude, K-W, H-L, utpote ex dittographia ortum.
16—17 μάχεσθαί τ' ἀγαθούς καί Eustathius; τ' ἀγαθούς καί Eustathius; τ' ἀγαθούς καί εὐπατρίδας, απός εὐπατρίδας Tyrrell; ἀγαθούς καλούς, εὐπατρίδας Bury.

19 * Schol. in Arist. Lys. 1153: 'Αριστοτέλης φησί μετά του 'Ιππάρχου θάνατον χρησμόν γενέσθαι τοις Λάκωσιν καταλύειν την τυραννίδα, της Πυθίας, ώς οι 'Αλκμαιονίδαι έμισθώσαντο τον έν Δελφοίς νεών οίκοδομεῖν, συνεχῶς τοιτο χρώσης αυτοίς μαντευομένοις, ξως πρότερον μέν 'Αγχίμολον (cod. Rav.) Επεμψαν κατά θάλασσαν, άποκρουσθέντος δὲ αυτοί όργισθέντες οι Λάκωνες Κλεομένη του βασιλέα σύν μείζονι έξέπεμψαν στόλω, και νικήσας τους Θετταλούς είσηλθεν είς την 'Αττικήν και τον 'Ιππίαν συνέκλεισεν είς το Πελαργικόν τείχος, ξως οι παίδες των τυράννων έξιωντες έάλωσαν (Rose, Frag. 357², 395²).

not been identified. Leake (Demi, p. 39), placing Paeonidae at Menidhi, regarded the monastery of St Nicolas at the upper end of a long acclivity three or four miles (drei Stunden, Kastromenos, die Demen, p. 95) to the N. as the site of Leipsydrium. The monastery is 'built in a strong situation upon the summit of a height, backed by the pine woods of Parnes and near the right bank of a remarkable torrent'. But the presence of the torrent is unfavourable to this identification of the 'waterless' spot. Kastromenos, l.c., merely says of this torrent that its water 'has certainly never failed to supply Leipsydrium,' but he does not say clearly that this fact goes against the proposed identification. Menidhi is now identified as the site of Acharnae, while Paeonidae may possibly correspond to the ruined village of Varipompi, two hours north of Menidhi at the southern edge of Parnes, and Leipsydrium may have occupied the same position as the Pyrgos above that village (Hanriot, Recherches, p. 55 sqq., quoted in Bursian's Geographie, i 334).

nay have occupied the same position as the Pyrgos above that village (Hanriot, Recherches, p. 55 sqq., quoted in Bursian's Geographie, i 334).

†Bov iv tole ornalions of c. c. 20 at end. On scolia, see K. O. Müller's Lit. of Ancient Greece, i 249 E. T. 'The rhythms of the extant scolia are very various, though, on the whole, they resemble those of the Aeolic lyric poetry; only that the course of the strophes is broken by an accelerated rhythm, and is

in general more animated. This is particularly true of the apt and elegant metre, which occurs in eight Scolia (one of them the Harmodius), and of which there is a comic imitation in Aristoph. *Eccl.* 938.

Here the hendecasyllables begin with a composed and feeble tone; but a more rapid rhythm is introduced by the anapaestic beginning of the third verse; and the two expressions are reconciled by the logacedic members in the last verse. This scolium is quoted with many others in Athenaeus, xv p. 695.

TPOSECTTALPOV] a rare epithet appro-

προδωσίταιρον] a rare epithet appropriate to an impromptu song. It was afterwards used in late prose by Dio Cassius 58, 14. The only other word exactly parallel to it is προδωσίκομπος of 'a boaster who breaks his word'. Both words are noticed by Lobeck, Phryn. 770 (L and S).

Words are noticed by Lobeck, Γπτγπ. 770 (L and S).
§ 4. Δμισθώσαντο "Αθήνας] Hdt. ν 62, παρ' 'Αμφικτυόνων τον νηον μισθούνται τον έν Δελφοίσι...έξοικοδομήσαι. οία δὲ χρημάτων εδ ῆκοντες καὶ ἐἐντες ἐὐκδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι, τόν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον...(c. 63) ώς οδν δὴ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι λέγουσι, οῦτοι οἱ

20 Δελφοίς νεών οἰκοδομείν, ὅθεν εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακώνων βοήθειαν. ή δὲ Πυθία προϋφερεν ἀεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστηριαζομένοις έλευθερούν τας 'Αθήνας, είς τούθ' εως προύτρεψε τούς Σπαρτιάτας, καίπερ όντων ξένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδών συνεβάλλετο δε οὐκ ελάττω μοιραν της όρμης 25 τοις Λάκωσιν ή πρὸς τοὺς 'Αργείους τοις Πεισιστρατίδαις ὑπάργουσα φιλία. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Αγγίμολον ἀπέστειλαν κατά 5

20 οΙκοδομεῖν δθεν εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων, Κ; χρησμῶν? Wyse; commatis signum post οΙκοδομεῖν (Β) posuerunt H-L ('gravius vitium subesse' arbitrati), et K-W (lacuna post χρημάτων indicata). ηὐπόρησαν Η-L. 21 προύφερεν Η-L, cf. v. 23 πρού-τρεψε: ΠΡΟΕΦ (K, K-W, B). - ΔΙΕΙ (Κ. Κ-W B). of - ΓΕΥΘΟΙΑ ΤΕΥΘΕως: correxit Blass e Schol. Arist. Lys. 1153 (K-W, H-L, K3). 24 CYNE-BAλλετο (K, K-W, B): συνεβάλετο Richards (H-L).

άνδρες έν Δελφοίσι κατήμενοι άνέπειθον τήν Πυθίην, δκως έλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων άνδρες είτε ίδιφ στόλφ είτε δημοσίφ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς 'Αθήνας έλευθεροῦν, ib. ii 180. Schol. Aeschin. 3, 116.

The temple at Delphi was burnt down in B.C. 548; the contract of 300 talents for rebuilding it is assigned by Duncker, G. d. A. vi 493, to about 535. Pharaoh Amasis, who contributed to its restoration, died in 526.

Rose, A. P., p. 418, observes, on Schol. Arist. Lysistr. 1153, that the writer of the 'A θ . π o λ . must have closely followed Herodotus. But this is no proof of the spuriousness of the treatise, as Ar. frequently refers to Herodotus in his undisquently refers to rierodotus in his undisputed works: 123 b 9, 523 a 17, 736 a 10, 756 b 6, 1343 a 20, 1344 a 16, 1409 a 27, 1451 b 2 (Heitz, Verl. Schriften, p. 246).

It appears impossible to take δθεν as= αφ' ω (as proposed by Mr Kenyon). can only mean: 'hence it was that they had abundance of money'. Similar uses of δθεν occur in 6 § 2, 7 § 4, 21 §§ 2, 4.

We have here a slight divergence from the account in Herodotus. The historian describes the wealth of the Alcmaeonidae as enabling them to undertake the contract for rebuilding the temple, which they carried out in a splendid manner. The text states that, owing to their undertaking the contract, they had large supplies of money. These sums were entrusted to them to enable them to execute their contract, but they were (partly) applied to securing the aid of Sparta against the Peisistratidae. This account is confirmed by a subsequent Atthidographer, Philochorus, frag. 70, FHG; 395, ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. vii 9, λέγεται, δτι

τὸν Πυθικὸν ναὸν έμπρησθέντα, ώς φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ᾿Αλκμαιωνίδαι φυγαδευθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο ἀνοικοδομήσαι, και δεξάμενοι χρήματα καί συναγαγόντες δύναμιν έπέθεντο τοις Πεισιστρατίδαις, και νικήσαντες μετ' εύχαριστηρίων πλειόνων ανωκοδόμησαν τῷ θεῷ τὸ τέμενος, ὡς Φιλόχορος Ιστορεῖ. Isocr. de Perm. 232 describes the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes as having established the democracy, λόγψ πείσαι τους 'Αμφικτύονας δανεῦσαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων αὐτοῦ. Similarly Dem. c. Mid. 144 says of the Alemaeonidae: τούτους δέ φασω ύπο τών πιτιματυπικά: τουτους νε φασω υπό των τυράννων ύπερ τοῦ δήμου στασιάζοντας έκ-πεσεῦν, καὶ δανεισαμένους χρήματ' έκ Δελφῶν έλευθερῶσαι την πόλω καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστράτου παίδας ἐκβαλεῦν.

προθφερεν] This defends προφέρευ in Hdt. v 63, against mpopulvew (preferred by Bekker and Dindorf).

(λογος) μεγιστην ξυμραλιομένος εις αυτα μοῦραν, and often with μέρος. Ατ. de Asima 1, 402 δ 22, συμβάλλεται μέγα μέρος πρός τὸ εἰδέναι, Poet. 22, 1458 α 34; de Part. Απίπ. iii 12, 673 δ 25, συμβάλλεται πολύ μέρος πρός ὑγίειαν. Pol. iv (vii) 11, 1330 δ 13, ταθτα πλείστον συμβάλλεται πρός την ύγειαν, ii 9, 1270 α 14, συμβάλλοσθαί τι πρός την φιλοχρηματίαν, iii 9, 1281 α 4, συμβάλλονται πλείστον είς—, vii (vi) 2, 1317 δ 16, συμβάλλεται ταύτη # pòs-

ή πρός Αργείους - φιλία] c. 17 ad fin. § 5. Αγχίμολον] Hdt. v 63, πέμπουσι Αντιμόλιον - κατά θάλατταν πλοίοισι. 'Αγχιμόλιο 'Aγχίμολον is the reading in the Ravenna MS of Schol. on Aristoph. Lys.

θάλατταν έχοντα στρατιάν. ήττη θέν τος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσαντος, διά τὸ Κινέαν βοηθήσαι τὸν Θετταλὸν ἔχοντα χιλίους ίππεις, προσοργισθέντες τῷ γενομένω, Κλεομένην έξέπεμψαν τὸν βασιλέα στόλον έγοντα μείζω κατά γην, δς έπεὶ τοὺς τῶν Θετταλῶν 30 ίππεις ενίκησεν κωλύοντας αὐτὸν είς τὴν Αττικὴν παριέναι, κατακλείσας του Ίππίαν είς το καλούμενον Πελαργικον τείχος επολιόρ-🕶 6 κει μετὰ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων. προσκαθημένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ύπεξιόντας άλωναι τους των Πεισιστρατιδών υίεις. Δν ληφθέντων όμολογίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων σωτηρία ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν 35 έν πένθ' ήμέραις εκκομισάμενοι, παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς ' Αθηναίοις ἐπὶ 'Αρπακτίδου ἄρχοντος, κατασχόντες τὴν τυραννίδα

28 θεccalon (K-W): Θετταλόν (K, H-L, B), Meisterhans p. 722. 29 προσ-32 -κλειcac κ, coll. οργισθέντες (K, K-W?, B): παρ- Naber (H-L) et K-W. Meisterhans, p. 282: -κλήσας (K-W, H-L, B). 34 επεξιοντας: ὑπεξιώντας Wyse **37** ΕΠΙΠΑΡΠΑΚΙΔΟΥ, έπὶ 'Αρπακτίδου (Κ, Κ-W, Β, έφ' 'Αρπ. (K-W, H-L, K⁸, B).

H-L).

Κινέαν] Hdt. I.c. Θεσσαλοί...απέπεμψαν...χιλίην τε ίππον και τον βασιλέα τον

σφέτερον Κινέην.

Κλεομένην—παριέναι] Hdt. v 64, μέζω στόλον στείλαντες άπέπεμψαν έπί τὰς 'Αθήνας, στρατηγών της στρατιής αποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα των Αναξανδρίδεω, ούκέτι κατά θάλασσαν στείλαντες άλλά κατ ήπειρου τοίσι έσβαλοῦσι ές την 'Αττικήν χώρην ή των Θεσσαλων ίππος πρώτη προσ-έμιξε και ού μετά πολλον έτράπετο. Arist. Lys. 1150-6.

κατακλείσαε-'Αθηναίων] Hdt. l. c. άμα

'Αθηναίων τοίσι βουλομένοισι είναι έλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκες τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργ-μένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.

Πελαργικόν τείχος] the ancient fortification surrounding the west end (if not the whole) of the Acropolis; it had nine gates, and was the chief fortress of Athens until the expulsion of the Peisistratidae. It was thereupon destroyed and its site was left unoccupied (Thuc. ii 17). Even in the second century A.D. the blocks of stone from its ruined walls were still to stone from its ruined waits were still to be seen (Lucian, Piscator 47). Cf. Bursian, Geogr.i 305 and Lolling in I. Müller's Handbuch, iii 337. Curtius insists on the literal sense of the passages describing it as surrounding the Acropolis, Hdt. vi 137, τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ποτε εληλαμένου, Dionys. Hal. i 28, Paus. i. 28, I Stationschichte pp. LXXVI. 17, and man 3 (Stadtgeschichte pp. LXXVI, 47, and map on p. 61). Cf. Holm, ii 341. After the

building of the wall of Cimon, the name was probably confined to the west end of the fortification (Judeich in Fleckeis.

γαλτό. 1890, p. 753 f.).

8 6. ὑπεξιόντας Hdt. ν 65, ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ έξω της χώρης οἱ παίδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ῆλωσαν. ὁμολογίαν κτλ.] εδ. παρέστησαν-ώστε εν πέντε ημέ-

κτλ.] ω. παρεστηρία — ωστε εν πεντε ημε-ρησι έκχωρῆσαι έκ τῆς 'Αττικῆς. ἐπὶ 'Αρπακτίδου ἄρχοντος] The expul-sion of the Peisistratidae belongs to the sion of the Peisistratidae belongs to the year 511/0 B.C., being placed by Thuc. vi 59 § 5 (παυθείς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ), in the fourth year of the sole rule of Hippias, which began in 514 B.C. It is also the fourth year before the archonship of Isagoras in B.C. 508/7 (21 § 1). The name of the archon is now known for the first time.

the first time.

When Thucydides (l.c.), as observed by Mr Kenyon, describes Hippias as fighting at Marathon 'in the 20th year' after his expulsion, he is using a round number, as the actual interval was 20 years and a few months. Mr E. S. Thompson (Class. Rev. vi 181) connects the Plataean alliance with the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, placing both events in B.C. 511/0. Hence, in Thuc. iii 68, where the fall of Plataea is put in the 93rd year after its alliance with Athens, Mr Thompson proposes to alter the 93rd into the 84th year.

38 μετά την του πατρός τελευτην έτη μάλιστα έπτακαίδεκα, τα δέ σύμπαντα σύν οίς ό πατήρ ήρξεν ένος δείν πεντήκοντα.

20. καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐστασίαζον πρὸς άλλ[ήλ]ους 'Ισαγόρας ὁ Τεισάνδρου, φίλος ὧν τῶν τυράννων, καὶ Κλεισθένης τοῦ γένους ῶν τῶν ᾿Αλκμεωνιδῶν. ἡττώμενος δὲ ταῖς έταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τὸν δημον, ἀποδιδούς τῷ 5 πλήθει την πολιτείαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγόρας ἐπιλειπόμενος τῆ δυνάμει 2 πάλιν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Κλεομένην, ὄντα ἐαυτῷ ξένον, συνέπεισεν έλαύνειν τὸ ἄγος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς 'Αλκμεωνίδας δοκείν είναι τῶν

39 δείν J E B Mayor, Sidgwick, K-W (K3): Δει hic et 27 § 2 (H-L, B). XX 2 ΤΙ ΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ. 3 ΑΛΚΜΕΟΝΙΔωΝ hic et v. 20. ΗΤΤ
ηττώμενος Blass coll. Hdt. v 66 (κ-w, H-L). 5 επιλειπομενος cf. 27 § 4, 34 § 3: ἀπολειπόμενος Richards, Kontos, H-L; ὑπο- Haskins. et ἡγηλάτει κ et H-L; ceterum cf. Jebb ad Soph. O. T. 402. HTTHMENOC (K): 5 επιλειπομένος (K, K-W, B), H-L; ὑπο- Haskins. 7—8 ἄγος

89 Schol. Arist. Vesp. 502...δοκεί δὲ ἡ τυραννὶς καταστήναι, ὧς φησιν Ἐρατσσθένης, έπὶ ἔτη $\bar{\nu}$ (50), τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς διαμαρτάνων, ᾿Αριστοτέλους (Bentley; legebatur ᾿Αριστοφάνους) μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἔν (per errorem pro ἐννέα scriptum) φήσαντος, Ἡροδότου δὲ (v 65) ἔξ καὶ τριάκοντα (Rose, Frag. 358^2 , 396^3).

έτη μάλιστα έπτακαίδεκα-ένδο δείν merrikorra] In Pol. viii (v) 12, 1315 b 31, the rule of the sons lasts 18 years, while from the beginning to the end of the rupards of the father is 33 years, thus giving a total of 51 years. The 49 years of the text include 'about 17 years' for the rule of the sons, added to the 33 years assigned to the father in c. 17 \$1. In Hdt. v 65 the actual ruparris of Peisistratus and his sons lasts for 36 years. It is probably by deducting from this number the 17 years here mentioned, that the writer gets 19 years as the duration of the actual rule of Peisistratus in 17 § 1.

The actual rule of Peisistratus in 17 § 1.

σνη Rare in Attic prose, except in Xenophon, its place being generally taken by μετὰ with gen. One of the special uses of σνη in Attic prose is to express numerical addition. According to Eucken, Sprachgebrauch des Ar., p. 29, the following are the only instances of σνη in the genuine writings of Aristotle. της following are the only instances of ordy in the genuine writings of Aristotle. Met. 1039 621, σύν τῆ δλη συνειλημμένος, 1044 6 15, ἐἀν δὲ προστεθῆ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐν μέσω γυνομένης, ὁ σύν τῷ αἰτίω λόγος οὖτος, 1058 ὁ 17, σὸν τῆ ὅλη οἰ λόγοι αὐτῶν. 1058 ο 17, συν τη θλη οι λόγοι αύτων. Μείεστ. 348 α 24, φερόμενα σύν ψόφω πολλώ. Hist. Ansim. 490 α 32, αὶ γὰρ καμπαὶ τέτταρες, ἢ δύο σύν τοῖς πτερυγίοις, 525 ὁ 15—17, πόδας δ' οὶ μὲν κάραβοι ἐφ΄ ἐκάτερα ἔχουσι πέντε σύν ταῖς ἐσχάται χηλαῖς: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οὶ καρκίνοι δέκα τοὺς πάντας σύν ταῖς χηλαῖς. De partib. anim. 683 b 3, ἐξάποδα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντ' ἐστὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀλτικοῖς μορίοις. It will be observed that in several of these exx. the numerical sense is prominent. In the spurious works near the time of Ar. there is no instance of σύν, but it occurs in those of much later date. In the most extensive of the works of Theophrastus it is only found thrice: Hist. Pl. ix 20, 4, Caus. Pl. ii 17, 8, v 6, 6 (Eucken, p. 30). δείν, not δεί, is the right form here, and

in c. 27, ένδι δεῦν πεντηκοστῷ έτει, as well as in Rhet. ii 14 fin. To make δεῦν stand for δέον is a barbarism (Kühner, Gr. Gr. 8 50, 11, p. 216 Blass) and cannot be defended on the analogy of πλεῦν ('more than') which is really for πλεῦν, not for πλέον. It is remarkable that this numerical expression (=undequinquaginta) has escaped lexicographers and grammarians (Mayor).

XX—XXII. The Constitution of

XX—XXII. The Constitution of Cleisthenes, XX § 1. ήττώμενος—δήμον] Hdt. v 66, (Κλεισθένης καὶ Ἰσαγόρης) ἐστασίασαν περί δυνάμισε, έσσούμενος δε ό Κλεισθένης του δήμον προσεταιρίζεται, ib. 69 fin. ην δε τον δήμον προσθέμενος πολλώ κατύπερθε των άντιστασιωτέων. (70) έν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ίσαγόρης άντιτεχνάται τάδε. On έταιρείαι cf. Pol. 1313 a 39 ff.
§ 2. ἐπικαλεσάμενος—ξένον] Hdt. ν 70,

έπικαλέεται Κλεομένεα...γενόμενον έωυτώ

. Baiver to dyos] Cf. c. 1.

3 έναγων. ύπεξελθόντος δε του Κλεισθένους μετ' όλίγων, ήγηλάτει των 'Αθηναίων έπτακοσίας οἰκίας ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος, τὴν μέν βουλήν έπειρατο καταλύειν, Ίσαγόραν δέ καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν 10 φίλων μετ' αὐτοῦ κυρίους καθιστάναι της πόλεως. της δὲ βουλης αντιστάσης και συναθροισθέντος του πλήθους, οι μέν περί τον Κλεομένην καλ Ίσαγόραν κατέφυγον είς την ἀκρόπολιν ό δε δημος δύο μεν ήμερας προσκαθεζόμενος επολιόρκει, τη δε τρίτη Κλεομένην μέν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους, Κλει- 15 4 σθένην δε καὶ τους ἄλλους φυγάδας μετεπέμψαντο. κατασχόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ πράγματα, Κλεισθένης ήγεμων ήν καὶ τοῦ δήμου προστάτης, αιτιώτατοι γάρ σχεδον έγένοντο της έκβολης των τυράννων οί 'Αλκμεωνίδαι, καὶ στασιάζοντες τὰ πολλά διέτελεσαν. ς έτι δε πρότερον των 'Αλκμεωνιδών Κήδων επέθετο τοις τυράννοις' 20 διὸ καὶ ήδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς σκολίοις.

> έγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου, εί χρή τοις άγαθοις άνδράσιν οινογοείν.

διά μέν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευεν ὁ δῆμος τῷ Κλεισθένει. τότε δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προεστηκώς, ἔτει τετάρτω μετά 2 την των τυράννων κατάλυσιν, ἐπὶ Ἰσαγόρου ἄρχοντος, πρώτον μέν

άγηλατεί B, coll. Hdt. v 72. 11 ΜΤΟΥ sc. μετα του. 15 ADIECAN: κλεισθένην (K-W, H-L, B); cf. 22 § 1, et Kühner, Gr. Gr. i **ἀφεῖσαν** (K-W, Β). 19 αντιστασιάζοντες H-L. πρός τούτους vel κατά τούτων desiderat Genp. 5123. nadios. 23 εί δη χρη αγαθοίς minus bene Athen. 695; εί δη χρη σ' αγαθοίς Bergk. .0.

XXI 1 ETTICTEYEN, cf. 35 § 3 Exalpor $\dot{\eta}$ Tális. existever $\ddot{\delta}$ diffus K, H-L, B: existever $\ddot{\delta}$ diffus Rutherford, Bury, K-W. 3 ex' H-L.

§ 3. ὑπεξιλθόντος] Hdt. v 72, Κλεομένης δε ώς πέμπων (κήρυκα) εξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα και τους έναγέας, Κλεισθένης μέν αύτος ύπεξέσχε. ήγηλάτει] ib. άγηλατέει έπτακόσια έπίστια Αθηναίων.

ταύτα δέ-- ύποσπόνδους] Hdt. v 72, ταθτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν έπειρατο, τριηκοσίοισι δε τοίσι Ίσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς άρχὰς ένεχείριζε. άντισταθείσης δε της βουλής και ου βου-λομένης πείθεσθαι δ τε Κλεομένης και δ Ίσαγόρης και οι στασιώται αυτοῦ καταλαμ-βάνουσι την άκρόπολιν. 'Αθηναίων δέ οι λοιποί τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο τη δὲ τρίτη ὑπόσπονδοι έξέρχονται έκ της χώρης δσοι ήσαν αυτών Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Isagoras withdrew with the Lacedaemonians (74); the rest of the Athenians who had taken his side were put to death (72 fin.).

μετεπέμψαντο] Hdt. v 73, Κλεισθένεα

καί τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ύπο Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι.

§ 4. τοῦ δήμου προστάτης] c. 2 § 2

ad fin.
§ 5. Ky8wv] Nothing else is known of this person. His endeavour to expel the tyrants was doubtless one of the unsuccessful attempts recorded in c. 19 in the

general phrase: del προσέπταιον.
και els τοῦτον] i.e. as well as the baffled heroes of Leipsydrium celebrated in the song recorded in c. 19, and quoted by Athenaeus immediately after this This juxtaposition seems to couplet. shew that both quotations were derived from this work.

XXI§1. Fra τετάρτψ...tπl Ισαγόρου άρχοντος] The fourth year after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae (511/0) corresponds to 508/7 B.C. The archonship of Isagoras is placed by Dionysius

συνένειμε πάντας είς δέκα φυλάς αντί των τεττάρων, αναμείξαι 5 βουλόμενος όπως μετάσγωσι πλείους της πολιτείας δθεν ελέγθη

4 OYNENEIME: συνένειμε Newman, Kontos, Gertz, H-L (K3 coll. 41 § 2, B); οὖν συνένειμε K-W, qui lacunam post ἀρχοντος indicatam ope Ar. Pol. 1275 b 36 explendam censent. διένειμε Wyse, ἀνένειμε Thompson. ἀναμεῖξαι K-W, H-L, K²; cf. 3 άναμείξαι K-W, H-L, K3; cf. 3 & 5 OUMMELES: ANAMIZAL.

Hal., Ant. Rom. i 74, in Ol. 68, 1= 508/7 B.C.; and his second mention of the same date, in v 1, shews that it was an

Olympic year.

The text implies that the reforms of Cleisthenes were subsequent to the expulsion of Isagoras and Cleomenes. pulsion of Isagoras and Cromscare, Cleisthenes begins by offering (\$\preceq\$\text{total}\text{d}\text{vol.}\text{dov}\text{o}\$, 20 \ \circ{8}{1}\$) the commons a share in the constitution; Isagoras appeals to Cleomenes for his assistance against Cleisthenes, and is defeated; thereupon Cleisthenes carries out his proposed reforms. Herodotus briefly mentions some of these reforms (v 66 and 69), and describes the calling in of Cleomenes as a counter-move on the part of Isagoras (70). Hence modern historians, e. g. Thirlwall, Grote, Curtius and Busolt, place the constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes before the calling in of Cleomenes. This appears improbable, for (as justly observed by Mr Kenyon) 'there was not time to have introduced such extensive constitutional changes before the Spartan invasion; a remark which had already been made by Sauppe, De Demis Urbanis, The evidence of Herodotus, when carefully examined, is partly in favour of the account in the text. He begins by describing Cl. as courting the aid of the commons (7dv δημον προσεταιρίζεται).
He then adds that it was afterwards (μετά δέ) that Cl. transformed the four tribes into ten. This part of his narrative is a digression, and the story is resumed in c. 69, ήν τε του δήμου προσθέμενος πολλώ κατύπερθε τών αντιστασιωτέων. In this view, I find myself in agreement with Lugebil, Philol. Suppl. Bd. iv 165. § 2. els Séka huds dvrl Twv теттирог

κτλ.] Hdt. v 66, μετά δὲ τετραφύλους έδντας 'Αθηναίους δεκαφύλους έποίησε κτλ. ib. 69, τας φυλάς μετωνόμασε και έποίησε πλεύνας έξ έλασσόνων ' δέκα τε δή φυλάρχους άντί τεσσέρων έποίησε, δέκα δε και τους δήμους κατένειμε ές τας φυλάς. In the Politics, Ar. alludes to these reforms as follows: iii 2, 1275 b 37, αλλ' ίσως έκεῦνο μαλλον έχει ἀπορίαν, δσοι μετέσχον μεταβολής YEVOLLENDS TO ALTELAS (Cf. LETATYWOL ... The πολιτείας), οΐον 'Αθήνησιν έποίησε Κλει-

σθένης μετά την των τυράννων εκβολήν·
πολλούς γάρ εφυλέτευσε ξένους και δούλους μετοίκους, i.e. enrolled (as citizens) in the tribes not only free-born foreigners but also slaves who by emancipation had already become μέτοικοι (cf. Gilbert, Gr. St. i 144; Hermann, Staatsalt. § 111, 18). The text, as it stands, makes no direct mention of these, though it incidentally names the νεοπολίται at the end of § 4. Cf. ib. vii (vi) 4, 1319 b 20, έτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, οἰς Κλεισθένης τε ᾿Αθήνησιν έχρήσατο βουλόμενος αύξησαι την δημοκρατίαν, και περί Κυρήνην οι τον δήμον καθιστάντες. φυλαί τε γαρ έτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους και φατρίαι, και τά των ίδιων ιερών συνακτέον είς όλιγα καί κοινά, και πάντα σοφιστέον δπως αν δτι μάλιστα άναμιχθωσι (cf. άναμείξαι) πάντες άλλήλοις, al δε συνήθειαι διαξευχθώσω al πρότεραι. See Grote, c. 31, ii p. 109—113; and inf. p. 83.
δθεν—βουλομένους] 'Hence the advice,

not to notice the tribe, which was tendered to those who would scrutinise (the lists of) the clans.' This is the interpretation suggested by Mr Kenyon who, in the course of an excellent note, observes that, as the $\phi \nu \lambda a l$, after the reforms of Cleisthenes, 'no longer bore any relation to the yen, it was useless to enter on an examination of the tribes for the purpose of reviewing the lists of the yen... number of persons were admitted to the new tribes who had not been members of the old, and these were not necessarily entered on the rolls of any of the $\gamma \in \eta$. Formerly, on any review of the citizenroll, it was no doubt usual to go through it tribe by tribe, following all the subdivisions of the old patriarchal system. Now, the tribe-roll had no relation to that of the yévy, and consequently those persons who wished to examine the latter would have nothing to do with distinctions of tribe.' In the words of Grote, c. 10, ii 273, 'the gentes had no connection, as such, with these new tribes, and the members of the same gens might belong to different demes'.

οί. 9] καὶ τὸ μὴ φυλοκρινεῖν, || πρὸς τους έξετάζειν τὰ γένη βουλομένους. 3 έπειτα την βουλήν πεντακοσί[ους] αντί τετρακοσίων κ[ατ]έστησεν, πεντήκοντα έξ έκάστης φυλής τότε δ' ή[σα]ν έκατόν. διά τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς δώ[δε]κα φυλὰς συνέταξεν, ὅπ[ως α]ὐτῷ μὴ συμβαίνη μερίζειν κατά τάς προϋπαρχούσας τριττῦς ήσαν γάρ έκ τεττάρων 10 φυλών δώδεκα τριττύες : ώστ' οὐ [συν]έπιπτεν < ἀν> ἀναμίσγεσθαι 4 τὸ πλήθος. διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δήμους τριάκοντα μέρη,

10 TIPOC corr. in Kata. $\tau e \tau \tau d \rho \omega \nu : \overline{\lambda}$. 11 On $\sigma u \nu \ell \pi \iota \pi \tau e \nu$ Richards (H-L); où $\sigma u \nu \ell \pi \iota \pi \tau e \nu$ Hude, K-W, K³, B. 11 OYC'ETTEITTEN? OUR dr

TESTIMONIA. 12-15 Michael Psellus περί των ονομάτων των δικών, p. 103 Boissonade, p. 1015 § 31 Migne, η δε τριττύς νεωτέρων δνομα παρά τοῖς Αθηναίως έστί. κλεισθένης γάρ τις, είς τριάκοντα μοίρας την 'Αττικήν άπασαν διανείμας, έπειδή τό μὲν αὐτῆς ἐπιθαλαττίδιον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐπι τοῦ μέσου καθήστο τῆς χώρας, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄστο συνέστρωτο, δέκα μὲν μοίρας τῆ παραλίψ συντέτευχε, δέκα δὲ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσόγειον, δέκα δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐποίησε· καὶ τὸ τριτημόριον τριττὺς ἀνόμαστο (attulerunt K-W).

φυλοκρινείν] 'to draw distinctions between tribes'. The word occurs in Thuc. νί 18 § 2, είγε ήσυχάζοιεν πάντες ή φυλοκρινοίεν of χρεών βοηθείν, where, like ταμιεύεσθαι in § 3, and στορέσωμεν in § 4, it is a vivid metaphor characteristic of the speaker, Alcibiades. Cf. Lucian, Abdicatus, 4, οὐκ ἐς βάθος ὁρώντων, οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς φυλοκρινούντων (Schol. διακρουόντων, δοκιμαζόντων περιέργως) τάς νόσους, and Phalaris alter, 9, φυλοκρυνεῖν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πεμπόμενα, ὅθεν καὶ ἀφ' ὅτου καὶ ὀποῖα (in all these passages there is a v. l. φιλοκρινεῖν). In late authors we also have φυλοκρίνησις, φυλοκρισητέον, and φυλοκρισητικόν (see L and S). Pollux, viii 110, after recounting the names of the Attic tribes, adds dro δε φυλών το φυλοκρινείν ωνομάσθη; and Suidas explains φυλοκρινεί by διακρίνει, καταδοκιμάζει περιέργως. Cf. Phrynichus, p. 71, 8 Bekk. An. φυλοκρινείν · κυρίως μέν τὸ τὰς φυλάς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διακρίνειν, σημαίνει δέ και τὸ άλλο τι διατάττειν και κατεξετάζει, quoted by Schmidt on Hesych. φυλ[λ]οκρινεύν. τάς ψυλ[λ]οκρινεύν. τάς φυλάς διακρίνειν.

άξετάζειν] Dem. 45 § 82, τὸν ἡμέτερον πατέρα έξήταζες ὅστις ἢν (of one who was once a slave). Cf. note on Dem. Lept.

§ 5. § 3. την βουλην] From this time forward the Solonian Council of 400 is superseded by that of 500, η των πεντακοσίων βουλή, or η βουλή οι πεντακόσιοι (Aeschin. Ctes. § 2) as it was sometimes called, to distinguish it from the Council of the Areopagus. The institution of the Council of the Five Hundred has always been attributed to Cleisthenes, in connexion with the introduction of the ten tribes; but this passage is probably the first express statement on the subject in any ancient author.

όπως—μή συμβαίνη] Inf. όπως—μετέ-χη, and Ινα μή...έξελέγχωσυ.

τριττύς] c. 8 § 3.
ού συνέπιπτεν άν—πλήθος] 'quod si fecisset, non contigisset ut multitudo mis-ceretur' Hude (placing noav—τριττύες in a parenthesis).

α parentiesis).
§ 4. διένειμε τριάκοντα μέρη] c. 30
§ 3, διανειμα...τέτταρα μέρη, Χεη. Суτορ.
νιι 5, 3, τὸ στράτευμα κατένειμε δώδεκα μέρη, Plato, Politicus, p. 283 D διέλωμεν αὐτην δύο μέρη (Kühner Gr. Gr. § 411,

6 c).
Cleisthenes divided the whole of Attica into 30 portions, each of them called a τριττύς. 10 of these were urban or suburban, 10 on the coast, and 10 in the interior. Each of the 10 tribes had three τριττῦς allotted to it, one from each of the above districts. Thus 'the tribe, as a whole, did not correspond with any continuous portion of the territory, nor could it have any peculiar local interest, separate from the entire community' (Grote). In this way the evils that had arisen during the previous century from the factions of the Shore, the Plain and the Mountain, were effectually counteracted.

The number of demes in each τριττύs is not known. From the passage in Hdt. v 69, δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλάs, 'Cleisthenes distributed the demes among the tribes by tens', it has been inferred that he 'at first recognised exactly

δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας, δέκα δὲ τῆς μεσογείου, καὶ ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριττῦς, ἐκλήρωσεν τρεῖς εἰς τὴν 15 φυλην έκάστην, δπως έκάστη μετέχη πάντων τῶν τόπων.

100 demes, distributed in equal proportion among his 10 tribes'. This is the view of Schömann (Ant. p. 365 E. T.). K. F. Hermann (Staatsalt. § 111, 12) held that this is what Herodotus meant to affirm, but he does not accept the account as true. Gilbert, Gr. St. i 142, notes that the existence of the Attic demes be-fore Cleisthenes is implied in [Plato], Hipparch. p. 228-9. He also quotes Herodian, περί μονήρους λέξεως, p. 17, 8, 'Αραφήν els τῶν ἐκατον ἡρώων. Αταρλεη, one of the Attic demes, is thus identical in name with one of the 100 κτίσται ἐπώνυμοι of the demes. He therefore accepts the statement of Herodotus. Others again (e.g. Corsini, Grote in his first ed., and Dietrich, de Clisthene, Halle, 1840, p. 32) connect δέκα with έs ταs φυλάs and contend that such a collocation is not uncommon in Herodotus. Madvig, Adv. Crit. i 305, strikes out déna de. Bake (Bibliotheca Critica iv 272) alters it into kal 84. Cf. Schömann, On Grote, § 6, and Ant. pp. 336, 366 E. T.

Even supposing that 100 demes were recognised by Cleisthenes, that number did not remain unaltered. Early in the 2nd century B.C. (in the time of Polemon, quoted by Strabo p. 396) the number was 174. The number known to us from inscriptions is 182, besides 8 doubtful cases (Hermann's Staatsalt. ed. 5, p. 797). Out of these 182, there are 14 duplicate names, such as 'upper' and 'lower Lamptrae'; so that the number of known names of demes is 168. Landwehr (Philologus, Suppl. v, 1889 p. 161—166) holds that 174 was the original number, and that this remained united. and that this remained unaltered. The number of τριττῦς was evidently constant and it may be fairly assumed that the demes belonging to each τριττύς were, as a general rule, contiguous. If there were 100 demes, each of the 30 τριττῦς would contain 3 or 4 demes, twenty of them containing only 3 demes each, and the remaining ten as many as 4, $(20 \times 3 + 10 \times 4 = 100)$. Dividing this number by 10 we get for each tribe 2×3+1×4 demes, distributed in such a way that each tribe has one τριττύς consisting of 4 demes, and 2 consisting of 3. In the case of each tribe, one of these τριττύς would be situated in or near the

capital, one near the coast, and one in the interior. The following scheme shows how it would be possible to distribute 100 demes among ten tribes while assigning ten trittyes of 3 or 4 demes each to each of the 3 districts:

	urban or suburban		the ·interior	
Erechtheis	4	3	3	
Aegeis	4	3	3	
Pandionis	4	3	3	
Leontis	3	4	3	
Acamantis	3	4	3	
Oeneis	3	4	3	
Cecropis	3	3	4	
Hippoöntis	3	3	4	
Aeantis	3	3	4	
Antiochis	_3	3	4	
	33	33	34	
	Total tree deme			

Out of the 160 demes in Smith's Dict. Geogr., 124 are assigned to certain tribes; no tribe has less than 10, though several have more; Acamantis, Hippothontis, and Leontis having as many as 15, 16 and 17

respectively.

Athens itself, with its immediate neighbourhood, was divided into several demes and those demes assigned to several tribes, as follows: Agryle (Erechtheis), Kollytus and Diomeia (Aegeis), Kydathenaeon (Pandionis), Scambonidae (Leontis), Cerameicus (Acamantis), Lakiadae (Oeneis), Melite (Acaropis), Ceiriadae (Hippothon-tis), Phaleron (Acantis), Colonus dyopaios (Antiochis?). The Peiraeus was assigned to the tribe Hippothontis. (Lolling in I. Müller's Handbuch, iii 306.) In the case of the demes in or near Athens it would be difficult for them to be contiguous with the other demes in the same TPITTÚS. It is not impossible that less than 3 demes may in some cases have constituted a TPITτύε. On the distribution of the demes among the tribes, cf. Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, i 110; Hug, Gemeinden und Bürgerrecht in Attika, 19; Milchhöfer, Erl. Text zu Curtius und Kaupert, Karten von Attika i 28, ii 39 n. 3 (Busolt,

ί 614, n. 5).
δπως έκαστη μετέχη πάντων τῶν τόπων] Pol. 1330 a 16, Ινα-άμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων πάντες μετέχωσω. Plat. Leg.

745 B-E (Newman).

δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐκάστω τῶν δήμων, ΐνα μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας, άλλα των δήμων αναγορεύωσιν δθεν και καλ οῦ σιν 'Αθηναίοι 5 σφας αὐτοὺς τῶν δήμων. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν έχοντας επιμέλειαν τοις πρότερον ναυκράροις και γάρ τους δήμους 20

18 προσαγορεύωσιν Richards.

 $\kappa \alpha l < \nu \hat{u} \nu > K-W.$

19—21 * Schol. Arist. Nub. 37 'Ap. δὲ περὶ Κλεισθένους φησὶ "κατέστησε καὶ δημάρχους—ἐποίησεν" (Rose, Frag. 397³, deerat in ed. 2). * Harp. ναυκραρικά:...'Αρ. δ' έν 'Αθ. πολ. φησὶ "κατέστησαν δὲ δημάρχους—ναυκράρους δημίους (δημαίους cod. A) ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκράρων ἐποίησαν" (359², 397²). * Harp. δήμαρχος:... τούτους δὲ φησιν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. ὑπὸ Κλεισθένους κατασταθήναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον ναυκράρους (ib.). Hesych. δήμαρχος: οὶ πρότερον καλούμενοι ναύκραροι...

δημότας δήμων] Under this arrangement every one originally belonged to the deme in which he lived. His descendants, whether they had property in the deme or not, continued to belong to the same deme. It was only through adoption that a member of one deme became a member of another, by being enrolled in the deme of his adoptive father

(Open. Leoch. §§ 22, 34; Schömann, Antiq. p. 367, E. T.).

[να μη - νοσπολίται] Many foreigners and resident aliens were added by Cleisthenes to the roll of citizens (Pol. 1275 b 37, quoted on p. 78). Such a newly enrolled citizen, if called by his father's name alone, would betray his foreign origin; but, by being designated by his deme, he lost the badge of his alien birth and was put on equal terms with the other members of the deme. татро-Gev] Xen. Oecon. vii 3, Pausan. vii 7 § 4.

Ελέγχωσιν] Dem. Eubul. 57 § 3, τοις
μέν έξελεγχομένοις ξένοις οὖσι χαλεπαίνειν,

and io. § 51.

των δήμων άναγορεύωσω] 'publicly (or officially) call them by their demes.' Cf. των δήμων Πιθεύς, των δήμων Θορίκιος (Plat. Euthyphro, 213, and Dem. 39 § 30), Lys. 23 § 2, οπόθεν δημοτεύοιτο. It may be inferred that before the time of Cleisthenes Athenians were not described by the name of their demes. 'In Athens, at least after the revolution of Kleisthenes, the gentile name was not employed: a the gentile name was not employed: a man was described by his own single name, followed first by the name of his father and next by that of the deme to which he belonged '(Grote c. 10, ii 274).

§ 5. κατάστησε - δημάρχους] Photius, s.v. μαυκραρία, quotes from this treatise (c. 8 § 3), φυλαί δὲ ἡσαν -- καθ' ἐκάστην. After this quotation should follow the words which here he mistake hear placed before

which have by mistake been placed before

it, viz.: Βστερον δέ από Κλεισθένους δήμοι είσι, και δήμαρχοι έκλήθησαν. At the close of his article he cites Cleidemus (ἐν τŷ τρίτη): ότι Κλεισθένους δέκα φυλάς ποιήσαντος άντι των τεσσάρων, συνέβη και els πεντήκοντα μέρη διαταγήναι · αύτο)ς (ταῦτα Müller) δε έκάλουν ναυκραρίας, ὢσπερ νῦν εἰς τὰ έκατὸν μέρη διαιρεθέντα (διαιρεθέντας Siebelis) καλούσι συμμορίας (FHG i 361). According to this view, the change in the number of tribes from four to ten involved a change in the number of vaukpaplau from 48 (12 × 4) to 50. If the normal number of demes recognised by Clei-sthenes was 100, it would follow from this that he combined every two demes into a raυκραρία (Schömann, Ant. p. 370 E.T.); or rather that he transferred the duties of each vauxpapla to a pair of contiguous demes. The importance of the Naucrariae naturally did not remain the same as it had formerly been, and we hear in particular that the business which had once belonged to the Naucrari now passed to the Demarchs (ib. p. 370, on the authority of quotations from this passage in Harpocration &c.).

In the passage above cited from Photius Mr P. Giles (English Historical Review, 1892, p. 331) proposes, instead of $\pi e \nu \tau \dot{\mu} e \eta$, i.e. N) $\mu \dot{e} \rho \eta$, to read $\tau \mu \dot{e} \sigma \tau \alpha$ (i.e. A) $\mu \dot{e} \rho \eta$, and to identify these $\mu \dot{e} \rho \eta$ with the $\tau \rho \iota \tau \tau \dot{\nu} \tau$. He also assumes that this sentence was followed by a clause referring to the $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu \omega$. He is doubtless justified in adding that this treatise gives no direct support to the view that the raukpapla consisted of two

The Peripatetic, Demetrius Phalereus (Müller, FHG, ii 363), ascribed the establishment of demarchs not to Cleisthenes but to of περί Σόλωνα (Newman).

ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν. προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν [τ]όπ[ων], τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων οὐ γὰρ ἄπαν23 τες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς 6

22 ἄπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι (κ, κ-w); εκ| pro ἔτι Berol. (β, qui etiam in papyro Londin. εκ legendum suspicatur; certe litteris valde obscuris ετι indicatur): ἄπασιν κτλ coniecit κ (J B Mayor); ἄπασιν ὑπῆρχεν ὁνόματα Bury (H·L); etiam ἄπαντες < οἱ κτίσαντες > ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις coniecerat Bury.

23 ΦΑΤΡΙΑC, idem habet corr. Berol.

προσηγόρευσε—κτισάντων]'He named some of the demes from their localities, and some from their founders.' Demes were already in existence before Cleisthenes; but they were now recognised as component parts in the new constitutional order, and had their names fixed by official sanction. Many of them had local designations derived either from natural features (Ποταμός, Κηφωσία, 'Επικηφωσία, Αειράδες, 'Αλιμοῦς), or places in their neighbourhood (Οἰον Δεκελεικόν, Οἰον Κεραμεικόν), or plants or trees that grew there (Μαραθών, 'Ραμιοῦς, Μυρρινοῦς, 'Αγενοῦς, 'Αχερδοῦς, 'Ιτέα, 'Ελαιοῦς, 'Ερίκεια, Θρία, Πρασίαι, Πτελέα, Φηγοῦς). Among other local designations may be mentioned Οἰνόη, Βῆσα, Λαμπτραί, 'Ελευσίς. Cf. Etym. Magn. s. v. 'Ελεεῖς:...., ἀπὸ τῶν τόπον, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τὸν αὐτοῖς χειροτεχνῶν, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τὸν οἰκησάντων (οἰκισάντων Leake) ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, and Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 586.

Other demes were named 'from their founders,' i.e. from one of the 'hundred heroes' or eponymous founders of the demes (Herodian, quoted on § 3). The names of these are collected by Sauppe, De Demis Urbanis, p. 4 ff.; but since many of them are obviously coined from the names of the demes, it is in these cases inaccurate to describe the demes as designated after their founders. Many of the demes were called after distinguished gentes who held property in them (e.g. Butadae, Thymaetadae, Cothocidae, Perithoedae, Semachidae, Scambonidae, Colleidae). There are as many as 30 such demes (25 of them are given in Grote, c. 10, ii 273 n.); and it has been suggested that all of these were constituted by Cleisthenes. 'It seems that Kleisthenes' (says Grote, l. c.) 'recognised a certain number of new demes to which he gave names derived from some important gens resident near the spot. It is thus that we are to explain the large number of Kleisthenean demes that bear patronymic names.' If, under Cleisthenes, the number of demes

was 100, it follows that before his time 70 demes were already in existence. (Cf. Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v. Demus.) 'The demes named after gentes are situated mainly in that part of the country which has been assigned to the Phyle of the Geleontes, and where accordingly the greater number of noble families and the most important of them lived' (Schömann, Ant. p. 366 n. E.T.). It is not impossible that Tŵr KTUTATTW IS meant to include the ancestors of these families as well as the 'eponymous heroes'; but the distinction is immaterial, as a deme might readily regard, as its eponymous hero, the founder of the family from which it derived its name.

ού γαρ τοις τόποις] 'for (from the time of Cleisthenes) the demes were no longer called in all cases from the localities' (understanding προσαγορευθέντες from προσηγόρευσε); i.e. they then ceased to be in every instance designated by 'local' names. These old 'local' names had often been derived from the villages or hamlets included within the limits of the deme as constituted by Cleisthenes. Many of these were superseded by gentile or patronymic or heroic names,-names derived άπὸ τῶν κτισάντων. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι is inconsistent in sense with υπηρχον, unless the latter is made to mean little more than $\eta \nu$. Possibly the sentence implies that (even in the time of Cl.) the demes had already lost their local designations, and had received names derived from persons instead. Cl. gave official recognition to both classes of names, local and personal. Poland translates as follows: Denn nicht alle Gaue entsprachen mehr den alten Namen der Örtlichkeiten, adding in a note, that, in naming the new demes, Cl. availed himself of the old names, but had often, for example, to break up an old deme into several divisions and thus create new names. Blass reads ev rois rowois, with the following interpretation: non omnes demi erant inter vicos qui iam exstabant; itaque multos ab heroibus appellavit.

ίερεωσύνας εἴασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνύμ[ους] ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγετῶν οῦς 25 ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα.

24 ΙΕΡωςγνάς (κ, H-L, B): Ιερεωσύνας κ-W, Meisterhans, p. 36⁸. 25 επωνγμογό Berol.; idem coniecerant J B Mayor, Richards: ἐπωνυμ[ίας] κ¹.

25-26 Etym. M. ἐπώνυμοι (locus infra exscriptus).

§ 6. rd 82 yern rdrpus] The parallel passage in the *Politics*, 1319 b 20, quoted on p. 78, implies that Cleisthenes increased the number of the phratries (and it was so understood by Buermann, Fahrb. f. kl. Phil. Suppl. Bd. ix 187 or sqq.). The text states that he one to remain in his forme was once held by Busolt (note 5, after Landwehr, Bd. v 168) that the refe tries in the passage in necessarily apply to rene, which is men' sage; and with th' agrees (Class. 1 Duncker, G. d however, has фратріві are Handbuch, that the r in the P princip tries niore chaodies th/ forms, ortions. nknown;

peen held to ony' with that aestion has been ment as to priesteconciled with the converted a number s into a few public. Newman, in Class. If we are compelled to would prefer the definite the text to the inference the less definite statement in i, not to mention the disturbing of the mention of Cyrene in that passage. The two statements may, however, be reconciled. I take the text to refer to those who were already citizens connected with existing yern and ppa-tplas. Cleisthenes allowed all these to continue as of old in their respective yeun and poarplas, with their religious

e than 12

institutions intact. Among these institutions would be (1) the sacrificial rites performed by the φυλοβασιλεῖs, who survived the change from four tribes into vived the change from four tribes into ten (8 § 3; 57 end); and (2) the here-ditary priesthoods such as those held by the Eumolpidae, Kerykes and Eteobutadae. Cf. Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 152, Sakkelion, (of the 30 γεννηταί) ων αί σύναι ἐκάστοις προσήκουσαι ἐκλητίος Εύμολπίδαι καί Κήρυκες καί Αλαι. ως ἰσταοεί ἐν τῆ Αθ. πολ. άδαι, ώς ίστορεί ἐν τῆ ᾿Δθ. πολ. έλης κτλ. (Rose, Frag. 3853) ontrast to the existing citizens were a number of other persons had hitherto not belonged to that y and therefore had no yen. These the veorodital of § 4. It was for nese that Cleisthenes provided new $\phi \rho \alpha$ rplas. At the same time he absorbed many of the minor local cults into public festivals held at Athens.

In Class. Rev. v 222 b, Mr W. R. Paton observes that the reomolina could not be received into the \(\gamma \text{inv} \), all the members of which were allied (or supposed to be allied) by blood; but he considers that they could be received into the phratries, each of which was a group of \(\gamma \text{inv} \) not claiming a blood-relationship with each other and therefore more elastic. He assumes that Cleisthenes did not increase the number of phratries; whereas it is not improbable that he did, and there is nothing in the present passage to prove that he did not.

sage to prove that he did not.

ταις δὶ φυλαις—δίκα] In Etym. Μ.,

ς. υ. ἐπώνυμοι, after mention of the ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἡλικιῶν (c. 53), we have, contrasted with these, οἱ δέκα ἀφ' ὧν αὶ φυλαὶ προσηγορεύθησων, οἰον Ἑρεχθεύς, Αἰγεύς, Πανδίων, Λεώς, 'Ακάμας, Οἰνεύς, Κέκροψ, 'ἱπποθόων, Αίας, 'ἀντίοχος' ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ὀνόματα ἀπὸ ρ' (=ἐκατόν, codices ἀπόροις) ὁ Πύθιος είλετο, Κλεισθένους οῦτω διαταξαμένου τὸ πῶν πλήθος εἰς δέκα φυλάς.

Cf. Lex. Dem. Patm., p. 15, Sakkelion (Bull. de corr. hellén. 1877), ...τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο χρήσωντος...τούτους γὰρ ἐξ ὀνομάτων ἐκατὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο, and Schol. Aristid. iii 331, 20 Dind. This is one of several instances in which the influence

22. τούτων δε γενομένων δημοτικωτέρα πολ[ῦ τῆς Σ]όλωνος εγένετο ή πολιτεία καὶ γὰρ συνέβη τοὺς μεν Σόλωνος νόμους αφανίσαι τὴν τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι, καινοὺς δ' ἄλλους θεῖναι τὸν Κλεισθένην στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους, εν οἶς ετέθη καὶ 5 ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ νόμος. πρώτον μεν οὖν ἔτει †πέμπτω † 2 μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν εφ' Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος τῆ βουλῆ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν, ὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀμνύ-

ΧΧΙΙ 3 κ(αι)Νογς? (και...Berol.), κ-w, κ³, Β: [ν δμ]ους Η·L. 4 κλεισθενη (κ, κ-w, H·L, Β). 5 + π εμπτψ +, απ δγδόψ? κ. 6 ερΜογ|κρεοντος (κ).

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. **ΧΧΙΙ 5—39** Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Frag. 611, 4^3): καὶ τὸν περὶ ὀστρακισμοῦ νόμον εἰσηγήσατο, δε ἐτέθη διὰ τοὺς τυραννιῶντας. καὶ ἄλλοι τε ώστρακισθησαν καὶ Ζάνθιππος καὶ ᾿Αριστείδης.

of the Alcmaeonidae with the oracle at Delphi was of important consequences to Athens.

dρχηγετών] The έπώνυμοι are themselves called άρχηγέται in Aristoph. Frag. 186 Dind. (παρά τους άρχηγέται), ap. Bekk. Anecd. i 449: άρχηγέται ήγεμόνες οι ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν.

XXII. Ostracism.

§ 1. στοχαζόμανον του πλήθους] Pol. vi (iv) 12, αν... όλιγαρχικούς τούς νόμους τιθή στοχάζεσθαι χρή των μέσων.

οστρακισμού] Our knowledge of the procedure in cases of ostracism is founded on a fragment of Philochorus 79 b (FHG i 396), in the Appendix to Photius, p. 1 300), in the Appendix to Pholius, p.
675 Porson: προχειροτονεί μέν ὁ δήμος
πρὸ τῆς ή πρυτανείας (see c. 43 § 5), εἰ
δοκεί τὸ δστρακον εἰσφέρειν' ὅτε δὲ δοκεί,
ἐφράσσετο σανίσιν ἡ άγορὰ καὶ κατελείποντο
εἴσοδοι δέκα, δι' ὧν εἰσιώντες κατὰ φυλὰς
ἐτίθεσαν τὰ ὅστρακα, στρέφοντες τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. ἐπεστάτουν δὲ οἱ τε ἐννέα ἄρχωντες
καὶ ἡ βουλή: διαμθυπθέντων δὲ ὅτια πλείστα και ή βουλή · διαριθμηθέντων δέ δτω πλείστα γένοιτο καί μη έλάττω έξακισχιλίων, τουτον έδει τὰ δίκαια δόντα και λαβόντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ιδίων συναλλαγμάτων ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις μεταστήναι της πόλεως έτη δέκα (υστερον δε έγενοντο πέντε) καρπούμενον τὰ ἐαυτοῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνοντα έντὸς Γεραιστοῦ (Dobree's correction of πέρα τοῦ) Εὐβοίας ἀκρωτηρίου μόνος δε Υπέρβολος έκ των άδόξων δοκεί έξοστρακισθήναι διά μοχθηρίαν τρόπων, ού δι ὑποψίαν τυραννίδος μετά τοῦτον δέ κατελύθη τὸ έθος, ἀρξάμενον νομοθετήσαντος Κλεισθένους, ότε τους τυράννους κατέλυσεν, δπως συνεκβάλη και τους φίλους αυτών. According to Ephorus and Theopompus the object of ostracism was to check δτεροχή (cf. Diod. xi 55, Nepos, Them. 8, Cimon 3; Plut. Arist. 7, Them. 22, Nic. 11, Alcib. 13). This opinion is shared by Ar. Pol. iii 13, 1284 a 17 and

36, and viii (v) 3, 1302 b 15. The checking of ὑπεροχή may well have been its original purpose, but in process of time it was made the means of preventing mischief arising from στάσεις by suppressing the leader of the opposition and leaving the majority free to carry out their wishes without hindrance. See Grote, c. 31; Busolt, i 620, and in Müller's Handbuch, iv 1, 121; Lugebil, Das Wesen und die historische Bedeutung des Ostrakismos in Athen, in Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. Suppl. Bd. iv, 119—175; Gilbert, Gr. Sl. i 446-6; Abbott's Hist. of Gr. i 481-3; and Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v.

des Ostrakismos in Athen, in Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. Suppl. Bd. iv, 119—175; Gilbert, Gr. St. i 446-6; Abbott's Hist. of Gr. i 481-3; and Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v.
§ 2. Fra whurve] The text, as it stands, implies 504/3 B.C., four years after the archonship of Isagoras, 508/7. But the archon of 504/3 is already known, Acestorides (Dionys. v 37), and not Hermocron. The year is the 12th before the battle of Marathon 490/489, and must therefore be 501/0, the archon of which year has not hitherto been known. It is just conceivable that the reforms of Cleisthenes may have taken three years to get into complete shape, but nothing is said to this effect in the text, and it seems therefore necessary (as suggested by Mr Kenyon) to alter the 5th year into the 8th (\$\epsilon\$ into \$\epsilon\$) in alter the 5th year into the 8th (\$\epsilon\$ into \$\epsilon\$).

TOIS TEVTAKOO'(OVE) So called to distinguish it from the Council of the Areopagus. The addition of these words is not inappropriate here, as the establishment of the Council of 500 was one of the recent reforms.

τον δρκον] Χεπ. Μεm. i 1 § 18, τον βουλευτικόν δρκον όμόσας, έν ῷ ἢν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσεω. Lys. 31 § 1, δμόσας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύσευν τῆ πόλει, ἔνεστί τε ἐν τῷ δρκῳ ἀποφαίνειν εἴ τίς τινα οἶδε

ουσιν' ἔπειτα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡροῦντο κατὰ φυλάς, έξ ἐκάστης <της> φυλης ένα, της δε άπάσης στρατιας ήγεμων ην ό πολέμαρχος. 3 έτει δε μετά ταῦτα δωδεκάτφ νικήσαντες τὴν εν Μαραθώνι μάχην 10 έπὶ Φαινίππου ἄρχοντος, διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο μετά την νίκην, θαρροῦντος ήδη τοῦ δήμου, τότε πρώτον έχρήσαντο τῷ νόμφ τῷ περί του οστρακισμόν, δς ετέθη διά την ύποψίαν των έν ταις δυνά-

8 ἐκάστης $<τ\hat{\eta}$ ς> φυλ $\hat{\eta}$ ς Β, $[...φυ]λ\hat{\eta}$ ς ἐκάστ[ης] Berol. 13 τοῦ δστρακισμοῦ K.W.

12-17 Harp. "Ιππαρχος (locus infra exscriptus).

τών λαχόντων άνεπιτήδειον όντα βουλεύειν. [Dem.] 59 § 4, δμωμοκώς τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τῷ δήμω τῶν 'Αθηναίων. In Solon's time the βουλή swore τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους έμπεδώσειν (Plut. Sol. 25).

The oath included a clause, οὐδὲ δήσω 1 he oath included a clause, over σησω 'Αθηναίων ούδένα, δε αν έγγυητας τρείς καθυστή το αύτο τέλος τελούντας, πλην έδυ τις έπὶ προδοσία τής πόλεως ή έπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνιών άλῷ, ή τέλος τι πριάμενος ή έγγυησάμενος ή έκλέγων μή καταβάλλη (Dem. 24 § 144). Arist. Thesm. 943, έδοξε τῆ βουλή σε δεῦν. Dem. ib. 148 refers the δρκος βουλευτικός to Solon. but it was the Areonagus that had Solon; but it was the Areopagus that had cognisance of high treason assigned to it by Solon (c. 8 § 4), and presumably did not lose it until B.C. 462/1 (c. 25 § 2). The statement that the oath in the times of Cleisthenes was the same as that in the times of the writer seems inconsistent with the account in c. 45, where we are told that the βουλή had meanwhile lost

the right of imprisoning, &c. (Wyse).

στρατηγούς ήροθυτο] Grote observes
that 'there were now created, for the first time, ten strategi or generals, one from each tribe... The ten generals, annually changed, are thus (like the ten tribes) a fruit of the Kleisthenean constitution' (c. 31, iii 116). Plut. Aristid. 5, των δέκα καθεστώτων τοις 'Αθηναίοις έπι τοιν πόλεμον στρατηγών. Them. 6 § 1, των 'Αθηναίων βουλευομένων περί στρατηyou, where mention is made of xeiporowia (Busolt, i 616, n. 3). Unless we are prepared to accept the 'Draconian constitution' of c. 4, there is no reason for departing from the ordinary view that the institution of the στρατηγοί dates from the time of Cleisthenes

της dwdoτης στρατίας ήγεμων πολέ-μαρχος] 'Even after the strategi had been created, under the Kleisthenean constitution, the polemarch still retained a joint right of command along with them
—as we are told at the battle of Marathon, where Kallimachus the polemarch not only enjoyed an equal vote in the council of war along with the ten strategi, but even occupied the post of honour on the right wing' (Hdt. vi 109—111; Grote, L.c.). In still closer accordance with the fresh evidence of the text, Busolt, i 616, observes: der Polemarchos zog nach wie vor an der Spitze des Heeres aus der Stadt.

§ 3. διαλιπόντες έτη δύο] i.e. in B.C. 488/7. Pol. 1299 a 37, τούς μέν διαλείπειν πολύν χρόνον, Hist. Anim. 523 a 8, δ. έν

θαρρούντος του δήμου. nexion here and elsewhere established (cc. 24, 27) 'between moments of elation and self-confidence at Athens and constitutional changes for the worse' may be compared with Isocr. Arcop. § 3 sqq. and Panath. § 133 (W. L. Newman, Class. Rev. v 161 a).

περί τον όστρ.] c. gen. in § 1. 'Ad significandam eam rem, de qua agitur ac disputatur, repl etiam c. acc. ita usurpatur ut ab usu praep. repl c. gen. non videatur discerni posse, veluti...Pol. 1300 a 8, 9; 1322 b 30, 31, 1286 b 34 et 1287 a 1; Rhet.
1414 a 28, 1418 a 2' Ind. Ar.
erion Sul the unoplay— Інпархов

Χάρμου] Archon in 496/5. Harpocr. s. v. Τππαρχος...άλλος δέ έστιν Ίππαρχος δ Χάρμου, ως φησι Λυκοθργος έν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους (§ 117, Ίππαρχον τον Τιμάρχου, who, in his absence, was condemned to death for mpodocia; nothing else is known of him and it is not impossible that Τιμάρχου in Lycurgus may be a mistake for Χάρμου)· περί δε τούτου 'Ανδροτίων έν τη β' (frag. 5) φησίν δτι συγγενής μέν ήν Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τυράννου και πρώτος εξωστρακίσθη τοῦ περί τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν νόμου τότε πρώτον τεθέντος διά την ὑποψίαν τών περί Πεισίστρατον, ότι δημαγωγός ων και στρατηγός έτυράννησεν.

It will be observed that language

almost identical with the text is quoted

μεσιν, ὅτι Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς τύραννος 15 κατέστη καὶ πρώτος ἀστρακίσθη τών ἐκείνου συγγενών Ίππαρχος 4 Χάρμου Κολλυτεύς, δι' δυ καὶ μάλιστα του νόμου έθηκευ ὁ Κλεισθένης, έξελάσαι βουλόμενος αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ ᾿Αθηναῖοι τοὺς τῶν τυράννων φίλους, όσοι μη συνεξημάρτανον εν ταις ταραχαις, είων οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, χρώμενοι τῆ εἰωθυία τοῦ δήμου πραότητι ὧν 20 ήγεμών και προστάτης ήν "Ιππαρχος. εὐθύς δὲ τῷ ύστέρῳ ἔτει 5 ἐ $m{\pi}$ ὶ \mathbf{T} ελεσίνου ἄρχοντος ἐκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατ \hat{a}

14 ΟΤ€: ὅτι (K, H-L, B); ὁ γὰρ K-W. 16 κολγττέγο. 18 CYNEZ-AMAPTANON: συνεξημάρτανον Κ, Κ-W1, Β; συνεξαμαρτάνοιεν Poste (H-L, et omisso έν K-W2). 19 πραστητί (K); cf. 16, 5 et 35. **20** ΥCΤΕΡω1: δστερον K-W, B; cf. 34 § 2.

by Harpocration from the $\Lambda \tau \theta i$ s of Androtion. The historian of that name is almost certainly identical with the orator attacked in Dem. κατὰ ᾿Ανδροτίωνος, in 355 B.C. He had then been a prominent politician for 30 years (Dem. 1. c. § 66). The authorities in favour of this identification are Westermann, and Arnold Schaefer; against it are Ruhnken, Dindorf and C. Müller (FHG, i p. lxxxiii) and recently M. Weil, *Journal des Savants*, 1891, p. 203. All the extant quotations from the 'Aτθls (except the present) 'just cover the period of Androtion's political career, and a few more years which he may have passed in exile: the latest event noticed is the $\delta na\psi \hbar\phi \omega s$. in B.C. 346-5. He probably left Athens soon after B.C. 355, retired to Megara, and there wrote his $\lambda \tau \theta s$ in the enforced leisure of banishment, Plut. de exil. 14, p. 605 c, (συνέγραψεν) 'Ανδροτίων 'Αθηναίος έν Μεγάροις (Wayte, Dem. Androt. p. xlix, l). If the present work was written about 325 B.C., the passage in the text may well have been borrowed from Androtion, who was probably no longer alive at the time. If he began public life at 30, he must have been born in B.C. 415 (355+30+30) and, if alive, would have been 90 at the date assumed for the present work. for the present work.

δημαγωγός] Pol. 1305 a 7, έπι δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς ὅτμαγωγὸς καί στρατηγός, είς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον· σχεδον γάρ οι πλείστοι των άρχαιων τυράννων έκ δημαγωγών γεγόνασω, and (on Peisistratus in particular) ib. 1310 b 27; Isocr. Panath. 148; Dio Chrys. i 303, 13 D.

§ 4. πρώτος ώστρακίσθη κτλ.] Plut. Nic. 11, πρώτος δ' (έξωστρακίσθη) Ίππαρ-χος ὁ Χολαργεύς (probably a mistake for

Κολλυτεύς, or for Χάρμου) συγγενής τις ῶν τοῦ τυράννου. According to Cleitodemus, ap. Athen. 600 c, Hippias had married a daughter of Charmus.

τῆ εἰωθυία τοῦ δήμου πραότητι] Dem.
Τίπος». 51, ὁ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον...θείς ήδει

την φιλανθρωπίαν και πραότητα την υμετέ-It may be doubted whether any such praise as that of πραότης is ever ascribed to the onus in the extant works of Ar.

§ 5. τῷ ὑστέρφ ἔτει] In 34 § 2 we have τῷ ὕστερον ἔτει. In 42 § 4 τὸν ὕστερον (ἐνιαυτὸν) is contrasted with τὸν πρῶτον

and the former is found in 45 § 3.

ent Televivou apxovros] The last date mentioned having been 488 B.C. (i.e. 'two years after Marathon'), the archonship of T. may be placed in 487/6. The only years after B.C. 496 (down to 292) for which the archons are not already known are 487 and 486. 482 may be assigned to Themistocles, and 481 to Hypsichides (c. 22 end). έκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κτλ.] Under the Solonian constitution (c. 8) the

archons had been appointed by lot out of forty candidates nominated by the four tribes. From the close of the ruparris the archons had been elected (of de mpórepos πάντες ήσαν alperol), by whom we do not know, possibly (as Mr Kenyon suggests) by the ἐκκλησία. The general principle of the Solonian system was now revived by introducing a combination of selection and sortition.

The successive changes in the method of election to this office (as summed up by Mr Kenyon) were as follows: (1) the archons were originally nominated by the Council of the Areopagus, c. 8 § 2; (2) under the 'Draconian constitution' they were elected by the general body of

φυλάς, εκ των προκριθέντων ύπο των δημοτών πεντακοσίων, τότε μετά την τυραννίδα πρώτον, (οί δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ήσαν αίρετοί): 6 καὶ ωστρακίσθη Μεγακλής Ἱπποκράτους ᾿Αλωπεκήθεν. ἐπὶ μέν 24

22 των δημοτών πεντακοσίων (Κ, Κ-W, Β): τοῦ δήμου ἐκ των πεντακοσιομεδίμνων W Headlam, τοῦ δήμου πεντακοσιομεδίμνων H-L. TOIC (MENTERGIEIROGTE ETEL Weil): τότε Blass, K-W, H-L, K3.

citizens (c. 4 § 2); (3) under the Solonian constitution, they were in ordinary course appointed by lot from forty candidates selected by the four tribes (c. 8 § 1); (4) under the rupards this system was perhaps practically in abeyance, though appointment by lot (Peisistratus, son of Hippias was archon, Thuc. vi 54, and there was always one of the ruling house holding office); (5) under the constitution of Cleisthenes they were elected by the ecclesia (of δε πρότεροι πάρτε ήσαν αl-ρετοί); (6) from 487 B.C. they were appointed by lot from 100 (or 500) candidates selected by the tribes; (7) subscuently from an uncertain date down to quently, from an uncertain date down to the time of the writer, the lot was applied to the preliminary nomination by the tribes as well as to the actual appointment (c. 8 § 1).

As appointment to the archonship by lot was apparently done away with by Cleisthenes in 508, and was re-introduced in 487, it follows that the archons in 490 were not appointed by lot, and that Herodotus was therefore mistaken in describing the polemarch of that year as δ τῶ κυάμω λαχών (vi 109). This had scribing the polemarch of that year as o τψ κυάμω λαχών (vi 109). This had already been maintained by Grote (c. 31, iii 126), Busolt (ii 338) and others, and their opinion is now found to be correct. Cf. Lugebil in Jahrb. f. class. Philol., Suppl. Bd. v 564—699; Holm, Gr. Gesch. ii 140. note 18.

Aristides was archon in 489 when the office was still elective, yet Demetrius Phal. makes him archon in 478, and, consistently with this, describes him as κυάμω λαχών (Plut. Arist. 1, 5). On the other hand, Idomeneus (fl. B. C. 310— 270), having in view the archonship of 489, as it appears correctly, speaks of him as having held office ου κυαμευτου άλλ' ελομένων 'Αθηναίων. It was Aristides who, shortly after the battle of Plataea, carried a proposal that they should thenceforth choose (αιρείσθαι) the άρχοντες (in the widest sense of the term) from all the Athenians alike. Duncker, G. d. A. vi 503, holds that it was on this occasion that appointment by lot was introduced: before it, we find the office of archon filled by leading statesmen; not so, afterwards. He also holds that the reforms of Cleisthenes did not touch the method

of appointing the archons.

There is a difficulty as to the persons by whom the preliminary selection was made. The text, as it stands in the MS, speaks of them as 500 selected by the members of the demes. The practice down to the writer's time was for each tribe to nominate ten by lot, or 100 in all (c. 8). Now if each tribe ever nominated 50, it is improbable that its privilege would be reduced to that of nominating 10. Hence Mr Kenyon proposes to alter

500 (ϕ') into 100 (ρ').

'It seems possible that Demetrius Phal. accepted this date (B.C. 487) for the introduction of the lot: he placed the archonship of Aristides the year after Plataea (Plut. Arist. c. 1 and 5) and spoke of ή έπώνυμος άρχη ήν ήρξε τῷ κυάμφ λαχών έκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων οὖς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον (ib. c. 1): the admission of laweis then, according to Demetrius, is after 478. We see now that there is not necessarily any conflict between Idomeneus of Lampsacus and Demetrius, except as to the year when Aristides was archon Idomeneus, like Plutarch, may have assigned Aristides to the year after Marathon (ib. c. 5): in which case his statement (ib. c. 1 ἄρξαι γε τὸν ᾿Αριστείδην οὐ κυαμευτὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἐλομένων ᾿Αθηναίων) agrees with the ᾿Αθ. Πολ. ˙ (Wyse).

Meyanhîs] son of Hippocrates (Hdt. vi 131), grandson of Megacles (the opponent of Peisistratus c. 14 and 15), and nephew of Cleisthenes. Through his sister, Agariste, he was the uncle of Peri-cles. There was another Megacles in the same generation (victor in the Pythian games, Pind. Pyth. vii 15), a son of Cleisthenes, and grandfather of Alcibiades. The ostracism of this second Megacles is mentioned in Lysias, Alc. 14 § 39. According to Pindar (l. c.) the house of Megacles was subject to φθόνος on account

of its εὐπραγία.

It is remarkable that an institution

25 οὖν ἔτη τρία τοὺς τῶν τυράννων φίλους ἀστράκιζον, ὧν χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις δοκοίη μείζων εἶναι μεθίστατο· καὶ πρῶτος ἀστρακίσθη τῶν ἄπωθεν τῆς τυραννίδος Ξάνθιππος ὁ ᾿Αρίφρονος. ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ 7

27 ΜΕΘΙCΤΑΤΟ: μεθίστατο Β, -ίσταντο ceteri.

founded by Cleisthenes should have thus been brought into play against his son and his nephew. According to Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii 24, Cleisthenes himself was ostracised, but of this there is no proof. As to the ostracism of the nephew there is no doubt. Even one of the pieces of pottery used in voting on the question has been found. It bears the name of Meyakhîs ['Ιππο]κράτους 'Αλωπεκῆθεν (published in Benndorf's Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder p. 50, pl. 20, no. 10). It is a fragment of black-glazed ware, apparently cut into a circular form for the purpose. It was discovered in the pre-Persian stratum to the E. of the Parthenon (Class. Rev. v 278 a). CIA iv 3 no. 569.

no. 569.

§ 6. *τη τρία] Mr Kenyon holds that the three years are B.C. 489—87, i.e. the two after the battle of Marathon and the year in which Hipparchus son of Charmus was ostracised; but, unless we press the meaning of the imperfect ἀστράκιζον, and apply it to the purpose and desire of the people, rather than to their acts, it seems better to consider the period of three years to begin with that in which Hipparchus was banished, i.e. 488/7. Thus the three years would be B.C. 488/7, 487/6 and 486/5. Then the ostracism of Xanthippus, τῶτετάρτω ἔτει, would be in 485/4 and 'the third year after this,' 483/2, the archonship of Nicodemus, which is in accordance with the chronology adopted in Clinton's Fasti. ἐν τούτοις τοῦς καιροῖς (i.e. not necessarily under Nicodemus, but in the previous year 484/3) Aristides was banished; and, in the 'tourth year after,' he was recalled, 481/0 (Bauer, p. 59).

481/ο (Bauer, p. 59).

τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει] 485/4.

εἴ τει δοκοίη μεζων εἶναι] Pol. 1302

δ 15, στάσιε arises ὅταν τιε ἢ τἢ δυνάμει
μεζων, and the correction of this (says
Ar.) was the object of ostracism.

Απ.) was the object of obstaclish.

απωθαν τῆς τυραννίδος] Pol. ii 3, 1262

α 29, ὧν οὐδὲν δσιόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς
πατέρας καὶ μητέρας καὶ τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς
συγγενείας δντας, ὧσπερ πρὸς τοὺς άπωθεν (distant in relationship), iii 9, 1280

δ 9, γίνεται γὰρ ἡ κουωνία συμμαχία τῶν

αλλων τόπω διαφέρουσα μόνον τῶν ἀπωθεν συμμαχιῶν (alliances, of which the members live apart), ib. 18, εἴ τυνει οἰκοῖεν χωρίς μέν, μὴ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἄπωθεν (so far off) ώστε μὴ κουνωνεῦν. 'οἱ ἄπωθεν, syn. οἱ ἀγνῶτες, opp. οἱ γνώριμοι, οἱ συνήθεις, οἱ συγήνενεῖς.' Rhet. i 11, 1371 a 12 οἱ συνήθεις καὶ οἱ πολίται (μᾶλλων) τῶν ἀπωθεν: c. gen. in Thuc. iii 111 § 1, ἀποθεν τῆς "Ολπης, Aristoph. Plut. 674 ἀπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς.

αποθεν της κεφαλής.

βάνθιπτος δ' Αρφορους] During the excavations on the Acropolis in 1886, a fragment of a late black-figured wase was found in the pre-Persian stratum E. of the Parthenon, with the following inscription clearly incised upon it.

XSAN®IPPOS ARRIMPONOS

The fragment was published by Studniczka, Arch. Jahrb. 1887, p. 161, who observed that the position in which it was found proved that the ostracism of Xanthippus took place before B.C. 480 (Class. Rev. v 277 b). CIA iv 3, 568. In March, 1891, after the first publication of this treatise, another fragment was found at Athens in the $\delta\delta\delta s$ $\Pi espa \hat{\omega} s$ with the first five or six letters of the father's name written (with the double ρ) above that of

whiten (with the double p) above that of the son (CIA iv 3, 571).

Xanthippus impeached Miltiades in 490/89 (Hdt. vi 136; Grote, c. 36, iii 312). The present passage shews that his ostracism falls in 485/4, before that of Aristides (484/3). Of its causes we know nothing; but it is natural to suppose that the friends of Miltiades had something to do with it. In 480 Xanthippus left Athens with the other inhabitants at the approach of Xerxes: Plutarch, Them. 10, tells the story of his dog, which could not endure to be left behind on this occasion. Xanthippus was the archon of 479 (Diod. xi 27). He commanded the Athenians at Mycale (479, Hdt. ix 114) and at the siege of Sestos (ix 121). By Agariste, daughter of Hippocrates, and sister of the Megacles mentioned above, he became the father

μετά ταῦτα Νικοδήμου ἄρχοντος, ώς ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν 29

29 ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥC (Κ-W, H-L, Β): Ν(ΙΚΟ)ΔΗΜΟ(Υ) Berol. et Dion. Hal. viii 83 (Κ). εφανη: an dπεγράφη? Wyse (Class. Rev. v 112); <λυσιτελεστέρα> έφάνη Richards (ib. 226).

of Pericles (Hdt. vi 131) and Ariphron (Plut. Alc. 1, Plat. Protag. 320). The elder of the two legitimate sons of Pericles was named after his grandfather, Xanthingus (Plut. Per. 24, 26)

was named after in grandatier, Aanthippus (Plut. Per. 24, 36).
§ 7. Fra...τρίτω after 486, would bring us to 484/3 for the archonship of Nicodemus. It was êr τούτοις τοῦς καιροῦς that Aristides was ostracised, and in 481/0 all the citizens who had been ostracised were recalled διὰ τὴν ἔξερξου στρατείαν (§ 8). But Nicodemus, according to Dionysius Hal. viii 83, p. 1711 Reiske, was archon in the consulship of L. Aemilius Mamercus and K. Fabius, 270 A.U.C. (Cato). In Baiter's Fasti Consulares this is identified as A.U.C. 269=B.C. 484. This would support Mr Kenyon's view. See, however, note on § 6, êτη τρία.

Nικομήδους is the reading in the papyrus; N(ικο)ΔΗΜΟ(ν) that of the Berlin fragment, and similarly in Dionysius. Mr Kenyon, perhaps rightly, holds that, in this conflict between the two MsS, 'the authority of Dionysius may turn the scale.'

The name Νικομήδης ('victor in counsel') is formed from μήδομαι on the analogy of 'Αγαμήδης, 'Αλμήδης, 'Αμφιμήδης, 'Αρφιμήδης, 'Αρφιμήδης, 'Αρφιμήδης, 'Αρφιμήδης, 'Αστομήδης, 'Αστομήδης, Κουριήδης, Θεομήδης, Θεομήδης, Καλλιμήδης, Κλει(= Κλεο)μήδης, Κλυτομήδης, Ααρμήδης, Νουμήδης, Νουμήδης, 'Οναστι(i.e. 'Ονασι-)μήδης, ΙΙαλαμήδης, Περιμήδης and Πολυμήδης (Pape-Benseler, Είχεππαπεη, p. xxx). It cannot be interpreted as 'conqueror of the Medes,' which would be Μηδόνικοι. Similarly, the alternative name Νικόδημος means 'with victorious army or people' ib. s. v.

alternative name Νικόσημος means 'with victorious army or people' ib. s. v.

ός ξφάνη τα μέταλλα κτλ.] Hdt. vii
144, 'λθηναιους γενομένων χρημάτων
μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων
σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλων
λάξεσθαι ὁρχηδὸν ἔκαστος δέκα δραχμάς.
τότε θεμιστοκλής ἀνέγνωσε 'λθηναίους τῆς
διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων
τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν πόλεμος,
τὸν πρὸς λίγωτητας λέγων. (Plut. Them. 4,
τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἐχώντων 'λθηναίων
διανέμεσθαι κτλ.) This account, esp. the
word παυσαμένους, implies that the revenue
for the mines had hitherto been distributed
among the people (to the extent of 10
drachmas a head).

έφάνη can only mean 'were discovered,' which may possibly be supported by ευρέθη in Bekker's Anecdola, p. 279, Μαρώνεια: τόπος ην της 'Αττικής, όπου τὰ μέταλλα ευρέθη. The mention of the revenue of 100 talents from the works comes somewhat suddenly after the first announcement of the discovery of the mines, and possibly some other word was really written by the author. The author of the tract περί πόρων implies that they were of immemorial antiquity, but there are indications that they had only recently come into prominence. Aeschylus in the Persae, 238, the dramatic date of which is 480 B.C., makes the chorus answer an enquiry of the wife of Darius as to the wealth of Athens by the reply αργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονὸς. 'At what time they first began to be worked,' says Grote (c. 39, iii 406), 'we have no information; but it seems hardly possible that they could have been worked with any spirit or profitable result, until after the expulsion of Hippias and the establishment of the democratic constitution of Kleisthenes.' It is quite conceivable that a very recent discovery of a very productive mine at one particular place, Maroneia, may have given a new importance to the question of the best, disposal of the revenue.—It has even been suggested that the mines had originally belonged to Aegina and had been wrested from her by Athens (Mahaffy, Rambles and Studies in Greece, p. 163); but neither the text nor the parallel passages in Hdt. and Plut. lend any support to this. The Athenians had to rely on the revenue from the mines to make way against the Aegine-

ra to Mapowela] 'The mining district, besides the demi Anaphlystus, Besa, Amphitrope, and Thoricus, contained several places which were not demi, as Laureium, Thrasyllum [επὶ θρασύλλφ, Dem. 37 § 25, Aeschin. 1 § 101], Maroneia, Aulon [Aeschin. λ. c.]' (Leake's Demi, p. 274). Laurium may have been the general term for the district, derived from its numerous shafts and tunnels, λαθραι, lit. 'narrow passages'. Maroneia may perhaps be identified with some ruins five miles N. of Sunium. In Dem. Pant. 37 § 4, Nicobulus and his partner Euergus

30 Μαρωνεία καὶ περιεγένετο τῆ πόλει τάλαντα έκατὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, συμβουλευόντων τινών τω δήμω διανείμασθαι το αργύριον, Θεμι-

30—31 [περιεγένετο] | έκ τ[ῶν ἔργων] (vel π. τοῖς | κεκτη[μένοις]) έκατ[ὸν τάλαντα, συμβουλευ]|ὑντων τ[ινῶν] τῷ πό[λει διανείμασθαι τὸ ἀρ]|γύριον Berol.

30 Bekk. An. p. 279 Μαρώνεια: τόπος ην της 'Αττικής, όπου τὰ μέταλλα εὐρέθη. Harp. s. v.: (Dem. Pant. \S 4), τόπος έστι της 'Αττικής.

allege that they lent to Pantaenetus 105 minae, έπ' έργαστηρίω τε έν τοις έργοις έν Μαρωνεία και τριάκοντα ανδραπόδοις. On the silver mines of Laurium, see Boeckh's Dissertation, pp. 615-678, printed as Appendix to Boeckh's Public Economy, trans. Lewis; K. F. Hermann, Privatalt. § 14, 17; Büchsenschütz, Besitz und

Ετωετό, pp. 98—103; Select Private Orations of Dem. ed. 2, ii p. 89.
τάλαντα έκατόν κτλ.] Polyaenus, i 30 § 6 (5), Θεμιστοκλής έν τῷ πρὸς Αίγωήτας πολέμφ μελλόντων 'Αθηναίων τὴν ἐκ τῷν άργυρίων πρόσοδον, έκατὸν τάλαντα, δια-νέμεσθαι, κωλύσας έπεισεν έκατὸν άνδράσι τοις πλουσιωτάτοις έκάστω δούναι τάλαντον κάν μὲν ἀρέση τὸ πραχθησόμενον, τἢ πόλει τὸ ἀνάλωμα λογισθήναι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀρέση, τοὺς λαβόντας ἀποδοῦναι. ταῦτα μὲν έδοξεν. οι δε έκατον άνδρες έκαστος μίαν τριήρη κατέστησαν, σπουδή χρησάμενοι κάλλους και τάχους. 'Αθηναίοι καινόν στόλον ποιήσαντες ήσθησαν, και οὐ μόνον κατά Δίγινητών ταις τριήρεσι ταύταις, άλλά και κατά Περσών έχρησαντο.

In Hdt. vii 144 the amount available for distribution is stated as 10 drachmas a head. Elsewhere (in v 97) Hdt. reckons the citizens at 30,000. This gives us 50 talents for distribution. He also speaks of 200 ships. But 50 talents is far too small a sum for a fleet, even if only 100 ships were built at the cost of only one talent each. It has accordingly been suggested that Hdt. founded his calculation on the diminished returns of the mines at a later date, about 430 B.C. (Stein ad loc.). Boeckh considers that the population was probably 20,000 at the time meant by the historian. The amount to be distributed, at 10 dr. a head, would in that case be 200,000 dr.

= 33\frac{1}{2} talents.

It was Boeckh's opinion that all the public money arising from the mines was (annually) divided among the members of the community (Dissertation, § 8, p. 652 Lewis ed. 2). Grote himself held that the sum for distribution only formed 'part of a larger sum lying in the treasury, arising from the mines. Themistokles persuaded the people to employ the whole sum in

ship-building, which of course implied that the distribution was to be renounced. Whether there had been distributions of a similar kind in former years...is a matter on which we have no evidence' (c. 39, iii 407 n.). The evidence of the text supports Grote's view. The date of the building of the fleet is discussed by Busolt, ii 123 f., but the text was then represented by the Berlin fragment only.

Θεμωτοκλής was evidently not in the position of archon *eponymus* in the year of the proposal to distribute the revenue from the silver mines. The archon of from the silver mines. In a archon of that year was Nicodemus (483/2). He was in office, however, at the time when he proposed the fortification of the Peiraeus, Thuc. i 93 § 2, ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ῆς κατ' ἐνιαντὸν 'Αθηναίοις ἦρξεν, and he may have been archon eponymus at that time. The archon for 481/0 is Hypsichides (infra § 8). We may therefore place the archonship of Themistocles in 482/1.

Dionysius Hal., Ant. Rom. vi 34, p. 1117 R, makes Themistocles archon in 493 B.C., but (as Mr Kenyon shews) this is very improbable.

The chronology suggested by Bauer is

as follows: according to Plutarch (*Them.* 31 and *Cim.* 18) Themistocles died at the age of 65 at the time of Cimon's expedition against Cyprus (448/7). This would give us 513 for his birth. He would be 30 in 483/2, and this was the year in which he brought about the formation of a fleet. His archonship should probably be placed in 482/1, a year that is not yet filled by any name. This is supported by the scholiast on Thuc. πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηθικῶν ἡρξεν Θ. ἐνιαυτὸν ἔνα. Hdt. vii 143 describes him as drhp es πρώτους νεωστί παρών, which is unfavourable to placing his archonship as far back as 403: reworl is more likely to denote an interval of two, than of 13 years. The Themistocles of 493 (Dionysius) would in this case be another of the same name. But there is more probability in Mr Kenyon's second

alternative, that Dionysius has simply In 480/79 he was στρατηγός of the

made a mistake.

στοκλής ἐκώλυσεν, οὐ λέγων ὅ τι χρήσεται τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ δανεῖσαι κελεύων τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις ᾿Αθηναίων ἑκατὸν ἑκάστω τάλαντον, εἰτ᾽ ἐὰν μὲν ἀρέσκη τὸ ἀνάλωμα, τῆς πόλεως εἰναι τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ δὲ μή, κομίσασθαι τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δανεισα- 35 μένων. λαβὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐνα[υ]πηγήσατο τριήρεις ἐκατόν, ἐκάστου ναυπηγουμένου τῶν ἐκατὸν μίαν, αἰς ἐναυμάχησαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀστρακίσθη δ᾽ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς 8 καιροῖς ᾿Αριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου. τετάρτω δ᾽ ἔτει κατεδέξαντο πάντας τοὺς ἀστρακισμένους, ἄρχοντος Ὑψιχίδου, διὰ τὴν Ξέρ- 40 Εου στρατείαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὥρισαν τοῖς ὀστρακιζομένοις ἐκτὸς

34—35 ἐἀν μὲν ἀρέσκη, τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, deletis τὴν δαπάνην, Η·Ι., Β, coll. Polyaen. i 30 κᾶν μὲν ἀρέση τὸ πραχθησόμενον, τῷ πόλει τὸ ἀνάλωμα λογισθῆναι. 39 τετάρτω: τρίτω 'corr. e Plut. Ar. 8' Κ- w^2 (B). 40 γψηχιδογ ante corr. (Η-L): 'Τψιχίδον (Κ, Κ-w, Β). 41 Cτρατίαν: στρατείαν (Κ-w, Η-L, κ³). In titulis (velut etiam in codicibus) et στρατεία εστρατιά expeditionem significat (στρατεύεσθαι—τὰς στρατείας, Β.C. 325;—τὰς στρατιάς Β.C. 330) Meisterhans, p. 43². εντος Κ, Κ-w, Η-L: ἐκτὸς w ψες (Β), quod egregie confirmat Philochorus in Lex. Rhet. Cantab. ὀστρακισμοῦ τρόπος: μὴ ἐπιβαίνωντα ἐντὸς Γεραίστον.

Athenian troops that marched to Tempe (Hdt. vii 173).

8 T. XPHOTETAL] Plat. Crit. 45 C, obs

δ τι χρήσεται] Plat. Crit. 45 C, ούκ έχω δ τι χρήσομαι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ. ἐν τούτοις τοῦς καιροῦς] Jerome has,

ev rouvous role naupole] Jerome has, under Ol. 74, I (=484/3), Aristides cum ignominia eicitur. On the ostracism of Aristides, cf. Plut. Arist. 7.

§ 8. rerespre fres] 481/0. This fixes the date of the archonship of Hypsichides, a name that is now known for the first time. Plut., Arist. 8, says that the Athenians recalled Aristides, Ξέρξου διά Θετταλίας και Βοιωτίας έλωύνοντος, ε.ε. in the spring of 480 B.C. He adds that the vote for the recall was passed in the third year after the banishment. This note of time may be explained by the fact that, if the vote for ostracising Aristides took place at the 6th (or 8th) πριτανεία (c. 43 § 5), this would fall early in B.C. 483, and the corresponding date in 480 would be the end of the third year after.

κατεδέξαντο] Andoc. 1 § 107 (of the same incident), έγνωσαν τούς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι και τούς άτιμους έπιτίμους

τό λοιπόν] [Dem.] 26 § 6, 'Αριστείδην μὲν γάρ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων μετασταθέντα ἐν Αίγίνη διατρίβειν ἔνι ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν κατεδέξατο. Hdt. viii 79, ἐξ Αίγίνη διέβη. Suidas, s. υ. 'Αριστείδης, διέτριψεν ἐν Αίγίνη φυγών. Ξέρξου δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ φυγῆ πρεσβευσαμένου καὶ τρισχιλίους δαρεικούς...διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέ-

φεσθαι έφη τοῦ Περσικοῦ πλούτου κτλ. The fact that Aristides remained in Aegina explains the provision that henceforth persons ostracised were to reside outside Geraestus and the Scyllaean promontory. According to Plutarch (Cim. 17), Cimon when ostracised appeared at Tanagra (Warse in Cicar Proposed)

(Wyse in Class. Rev. v 274 b).

into Mr Kenyon, retaining erros, suggests that the object of the regulation was to keep the ostracised person within very narrow boundaries, so as to obviate the danger of a banished citizen entering into communication with Persia. But, as Aristides had remained within these limits, it is more reasonable to suppose that the line beyond which the ostracised person was to withdraw was thenceforward made the subject of special regulation. Banishment had in fact to be defined more strictly. Otherwise the exile might remain within a very short distance of Attica and carry on intrigues against his opponents.

Themistocles, while under ostracism, lived at Argos, Thuc. i 139, έχων δίαιταν μέν ἐν "Αργει (Plut. Τλεπ. 23 § 1), ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλην Πελοπόντησον, and afterwards went to Corcyra, and Epirus, to Pydna in Macedonia, and thence to Naxos and Ephesus. He clearly kept outside the limits described in the text as emended. Hyperbolus, again, lived in Samos (Thuc. viii 73 § 2). Both these cases exemplify the rule. According

42 Γεραιστού καὶ Σκυλλαίου κατοικείν ή ατίμους είναι καθάπαξ.

τότε μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου προῆλθεν ἡ πόλις, ἄμα τῆ δημοκρατία κατά μικρον αυξανομένη μετά δε τά Μηδικά πάλιν ἴσχυσεν ή ἐν ᾿Αρείφ πάγφ βουλή καὶ διώκει τὴν πόλιν, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγ[εμο]νίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ 5 Σαλαμίνα ναυμαγίας αἰτία. των γὰρ στρατηγών έξαπορησάντων τοις πράγμασι και κηρυξάντων σφίζειν έκαστον έαυτόν, πορίσασα δραγμάς έκάστω όκτω διέδωκε καὶ ένεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς. διὰ 2 ταύτην δη την αιτίαν παρεχώρουν αὐτη τοῦ ἀξιώματος, καὶ ἐπολι-

ΧΧΙΙΙ 1 ΤΟΤΕ: τὸ Poste (H-L). 5 διαπορησάντων Richards, coll. Cobet V. L. pp. 219—220. 6 CωΖείΝ: σφζειν (edd.), cf. Meisterhans, p. 142³. 7 inter εκάστω et διτώ lacunam indicat B, coll. Plut. Them. 10, εκάστω των στρατευομένων. 8 αγτ(ΗΝ)τωιαΣιωματι: αὐτῆ τῷ ἀξιώματι Κ; αὐτῆς ἀξιώματι Rutherford; αὐτῆς τῷ ἀξιώματι Blass (Η-L); αὐτῆ τοῦ ἀξιώματος J E B Mayor, κ-w.

Testimonia. **XXIII 8—7** * Plut. Them. 10 ούκ δντων δε δημοσίων χρημάτων τοις 'Αθηναίοις 'Αρ. μέν φησι την εξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλην πορίσασαν εκάστω των στρατευομένων δκτώ δραχμάς αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθήναι τὰς τριήρεις.

to the Schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 947, one of the differences between those who are banished for life and those who are ostracised is that the former 'have no fixed place of abode, no time of return assigned, but the latter have ' (καὶ τόπος απεδίδοτο καὶ χρόνος).
Γεραιστοῦ] The cape at the s. w.

Tepatoroῦ] The cape at the s. w. extremity of Euboea. (Hdt. viii 7, ix 105, Thuc. iii 3 § 4.)

Σκυλλαίου] the cape at the eastern extremity of the territory of Troezen (Thuc. v 53), the most easterly point of the Peloponnesus, and forming (with the opposite promontory of Sunium) the entrance to the Saronic gulf.

ατίμους — καθάπαξ] The penalty is that of perpetual ατιμία. For καθάπαξ in this connexion cf. Dem. Mid. §§ 32, 87, Aristog. i § 30. The various disabilities in such a case are enumerated by Aeschines, c. Timarch. § 18 (see Smith, Dict. Ant. i 242 a).

XXIII, XXIV. The supremacy of the Areopagus. Aristides and Themistocles.

ΧΧΙΙΙ § 1. μετα τα Μηδικά-βουλή] Pol. viii (v) 4, 1304 a 20, ή έν 'Αρείψ πάγψ βουλή εὐδοκιμήσασα έν τοις Μηδικοίς έδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιήσαι την πολιτείαν. ούδεν δόγματι κτλ.] This is said of the

Areopagus to contrast it with the Four hundred (c. 29) and the Thirty (c. 34 end, and Isocr. Αreop. 67, οἰ...ψηφίσματι παραλαβόντες τὴν πόλιν). τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίας] Pol.

1304 α 22, δ ναυτικός δχλος γενόμενος αίτιος της περί Σαλαμίνα νίκης καί διά ταύτης (ταύτην? Susemihl) της ήγεμονίας διά την κατά θάλατταν δύναμιν την δημοκρατίαν Ισχυροτέραν εποίησεν.

ξαπορησάντων τοξε πράγμασι] Isocr. Paneg. 147, άπορήσαι τοῖε παρούσι πράγμασι. For the general sense of the context, cf. Cic de Off. 175, et Themistocles quiden nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiuveril, at ille vere a se adjutum Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius qui a Solone erat constitutus.

moplouora δραχμιάς] Probably from the sacred treasure on the Acropolis; cf. Philippi, Arcopag. 293; Oncken, Staatslehre, 468.

§ 2. παρεχώρουν αὐτή τοῦ ἀξιώματος] The most common construction of mapa χωρείν is c. dat. pers. et gen. rei vel loci. Isocr. 118 D, π. τοίς έχθροις της ήμετέρας. Aeschin. 54, 21. Polyb. iv 5, 1 etc., π. τω! τῆς πολιτείας, τῆς ἀρχῆς (L and S). Similarly είκευ τω! τῆς ὁδοῦ (Hdt. ii 80). For ἀξίωμα, cf. Thuc. vi 15 § 2, ἀν ἐν ἀξίωματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν, and i 130 § 1.

Mr Kenyon prints παρεχώρουν αὐτῆ τῷ ἀξιώματι, 'gave place (or 'precedence') to it in rank' (or 'reputation'). The simple dat. may here be equivalent to έν—. The latter is found in Magn. Mor. ii 1, 1198 b 28, δ έν τούτοις παραχωρών émieuris, but I can find no exact parallel

for the dative alone.

έπολιτεύθησαν—καλώς] With the sub-

τεύθησαν 'Αθηναίοι καλώς καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιρούς. συνέβη γὰρ αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τά τε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκῆσαι το καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ελλησιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμο3 νίαν λαβεῖν ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἦσαν δὲ προστάται τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς 'Αριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους, ὁ μὲν τὰ πολεμικὰ δοκῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ δεινὸς εἶναι, καὶ δικαιοσύνη τῶν καθ ἐαυτὸν διαφέρειν. διὸ τς καὶ ἐχρῶντο τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ, τῷ δὲ συμβούλῳ. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν τειχῶν ἀνοικοδόμησιν κοινῆ διφκησαν, καίπερ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς

9 καl (ante κατά) secl. Κ, Κ-W; retinent H-L (B), coll. 33 § 3. 10 κ(ατα) supra scripto περι (B). κατά τον χρόνον τοῦταν secl. Κ-W. 12 ακοντων (Κ, Κ-W, B): ἐκόντων J B Mayor (Class. Rev. v 112 b), Gennadios; εἰκόντων Naber (H-L). 14 πολεμια (Κ, Κ-W, H-L): πολεμια βlass, Richards, Thompson; πολέμια defendit κ coll. Thuc. i 18 εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια, et iv 8ο ἐν τοῖς πολεμίας γεγενῆσθαι σρίσων ἄρωτοι. ακκων (retinent (κ, κ-W¹): δοκῶν Richards, Thompson, Kontos (H-L, Κ-W², B); δοκῶν ἀσκεῖν conicit κ. 14—15 πολεμικαλείνος per ettorem, cott. κ. δεινὸς εἰναι <δοκῶν > κ, κ-W¹.

sequent context, cf. Isocr. Areop. 51 (of the Areopagus), η επιστατούσης οὐ δικών οὐδι έγκλημάτων οὐδι έισφορών οὐδι πενίας οὐδι πολέμων η πόλις έγεμεν...παρείχον γάρ σφας αὐτούς τοῖς με Ελλησι πιστούς, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις φοβερούς τοὺς μὲν γάρ σεσωκότες ήσαν κτλ., and §§ 80, 82. Panath. 151, τὰς πράξεις τὰς έκ τοῦ καλώς πολιτεύεσθαι....152, παρὰ τοῖς Ελλησιν εὐδοκίμησαν. De Pace, 75—77, esp. τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμούσης.

και κατά τούτους τους καιρούς] καl is perhaps added because Athens had been well governed when the Areopagus was in power before, cf. § 1, πάλιν Ισχυσεν (Newman).

Την της δαλάττης ήγομονίαν κτλ.] Isocr. Paneg. 72 (after the Persian wars), ού πολλῷ δ' ὅστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆν θαλάττης ελαβον, δόστων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆν θαλών Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἀμφισβητούντων δε τῶν νῦν ἡμῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ξητούντων, ἀε Pace 30, παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἡγομονίαν ἐλά-βομεν, Panath. 67, οἱ σύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγομονίαν ἡμῶν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔδοσαν. Thuc. i 96, παραλαβόντες οἱ 'Αθ. τὴν ἡγομονίαν... ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μῶσος. In Xen. Hell. vi § 34 a Spartan declares that the Athenians were chosen leaders at sea τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμβουλευομένων. None of the above passages shews that the Lacedaemonians were really willing to surrender the supremacy; and in Thuc. i 96 the reference is not to the Lacedaemonians, but to the allies of Athens who smarted under the

overbearing conduct of Pausanias. Hence driver should be retained.

§ 3. προστάται τοῦ δήμου] c. 2 § 2, and c. 28. Holm, Gr. Gesch. ii 43, 110. Neoκλέους] Plut. Them. 1, N. οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν 'Αθήνησι.

τά πολεμικά] Pol. 1305 a 14, άπειρία τῶν πολεμικῶν, 1285 b 18, ήγεμονία τῶν πολεμικῶν. Ind. Ar. On the other hand, πολέμιο is rare in Ar. Cf. c. 3 l. 7.

πολέμιοs is rare in Ar. Cf. c. 3 l. 7. δικαιοσύνη] Plut. Arist. 3 fin., and

7, Tor Sikator.

τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ, τῷ δὲ συμβούλῳ] Aristotle obviously refers to the rival claims of Themistocles and Aristides in Pol. viii (ν) 8, 1309 α 39, ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, ὅταν μὴ συμβαίνη ταῦτα πάντα (φιλίαν πρὸς τὴν καθεστώσαν πολιτείαν... δύναμιν μεγίστην τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀρχῆς... ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην) περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἰρεσω... ἐν σὰ φυλακῆ καὶ ταμεία τοὐναντίον. On the other hand Isocr., Ραναίλ. 143, strangely maintains that the best σύμβουλος will also prove the best general (Class. Rev. ν 161 α).

34. τειχών ἀνοικοδομεῖν και also piove the best general (Class. Rev. v 161 a).

§ 4. τειχών ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο και τὰ τείχη. Themistocles went as envoy ζ to Sparta to gain time while the walls were being built (iδ. 90), while Aristides was one of the ξυμπρέσβεις who afterwards announced to Themistocles έχειν Ικανῶς τὸ τεῖχος (91 § 3). Cf. Busolt,

ii 321—9.

άλλήλους · ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν τῶν Ἰωνων ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίας ᾿Αριστείδης ἦν ὁ προτρέψας, τηρήσας τοὺς Λάκωνας διαβεβλημένους διὰ Παυσανίαν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς 5 φορους οὖτος ἦν ὁ τάξας ταῖς πόλεσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἔτει τρίτω μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐπὶ Τιμοσθένους ἄρχοντος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὤμοσεν τοῖς Ἰωσιν ‖ ὤστε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ [Col. 10 φίλον, ἐφ᾽ οἶς καὶ τοὺς μύδρους ἐν τῷ πελάγει καθεῖσαν.

24. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρρούσης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων ἢθροισμένων πολλῶν, συνεβούλευεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταβάντας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἄστει· τροφὴν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι πᾶσι, τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι, εἶθ' οὕτω κατασχήσειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. πεισθέντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς [τε]] συμμάχοις 2

18 ιωνωνκ(αι)τ(ην)τ(ων)λακελ—παχιαν:—ἀπὸ τῆς—συμμαχίας Blass, H-L, κ-W, $κ^3$. 21 πόλεσι Η-L. 23 ώμοσε H-L, B.

ΣΧΙV 2 ΠΟλλωνηθροις Μενων: πολλών ηθροισμένων Η-L, Β; <math>dθροιζομένων π. Κ-W. 5 πράττουσω Η-L. 6 τοῖς τε: τοῖς β.

απόστασιν την των Ίωνων] Thuc. i 95 § 1, έν τήδε τῆ ἡγεμονία ήδη βιαίου ὅντος αὐτοῦ (Pausanias) οἰ τε ἄλλοι Ἑλληνει ήχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα οἱ "Ιωνες...φοιτώντές τε πρός τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἡξίουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφών γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές καὶ Παυσανία μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. Plut. Arist. 23. On the other hand Hdt. viii 3, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ββριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς Λαπεδαιμονίους. On Pausanias cf. Pol. 1307 a 2, 1333 b 32.

§ 5. τους φόρους] 'tributes.' Thuc. i 96, ξταξαν ας τε ξδει παρέχειν των πόλεων χρήματα πρός τον βάρβαρον και ας ναθε... και έλληνοταμίαι τότε πρώτον 'λθηναίως κατέστη άρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον οῦτω γὰρ ώνομάσθη των χρημάτων ἡ φορά. V 18 § 4, τὰς πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Αριστείδου. Plut. Arist. 24. Schol. Aeschin. 3 § 258, 'Αριστείδης ὁ τοὺς φόρους τάξας τοῖς Ελλησι. The φόρος was fixed in the first instance at 460 talents.

tri Tiportivous] B.C. 478/7.

The commencement of the Athenian ascendancy is placed by Diodorus (xi 41) in the year of Adeimantus (477/6). This is the date accepted by Clinton. Ephorus appears to have placed the first payment of tribute in the spring of 476 (Busolt, Rhein. Mus. xxxvii 313), and accordingly this has been the date usually assigned to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos.

Dem., Phil. iii 23, makes the Athenian ascendancy last 73 years, and the Lacedaemonian 29. The 29 years are reckoned from the battle of Aegospotami (July 405) to the battle of Naxos (Sept. 376). As the first of these battles marked the end of the Athenian empire, it follows that Dem. reckoned the beginning of the Athenian empire from 478, the first year after the Persian wars. For further details, see Clinton's Fasti, Appendix, c. 6; and Busolt, ii 248.

and Busolt, ii 345.
τους δρκους όμοστη Plut. Arist. 25, δ δ' Αριστείδης ώρκισε μέν τοὺς Έλληνας και ώμοσεν ὑπέρ τῶν 'Αθηναίων, μύδρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. The same symbol of an irrevocable oath is recorded in Hdt. i 165, οι Φωκαιέες ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένψ ἐωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου · πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ωμοσαν μὴ πρὶν εἰς Φωκαίην ἤξειν, πρὶν ἡ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφήναι, and in Horace, Εροd. 16, 25.

Epod. 16, 25.

XXIV § 1. θαρρούστης] c. 22 § 3.

καταβάντας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κτλ.] In contrast to Peisistratus who encouraged agriculture with a view to preventing his subjects from living in Athens (c. 16 § 3).

§ 3). § 2. λαβόντες την άρχην] The simple verb is similarly used in Isocr. 4 § 72; 5 § 61; 7 § 7; 8 §§ 30, 69, 74, 104; 16 § 103. He has παραλαβείν την άρχην

δεσποτικωτέρως έχρωντο πλήν Χίων και Λεσβίων και Σαμίων. τούτους δὲ φύλακας είγον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐῶντες τάς τε πολιτείας παρ' 3 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄρχειν ὧν ἔτυχον ἄρχοντες. κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοίς εὐπορίαν τροφής, ώσπερ Αριστείδης εἰσηγήσατο. συνέ- 10 βαινέν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Φόρων καὶ τῶν τελῶν [καὶ τῶν συμμάγων]

 $8 < \tau \dot{\alpha}s > \pi \alpha \rho$, Richards, K-W. 9 apxortes < autois émitpémortes, kai ---> 10 συνέβαινε H-L. 'dictum erat de cleruchis' K-W. 10-22 'idoneam sententiam non praebent...certe ipsi auctori tribuenda non videntur' H-L. 11 ΦΟΡώΝ: είσφορῶν Whibley (H-L). και τῶν συμμάχων secl. K-W, B.

in 4 § 100; 8 § 101; κατασχεῦν in 4 § 102,

8 § 126. δεσποτικωτέρως] This comparative of the adverb is not in L and S. Pol. iv 10, 3, τὸ δεσποτικώς ἄρχειν.

πλήν Χίων και Λεσβίων και Σαμίων] Thuc. i 19, (in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars) 'Αθηναΐοι δε (τούς ξυμμάχους ήγουντο) ναύς τε των πόλεων τῷ χρόνφ παραλαβόντες, πλην Χίων και Λεσβίων, και χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. Even when (under Pericles) the confederacy of Delos was transformed into an empire on the part of Athens, with her former confederates degraded into tributary dependencies, Chios, Samos and Lesbos alone remained on their original footing of autonomous allies.

It was after the revolt of Samos in 440 B.C. that that state was conquered by an armament under ten generals, including Pericles and Sophocles, and after a prolonged contest disarmed and dismantled (Thuc. i 115-117). Lesbos and Chios still remained in a privileged position (Thuc. iii 10).

Mitylene and the greater part of Lesbos revolted in 428 (ib. 2), one of the reasons being that the Mitylenæans 'had no security that Athens would not degrade them into the condition of subject-allies like the rest' (ib. 10 fin.). The fortifications of Mitylene were razed, all her ships of war captured, and the greater part of the island allotted to Athenian settlers (ib. 50).

In 425 Chios incurred the suspicion of

Athens by building a new wall, which implied an intention to revolt (Thuc. iv The Athenians insisted on the destruction of the wall (52). Chios actually revolted in 412 and was much harassed by the Athenians (Thuc. viii 14-61).

It is to the result of these revolts that Aristotle refers in Pol. iii 13, 1284 a 39, where, after speaking of ostracism as a means of suppressing undue prominence,

he adds: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις καί τα έθνη ποιούσιν οι κύριοι τής δυνάμεως, οίον 'Αθηναίοι μέν περί Σαμίους και Χίους και Λεσβίους (έπει γάρ θάττον έγκρατώς έσχον την άρχήν, έταπείνωσαν αυτούς παρά τὰς συνθήκας). But (as observed by Schlosser) the remark in the *Politics* is untrue of Lesbos, and barely true of Samos and Chios. The account in the text correctly describes the position of privilege at first enjoyed by these three islands. The passage in the *Politics* refers to a later time and is therefore not inconsistent with the text (cf. W. L. New-

man, Class. Rev. v 162 b). are here combined, (1) the acc., as in Pol. v 7, 1307 δ 16, κινήσωντας του νόμου έάσειν την άλλην πολιτείαν, and (2) the inc. as ib. 3, 1302 δ 20, έάσαντας γενέσθαι lâσθαι δστερον

av truxov doxovres] For Chian possessions on the mainland, cf. Hdt. i 160 (Wyse). On the relations of Athens to Chios, Lesbos and Samos, cf. Wilamowitz,

Aus Kydathen, pp. 11, 12.
§ 3. ώσπερ 'Αριστείδης είσηγήσατο]
'If the policy of Aristides is placed in a less favourable light than we should expect, inasmuch as he is said to have converted a citizen-body largely consisting of peasants into an urban citizen-body subsisting on pay and exercising a despotic authority over the subject states, and thus to have contributed to the establishment of an extreme democracy, we remember that we are taught in the Politics (iv 6, 5, 1292 b 41 sqq.) to connect the establishment of a τελευταία δημοκρατία with a large increase in the size of the city and with the provision of pay, and also that Theophrastus' opinion of Aristides was not an altogether favourable one (Plut. Arist. c. 25).' Newman in Class. Rev. v 162 b.)

τῶν φόρων] See note on 23 § 5.
τῶν τελῶν] 'taxes.' With the exception of the produce of plunder in war πλείους ή δισμυρίους ἄνδρας τρέφεσθαι. δικασταλ μὲν γὰρ ή[σα]ν ἐξακισχίλιοι, τοξόται δ' ἐξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις 14 ἰππεῖς χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, βουλή δὲ πεντακόσιοι, καὶ φρουροὶ

12 Δικασται: ὁπλίται? van Leeuwen, Gennadios.

and sale of prisoners, the $\phi b \rho o s$ was at this time the only source of revenue from foreigners. (The duty on merchandise passing to or from the Euxine was not levied until 400.) Hence the reference in $\tau e \lambda \hat{w}$ is to taxes imposed by the Athenians and levied at home, whether (1) ordinary taxes, such as harbour-dues, market-dues, court-fees, and payments made by resident aliens, or (2) extraordinary taxes. The latter were levied for special purposes, viz. the property-tax (elopopt) which was practically a war-tax, and the $\lambda y roupy lai$, or compulsory services. These last did not contribute towards the support of the citizens except by relieving them of expenses which might otherwise have fallen on the public chest. Lastly, there was the income derived from rents of public lands, and from the mines at Laurium.

lands, and from the mines at Laurium.

In Thuc. vi 91, 6, Alcibiades enumerates some of these sources of revenue, viz. the mines, the public land and the law-courts and the tribute paid by the allies (τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσόδου).

There is a fuller enumeration in Aristoph. Vesp. 656, και πρώτου μέν λογίσαι φαύλως, μὴ ψήφοις, ἀλλ ἀπὸ χειρός, τὸν φόρον ἡμῶ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυλλήβδην τὸν προσιόντα· κάξω τούτων τὰ τέλη χωρὶς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐκατοστάς, πρυτανεῖα, μέταλλ', ἀγοράς, λιμένας, μισθούς καὶ δημώτρατα (making a total of nearly 2000 talents, of which the 6000 δικασταί received 150).

As the σύμμαχοι contribute no payment except the φόρος, it is clear that the mention of them in the text is superfucive.

The text, as it stands, appears to imply that the citizens of Athens derived maintenance from the allies over and above the φόροι and the τέλη paid by them; cf. [Xen.] Rep. Ath. i 16—18. Fees paid by the allies in lawsuits may be included in the reference, for these helped to maintain the dicasts (Gilbert, i 382, 4). There was also an ἐπιφορά (ib. 397). The visits of the citizens of the allied states to Athens would be another source of profit' (Newman).

πλείους ή δισμυρίους] The numbers actually specified amount to 15,750. If to this we add (with Mr Kenyon) '4000

men for the 20 guard-ships at the usual rate of 200 men to each ship,' we obtain a total of 19,750, not including the orphans and other privileged persons mentioned at the end of the chapter.

Succeral] As these were not paid until the time of Pericles, this must be (as Mr Kenyon notices) an anticipation of the results of the policy initiated by Aristides. Κακωχίλων] i.ε. 600 for each tribe. This is apparently the number of the dicasts in the times of the democracy after Cleisthenes. The Heliastae were instituted by Solon; but their number in his days is unknown, though it was probably not very small.

Toforal] The context shews that citizens serving as bowmen are meant. The figures in the text are partly borrowed from Thuc. ii 13 § 7, where Pericles, on the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, estimates the number of the rotoral at 1000, and the laweis at 1200 ξψι laworo-ξόταιs. In Thuc. vi 25 Nicias requires for the Sicilian expedition τοξοτῶν τῶν αὐτόθεν και ἐκ Κρήτης. Gilbert, Gr. St., i 305, quotes CIA i 79, τοξόται οἱ ἀστικοί; i 45, (κατὰ) ψυλὰς τοχ(σόται δέ)κα; and i 55, 433, 446; ib. i 79, οἰ τόξαρχοι. The 1600 freeborn bowmen in the text must be distinguished from the 1200 Scythian bowmen of Andocides (de Pace, 7) and Aeschines (F. L. §§ 173—4). The latter were a police force instituted in 480 B.C. when 300 were purchased for this purpose by the state (Andoc. l. c. 5).

Ine same number is found in Thuc. ii. 13 § 7, and in Andocides and Aeschines (l. c.) In 490 Athens had no cavalry (Hdt. vi 112). The number gradually rose to 1000, Arist. Eq. 225, Philochorus er rerápræ (B.C. 450—404) ap. Hesych. s. v.; and this number was maintained in the fourth century (Xen. Hipparch. 9, 3; Dem. 14 § 13). The number 1200 in Thuc. includes the laworofora. As the latter were Scythian slaves, it was a discredit to an Athenian citizen to serve in this force (Lys. 15 § 6). The fact that only 1000, out of the total 1200, are really citizens is apparently overlooked in the text. Gilbert, Gr. St., i 305, n. 5, quotes Philochorus, l. c., διάφορα γάρ ην Ιππέων πλήθη κατά χρόνον 'Αθηναίοιs, but holds

νεωρίων πεντακόσιοι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τἢ πόλει φρουροὶ πεντή-15 κοντα, ἀρχαὶ δ' ἔνδημοι μὲν εἰς ἐπτακοσίους ἄνδρας, ὑπερόριοι δ'

15 τŷ secl. κ-w², в.

16 M(EN) HCAN EIC.

that little credit can be given to any statements giving 1200 as the total number of the lamess alone.

φρουροί νωρίων] I cannot find any other passage in which these are expressly mentioned. In Thuc. ii 13 § 6 half the circuit of the Peiraeus and Munichia is described as ἐν φυλακῆ, and the total number of ὁπλῖται τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐπαλξω is 16,000 (iδ. § 3). This number is the force employed on the outbreak of war.

έν τη πόλει φρουροί] The mention of the νεώρια in the previous clause might at first sight suggest that these poorpol were concerned with the upper πόλιs in contrast with the Peiraeus: but, if so, we should expect έν τῷ ἄστει as the normal term to express this contrast. It is therefore probable that The modes refers to the Acropolis, and it is so translated by Th. Reinach. This view (as Mr Wyse suggests to me) is supported by an inscr. of the 5th cent. published in the Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique, 1890, 177—180, and ascribed to 447 B.C. in CIA iv 3, 26 a, [7]by ascribed to 447 B.C. in CIA iv 3, 26 a, [τ] μν πόλιν... ο [ο] kτο[δ] ομήσαι δ[πωτ] δν δραπέτης μὴ ε[σ[η μηδέ λωποδύτ[ης]. ταῦτα δὲ ξυνγρ[ά] ψαι μὲν Καλλικρ[ά]τη(ν) ὅπως ἄριστα κα[ί] εὐτελέστατα σκ[ε]υά-[σ] μν[τ]ο, μισθώσα[ί] δὲ τοὺς πωλητάς ὅπως ἀν έττὸς ἐξήκ]οντα ἡμερῶν ἐπισκ[ε]υασθῆ κύλαμας δὲ [ε] μν. ταιῦς μλε πελέπ]... - Δε πόλλαμας δὲ [ε] μν. ταιῦς μλε πελέπ]... - Δε πόλλαμας δὲ [ε] μν. ταιῦς μλε πελέπ]... - Δε πολέπ]... φύλακας δε [εί]ναι τρείς μεν τοξό[τ]ας έκ της φυλης της [π]ρυτανευούσης. M. Foucart understands the three τοξόται who are to act as φύλακες to be trois Scythes, on the ground that the police was not recruited from the citizens, but it will be observed that they belong to a φυλή and are therefore citizens. They are appointed to guard the approach to a particular part of the Acropolis and to prevent runaway slaves from seeking sanctuary in the temples. πόλιε, or ή πόλιε, is regularly used of the Acropolis in the 5th century. Thuc. ii 15 fin. (καλείται) ή ακρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε έτι ὑπ' 'Αθηναίων πόλις. Cf. c. 8 l. 24.

'Aristophanes always uses ἐν πόλει, εἰς πόλει (without the article) when he means the Acropolis. In prose writers, however, there are places where the MSS give the article: Xen. Απαδ. vii 1, 27, ὑπαρ-χόντων πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῷ πόλει, Aeschin. I § 97, οἰκίαν ὅπισθεν τῆς πόλεις, Antiph. 6 § 39, διηλλάγην τούτοις ἐν τῷ

πόλει έναντίον μαρτύρων, [Xen.] de Red. 5 § 12, πολλά χρήματα els τὴν πόλιν ἀνενεχθέντα, Phil. Per. 32, ὅπων... οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῷ πόλει κρίνοιεν. ἐμ πόλει is no doubt the normal form in CIA i' (Wyse).

the normal form in CIA i' (Wyse).

dpxal... ivδημωι] The total number is large, and there is nothing to shew that the higher officers of state are excluded. Schömann (Ant. p. 147, E. T.) says: 'so far as our knowledge extends, the offices of government were unpaid.' Again, on p. 402, 'official functionaries,' as contrasted with subordinates, 'served without pay' (cf. ib. 436). But in c. 62 the archons receive for maintenance 4 obols a day each, and in c. 29 (under the constitution of 411) the archons and πρυτανεις are excepted from the rule that all offices should be without pay.

ὑπαρόριοι] In Pol. iii 14, 1285 b 14, we have τὰ κατὰ πόλω καὶ τὰ ἐνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχων ἦρχων, and the term ὑπερόριον occurs again in l. 18. Cf. law quoted in Aeschin. c. Timarch. 47, μητε ἐνδημον μήτε ὑπερόριον. Mr Kenyon's translation distinguishes between magistrates 'within

quoted in Aeschin. c. 11march. 47, μησε αρχήν ἀρχέτω μηδεμίαν, μήτε ἔνδημον μήτε ὑνερόριον. Mr Kenyon's translation distinguishes between magistrates 'within the city' and 'those whose jurisdiction lay outside it'; Mr Poste (more satisfactorily) between 'home' and 'foreign' magistrates. The latter would naturally include the officials in the Athenian κληρουχία. The first κληρουχία was that settled near Chalkis in 510 B.C. The number of cleruchs sent out between 460 and 427 amounted to 9,450, not including those sent to Lemnos, Imbros and Aegina (Gilbert, Gr. St. i 421, note 4). The cleruchs were subject to military

The cleruchs were subject to military orders, and we sometimes hear of civil magistrates being sent out by Athens, e.g. δρχοντει sent to Lesbos (Antiphon, de Caede Her. § 47). Cf. the ἐπίσκοποι of Aristoph. Av. 1022, 1050 (see Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, p. 75), and the ἐπίμεληταὶ sent to Miletus (CIA iv 1, 224) and in later times to Delos, Haliartos and Paros (Boeckh, i 508 a, and n. 709 Fräntal).

kel).

The ἀρχαὶ ὑπερόριοι would also include the φρούραρχοι, as at Erythrae, CIA i 9 (Ditt. no. 2), and 10. φρουραρχία is mentioned in Xen. Mem. iv 4, 17, and φρούραρχοι possibly in [Xen.] de Rep.

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είς έπτακοσίους πρός δε τούτοις, έπει συνεστήσαντο τον πόλεμον υστερον, όπλιται μεν δισχίλιοι και πεντακόσιοι, νήες δε φρουρίδες 19 είκοσι, άλλαι δὲ νῆες αἱ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἄγουσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ

17 е́ятакоо lovs e v. 16 male repetitum putant к-w (в). 'an < tà els > tòr moneμον?' K-W; κατέστησαν ές τον πόλεμον Richards. 19 фороус к, et (lacuna post άγουσαι indicata) K-W: φρουρούς van Leeuwen et Blass, coll. 62 § 1; φόρους 'νοχ aperte corrupta,' H-L; μισθοφόρους? Herwerden.

Ath. i 18, Tous exalterras 'Abyralwr etlμων αν μόνους, τούς τε στρατηγούς και τούς φρουράρχους (MSS τριηράρχους) και τούς φρουραρχουν (ass τριηραρχουν) και τουν πρόσβεις (Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, pp. 73—76). Cf. inscr. ascribed to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (CIA iv 3, 27 c), οδτινες Αθηναίων άρχουσι έν τŷ UTTEDODÍA.

συνεστήσαντο τον πόλεμον] The phrase συστήσαι or συστήσασθαι πόλιν or πολιτείαν is found in the Politics and τά πράγματα συνίστασθαι (of tragic poets) in the Poetics 6, p. 1450 a 37. Again, in Thuc. i 15 § 2 we find κατά γῆν δὲ πόλεμος... οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη, and Hdt. vi 108 has συνeστεῶταs Βοιωτοῦσι for 'engaged in conflict with' the B. Here, if τὰ els were to be inserted, it might mean 'organised,' as in Xen. Anab. vii 6 § 26 lππικον συν eστηκός, cf. τὸ στράτευμα συνεστηκός, of 'a standing army,' in Dem. p. 93 fin. ὁπλίται] The number 2,500 is difficult

to reconcile with the figures mentioned elsewhere. The number of Athenians who fought at Marathon was 9,000 (Pausan. x 20, 2) or 10,000 (Justin. ii 9); at Plataea, 8,000. In Thuc. ii 13 § 2, Pericles estimates the number of hoplites at 13,000 fit for service in the field, and 16,000 (of the oldest and the youngest of the citizens) as fit to serve on garrison duty and to man the walls. In Thuc. ii 31 § 2, the Athenians march into Megara with a force of not less than 10,000 hoplites who were citizens, and not less than 3,000 who were μέτοικοι. Acharnae (the largest of the demes) could put into the field 3,000 hoplites. Possibly these numbers are exceptionally large and represent the maximum number of hoplites available on an emergency; but the number in the text professes to be that of the hoplites on the outbreak of war. The armament for the Sicilian expedition included not less than 4,000 hoplites (Thuc. vi 31, 2). In Thuc. vii 20 the hoplites ἐκ καταλόγου number 1,200.

It seems certain that these 2,500 hoplites (as partly implied in woods τούτοις) are in addition to such of the citizens who were available in time of war. Most of

these have already been enumerated under previous headings. Thus, if we add to the 2,500 hoplites the 6,000 dicasts and the 500 members of the βουλή, we obtain a total of 9,000, the exact number of Athenians who (according to Pausanias) fought at Marathon. Again, if we further add the 700 home officials, we get a total of 9,700, only 300 less than the 10,000 Athenian hopites who marched into Megara early in the Peloponnesian war.

Blass understands by onlirar qui com-

tinuo in praesidiis erant.

νηθες φρουρίδες] 'guard-ships.' In Thuc. iv 13 § 2 the Athenian fleet at Pylos includes τῶν φρουρίδων τινἐς τῶν ἐκ Naυπάκτου: the ships from Zacynthus are 50 in all; of these 35 were already at that island in c. 5, and 4 ships came from Chios, leaving eleven as the number of guard-ships from Naupactus, which had been an Athenian naval station ever since its capture in 455 B.C. (Thuc. i 103). The only other passages in which 'guard-ships' are mentioned are Xen. Hell. i 3, 17, where they form part of the Spartan fleet in the Hellespont, vaûs at noar er tŵ Έλλησπόστω καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες, and CIA iv 22 α, at Miletus, [άπο]στειλάντων [δύο] φρουρίδε. Cf. Wilamowitz, Aus

Kydathen, p. 73 f.
The Athenian triremes were generally manned by about 200 each (Boeckh II xxii p. 376 Lamb; Gilbert, i 310).

Tous άγουσαι) φόρουτ raises a serious difficulty. It has hitherto been supposed that the 'tributaries' of Athens paid in the money themselves to the Council (Boeckh II vii, p. 177 Lewis; Gilbert, i 398). Pollux (viii 114) inaccurately says that the έλληνοταμίαι collected the tribute, but this duty (when necessary) was (after 446?) performed by the exhayeis. It was only the collection of arrears or fines that was enforced by means of νηες άργυρολόγοι (Thuc. iii 19; iv 50, 75) under the command of one or more στρατηγοί (Gilbert, i 398, and Beilräge, p. 67). Further, unless we suppose a lacuna, robs aropas cannot be construed. Hence the suggestion φρουρούs, which follows naturally κυάμου δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἔτι δὲ πρυτανείον καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ δεσ- 20 μωτών φύλακες άπασι γάρ τούτοις άπο τών κοινών ή διοίκη-סוק אי.

ή μεν οὖν τροφή τῷ δήμφ διὰ τούτων ἐγίγνετο. ἔτη δὲ έπτὰ καὶ δέκα μάλιστα μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ διέμεινεν ή πολιτεία προεστώτων τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν, καίπερ ὑποφερομένη κατὰ μικρόν. αὐξανομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου προστάτης Ἐφιάλ- 1

20 'πρυτανείον vix verum' K-W. τησις H-L.

21 ἄπασιν Β.

Διοικησίο: διασί-

XXV 1 EFIN (K-W).

TESTIMONIA. XXV 4 Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Frag. 611): Ἐφιάλτης.

after pouploes and enables us to take robs άνδρας in apposition with it. In addition to the guard-ships stationed at places like Naupactus, there would be transports to take the ϕ poupoil to the places where they were to be stationed. These ϕ poupol were appointed by lot by the demes. Even when changes were made in other appointments, the βουλευταί and the φρου-ροί still continued to be thus appointed

(c. 62 § 1).

***Tournation | i.e. the persons maintained in the prytaneum, e.g. citizens who had done good service and were entertained at the public expense, either on a special occasion or for life. Among the latter were victors in the panhellenic games, distinguished generals or statesmen, and the representatives of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The archons and other officials are not included in this list, as they have already been included in the apxal evδημοι; and besides, in historic times, the archons probably dined in the Thesmothesion and the prytanes and certain other officials in the Tholos (see Dict. Ant. s. v.). Cf. Hermann, Staatsalt. § 127, 17 f.

spearol] The sons of citizens who

oppavol] The sons of citizens who had fallen in war were maintained during their minority at the public expense. The regular phrase for this was δημοσία τρέφευ. Cf. Thuc. ii 46, τους παίδας άπο τουδε δημοσία ἡ πόλις μέχρι ήβης θρέψει. Pol. ii 8, 1268 α 8 (τοῖς παισί τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμφ τετελευτηκότων έκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι την τροφήν)... έστι δέ και έν 'Αθήναις ούτος δ νόμος νύν. Plat. Menex. 248 E. The institution is said to have gone back as far as the time of Solon (Diog. Laert. is 54). Cf. Schulthess, Vormundschaft, pp. 13—26. 'bpparol are mentioned in an inser, said to be not later than 460 B.C. (Dittenberger, no. 384, l. 120), but the latter part is much mutilated '(Wyse).

δεσμωτών φύλακες] The Eleven had the management of the prison and had under them subordinates, such as jailers, executioners and torturers; but as these were δημόσιοι, or public slaves, the reference may possibly be to the Eleven themselves, who are called δεσμοφύλακεs in the Schol. on Dem. Androt. § 26, Timocr. § 210, and on Aristoph. Plut. 1108 where the term is corrupted to θεσμοφύλακες.

διοίκηστε] lit. 'administration.' Pol. iii 16, 1287 α 6, ποιεῦν ἔνα κόριον τῆς διοικήσεως, and 1331 b 9, περὶ γραφὰς δικῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τοιαύτην διοίκησιν. iv (vii) 10, 1330 α 7 (it is not easy for all the citizens to pay their share in the συσσίτια) και διοικείν την άλλην οίκίαν. The word is often used in the Politics, of management or administration. The primary meaning is 'to keep house,' as m Plato Meno 91 A, τάς το οίκίας και τὰς πόλεις διοικείν. διοίκησις means 'house-keeping' in Dem. Steph. 45 § 32, τῆς καθ' ημέραν διοικήσεως. In the text it includes maintenance (oltmoss) and payment of money.

XXV. Ephialtes.
§ 1. Ity tard Ral Sira malioral
From 478/7 B.C., the date of the Confederacy of Delos (23 § 5), in the first year after the Persian wars, to 462/1, the

year atter the Persian wars, to 462/1, the archonship of Conon.

προεστώτων τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν'] See c. 23 § 1, and Politics there quoted. Isocr. Areop. 51 τ̄s ἐπιστατούστης κτλ. ὑποφερομένη] c. 36 § 1.

'Εφιάλτης ὁ Σοφωνίδου] The father's name is given (Σοφ.) in Aelian Var. Hist. ii 42: iii 17: xi ο (πενέστατας τῶν). The

ii 43; iii 17; xi 9 (πενέστατος ήν). The last of these passages illustrates doupodókyros. He declined an offer of 10 talents from his friends, saying: ταῦτά με ἀναγ-κάσει αἰδούμενον ὑμᾶς καταχαρίσασθαί τι των δικαίων, μη αιδούμενον δε μηδε χαριζό5 της ο Σοφωνίδου, || καὶ δοκών άδωροδόκητος είναι καὶ δίκαιος [Col. πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐπέθετο τῷ βουλῷ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνείλεν 2 πολλούς των 'Αρεοπαγιτών, άγωνας έπι[φ]έρων περί των διφκημένων έπειτα της βουλης έπὶ Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος ἄπαντα περιείλετο

5 [καί] δοκῶν H-L, K-W². 6 dreide H-L. 8 περιειλε: περιείλετο Richards, K-W, K3, B; παρείλετο H-L.

μενον ὑμῶν ἀχάριστον δόξαι. Cf. Plut. Cim. 10. On Ephialtes, see Duncker, G. d. A. viii; Holm, Gr. Gesch. ii 176

Skalos whos the wolveslar The phrase reminds us of the Politics; v 9 § 1. phrase reminds us of the rollies, vy 3 ...
1309 a 36, τρίτον δ' άρετην και δικαιοσύνην έν έκσση πολιτεία την πρός την πολιτείαν (Class. Rev. v 160 a). Aclian Var. Hist. κίτί 39, 'Εφ. στρατηγού όνειδίσαντος αὐτῷ τινος πενίαν 'τὸ δὲ ἔτερον' ἔφη 'διὰ τί οὐ

λέγεις, ότι δίκαι ός είμι;

§ 2. αγώνας έπιφέρων] Plut. Per. 10 § 6, Έφιαλτην...φοβερον δυτα τοῦς όλιγαρχικοῦς καί περί τας εύθύνας και διώξεις των δήμον άδικούντων άπαραίτητον. Ephialtes had made himself feared by his opposition to Cimon in particular; Cimon's party was in a minority, as may be inferred from his being ostracised, probably in the spring of 462 (Busolt, i 454 n).—Cf. Oncken, Staatslehre, pp. 492—505, 'Ephialtes und die Gerichtsreform.'

ent Kóvwvos] B.C. 462/1, Diod. xi 74. Hitherto the date of this attack on the Areopagus has not been accurately known. It has sometimes been assigned to B.C. 460 (Diodorus xi 77, followed e.g. in Peter's Zeittafeln) or about 458 (e.g. in Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v. Areopagus).

Philippi, Areop. p. 256—9.
περιείλετο] Inf., § 4, περιείλοντο. See note on παραιρείσθαι and περιαιρείσθαι in

27 § I.

On the overthrow of the Areopagus by Ephialtes, cf. Pol. ii 12, 1274 a 7, καl την μὲν ἐν ᾿Αρείω πάγω βουλην Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καl Περικλῆς (καl Π. bracketed by Sauppe). It was not until a later date that Pericles deprived the Areopagus of some of its remaining privileges, c. of some of its remaining privileges, c. 27 § 1. The text implies that he was not the leader of the present attack. Philothe leader of the present attack. Philochorus (FHG i 407), Έφ. μόνα κατέλιπε τἢ ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος. Theopompus is supposed to be the authority followed on this point by Plutarch: Pericles 7 (Eph.) κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τἢς ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς, πολλὴν (κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, Rep. 562 C, D) καὶ ἀκρατον τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχοῶν,

and ib. 9 (of the Areop.) ωστε την μέν άφαιρεθήναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι' 'Εφιάλτου. Cimon 10, (Cimon) προς Έφιάλτην υστερον χάριτι του δήμου καταλύοντα την εξ' Αρείου πάγου βουλήν διηνέχθη, iδ.
15, 'Εφιάλτου προεστώτος άφειλοντο τής
έξ' Αρείου πάγου βουλής τὰς κρίσεις πλήν
δλίγων ἀπάσας, και τών δικαστηρίων κυρίους έαυτούς ποιήσαντες els άκρατον δημοκρατίαν ένέβαλον την πόλιν. Praec. Ger. Reip. 10 § 15 (11 805), βουλήν τινες έπαχθή και δλιγαρχικήν κολούσαντες, ώσπερ Έφιαλτης ολιγαρχικήν κολούσωντες, ωσπερ Εφιαλτής 'Αθήνησι..., δύναμμν άμα καὶ δόξαν έσχον, iδ. 15 § 18, ώς Περικλής...δι' Έφιάλτου τήν έξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλήν έταπείνωσε. Pausan. i 29, 15, Έφ. δς τὰ νόμιμα τὰ έν 'Αρείω πάγω μάλιστα έλυμήνατο. Cf. Philippi, Der Areopag, pp. 256—271; Busolt, ii 460.

In the Eumenides (681--706) we have a well-known defence of the jurisdiction of the Areopagus in matters of homicide, of the Areopagus in matters of homicide, the main point which was left untouched by the reforms of Ephialtes. The date of the play is fixed by the hypothesis to the Agamemnon as the archonship of Philocles, Ol. 80, 2 = 459/8; and the list of vixal Liouvillaral found on the Acropolis in 1886 describes. Aeschylus as exhibiting in that year, i.e. in March, 458: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886, p. 209, quoted in Haigh's Attic Theatre, p. 322, [ἐτὶ Ψιλο]κλέους...τραγωδών, Ξενοκλῆς 'Αφιδναί[os] έχορή[γει], ΑΙσχύλος έδιδασκεν. It was held by Meier, Boeckh and K. O. Müller that even the cognisance of cases of homicide was taken away from the Areopagus by Ephialtes and not restored until after the expulsion of the Thirty. Müller (Dissertation on Eum. § 36) went so far as to affirm that the motion of Ephialtes was carried after the representation of the Eumenides, whereas Diodorus places it two years earlier (460) and the text four years earlier. The fact that they retained their jurisdiction in cases of homicide is clearly stated by Philochorus (l.c.) and has been conclusively proved by Forchhammer (1828). The very privi-lege that the reformers left untouched is prominently brought forward by the poet.

τὰ ἐπίθετα δι' ὧν ἦν ἡ τῆς πολιτείας φυλακή, καὶ τὰ μ[ἐν τ]οῖς πεντακοσίοις, τὰ δὲ τῷ δήμω καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀπέδωκεν. 10 3 έπραξε δὲ ταῦτα συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους, δς ἢν μὲν

11 €TTPA·€?, Expafe B, Exparte K etc.

TEN: yw- Richards, yeyr- H-L.

11 *Isocr. Areopagitici argumentum (ed. Benseler, p. lviii; Schol. in Aeschin. etc. Dind. p. 111; Orat. Att. ed. Turicensis, ii p. 6): Ἐφιάλτης τις και Θεμιστοκλής χρεωστοῦντες τη πόλει χρήματα και είδότες ὅτι, ἐὰν δικασθώσιν (δικάσωσιν Bens.) οι 'Αρεφστουντες τη πολει χρηματα και εισοτες οτι, εαν οικασωσω (οικασωσω Dens.) οι Αρεο-παγίται, πάντως άποδώσουσι, καταλύσαι αὐτοὺς έπεισαν την πόλιν, οὐτως οὐπως τινὸς μέλλοντος κριθήναι. "ὁ γὰρ ᾿Αρ. λέγει ἐν τῆ πολ. τῶν ᾿Αθ. ὅτι καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλής αἴτιος ἢν μη πάντα (πάντως cod. Mustoxydis) δικάζειν τοὺς ᾿Αρεοπαγίτας" (Rose, Frag. 366², 404²). δήθεν μὲν, ὡς δι' αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, τὸ δ' άληθὲς διὰ τοῦτο πάντα κατασκευάζοντες. εἶτα οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες τῆς τοιαύτης συμβουλής κατέλυσαν αὐτούς.

Cf. Philippi, Areop. pp. 264, 290, and Grote, c. 46 (iv 112 n).

7d. 4x(8era] These 'additional privi-

leges' include almost everything except the ancient prerogatives of the Areopagus in connexion with trials for homicide. The legend of Orestes and the history of the first Messenian war (B.C. 743) alike imply that it had jurisdiction in such cases 'from of old,' Pausan. iv 5 § 2 8/1025 τάς φονικάς...δικάζειν έκ παλαιού. Cf. Meier and Schömann, Att. Process, ed. Lipsius, p. 11.

Harpoer. s. v. έπιθέτους ἐορτάς defines Harpoct. s. v. επιθέτους copras defines them as τός μή πατρίους (cf. c. 3, 16—18), and adds: ἐλέγετο δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλα ἐπίθετά τινα, ὁπόσα μή πάτρια ὅντα ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλή ἐδίκαζεν, ώς σαφὲς ποιεῖ Λυσίας κτλ (cf. Philippi, Ατεορ. 157). The reference to Lysias shews that the ἐπίθετα meant by Harpoct. are after the time of the Thirty and are not the same as those meant in the text. as those meant in the text.

φυλακτή] c. 4 § 4 φύλαξ, and 8 § 4, επίσκοπος. Schömann's Ant. pp. 332 and 493, E.T. Among the privileges now taken away from the Areopagus would be the general superintendence of education and of public morals, e.g. the enforcing of the ancient νόμος ἀργίας. Grote, c. 46, iv 112; Schömann, p. 498; Philippi, Areop. pp. 162—170, 268—272.
τῷ δήμω] Cic. de Rep. i 43, 'Athenienses quibusdam temporibus sublato

Areopago nihil nisi populi scitis ac decretis agebant.'

τοίς δικαστηρίοις] Thus, the jurisdiction in cases of dσέβεια seems in general to have been transferred to the lawcourts; but certain forms of ἀσέβεια continued to be tried by the Areopagus, esp. the offence of doing damage to the sacred olive-trees (Lys. Or. 7). Schömann, p. 498. On the general question, cf. Philippi, Arcop. pp. 272—289. § 3. συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους] Hitherto, the attack on the Areopagus has been generally attributed to Ephialtes and Pericles (Pol. 1274 a 7); the present passage assigns a prominent part to The-mistocles. The only other authority for associating Themistocles with Ephialtes on this occasion is to be found in the argument to the Areopagiticus of Isocrates (see Testimonia), probably due to a Christian writer in the sixth century (Rose, A. P., p. 423). Duncker, G. d. A. viii 258—260, discusses the account just mentioned. He attributes the attack on the part of Themistocles to a change of policy in the Areopagus due to its now containing a large number of ex-archons who had been merely appointed by lot and not by open election.

The text implies that Themistocles was The text implies that Themistocles was still at Athens in 462 B.C., whereas, according to the current view, he was ostracised in 471 B.C. (Diod. xi 54) and fled to Persia about 466 B.C. In his flight he passed through the Athenian fleet which was besieging Naxos (Thuc. i 137 § 2, and Plut. Them. 25 § 1). The reduction of Naxos took place before the battles at the Eurymedon (Thuc. i 100 § 1), which are assigned to 466. Xerxes died in 465 and, according to Thuc. i 137 died in 465 and, according to Thuc. i 137 § 3, Themistocles on his arrival at the Persian court found Artaxerxes νεωστί βασιλεύοντα. Besides Thucydides, Charon of Lampsacus, one of the λογογράφοι prior to Herodotus, is quoted by Plutarch, Them. 27 § 1, as making Themistocles reach the court after the death of Xerxes. The authorities there quoted, as making him arrive before the king's death, are Ephorus, Deinon, Cleitarchus and Heracleides; but the account of Thuc. is accepted as 'agreeing better with the dates, although these again have not been firmly settled beyond dispute.'

11 των 'Αρεοπαγιτών, έμελλε δε κρίνεσθαι μηδισμού. βουλόμενος δε

If the narrative in the text is accepted, Themistocles was at Athens in 462, awaiting his trial on the charge of Medism. This must be the first accusation, prior This must be the first accusation, prior to his ostracism, and on this charge (according to Diod. xi 54) he was acquitted (Grote, c. 44, iv 36, 37). The second accusation, which is the only one mentioned by Thuc. (i 135 § 1), and Plut. (Them. 23), was not brought forward until after his banishment. We should then be compelled to place his ostracism not earlier than 461, and his flight to not earlier than 461, and his flight to Persia about 460, when Artaxerxes had been on the throne for about five years. To reconcile this with peccori in Thuc., Mr Kenyon suggests that 'the fifth year of a king who ruled for forty might well be spoken of as in the beginning of his reign.' But the incident connected with the siege of Naxos makes it impossible to make the narrative in the text agree with the account in Thuc. Mr Kenyon proposes two alternatives: either (1), the story of the flight of Them. should be connected with some operations about 460 B.C. and not with the siege of Naxos; or (2), there were two inconsistent accounts of the latter years of Them., that adopted by Thuc, and that in the present text. We can hardly hesitate in choosing the second alternative, and in following the authority of Thucydides. Cf. Abbott, Hist. Gr. ii 386—8.

The chronology of this period has been investigated anew by Bauer, who implicitly accepts the statement in the text, and accordingly alters the date of the siege of Naxos. His dates as compared with those of Clinton are as follows:

	Clinton	Bau	er
Siege of Naxos	466	460	(spring)
battle of Eurymedon			(autumn)
revolt of Thasos	465	459	(spring)
third Messenian war	464		(summer?)
defeat at Drabescus	465		(autumn)
Thasos subdued by C	imon 463	457	(spring)
expedition to Egypt	460	456	(spring)
ostracism of Cimon	461	455	(spring)
recall of Cimon	456	452	(winter)
end of Egyptian war death of Cimon	455	450	(spring)
death of Cimon	449	448	

These dates involve setting aside the text of Thuc. iv 102 in two points: in § 1 we are told that the defeat at Drabescus was 32 years after the failure of Aristagoras to establish himself on the Strymon, and (ib. § 2) 28 years before the founding of Amphipolis (in 437 B.C.), Schol. Aeschines ii 31. It is more in accordance with the narrative in Hdt. v 126 to place the failure of Aristagoras

in B.C. 497 than in 491. Again, the alliance with Argos is placed late in 457, whereas the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, which contains a clear reference to this alliance (l. 290, 757—766), was performed in March, 458, more than a year earlier (*Athenaeum*, 1891, p. 317). See also Mr E. M. Walker in *Class. Rev.* vi 95—99.

Mr E. M. Walker in Class. Rev. vi 95—90. It is remarkable that in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles not a word is said as to his having taken any part in the attack on the Areopagus. In this connexion Plutarch mentions Ephialtes and Pericles alone (note on § 2, περιείλετο). We must infer either (1), that Plutarch had no first-hand acquaintance with this treatise; or (2), that he carelessly omitted to notice this narrative; or (3), that he had no such narrative in his copy.

Against (1) we may set the fact that in 10 § 3 Plutarch quotes Aristotle as his authority for a statement found in c. 23 § 1, and also for the murder of Ephialtes mentioned at the end of this very chapter. But this makes Plutarch's silence on Themistocles all the more singular. (Cf.

Abbott, Hist. Gr. ii 518.)

Against (2) it may be remarked that the story would have admirably illustrated the duplicity of Themistocles, and as such would naturally have been welcomed by the biographer. Mr Kenyon suggests that the omission 'can hardly be explained except on the theory that in actually writing his lives he used the notes and extracts he had previously made without having the complete work before him'; but this puts the difficulty only one stage further back, and compels us to ask how Plutarch came to omit to make any note of this narrative. He accepts the statement in Thucydides that Themistocles reached the Persian court after the death of Xerxes as in better agreement with the dates. This implies that the biographer had paid some attention to the chronology of the time. It seems possible therefore that he rejected the narrative on the ground that it did not fit in with the date of the siege of Naxos, which Plutarch, following Thucydides, mentions in connexion with the flight of Themistocles. But even supposing he deliberately rejected the narra-tive, it is strange that he says nothing about it. His treatment of his authorities is, however, by no means systematic and uniform. In his *Life of Themistocles*, he quotes no less than 30 different authorities of very various degrees of importance. Even Thucydides does not command his καταλυθήναι την βουλην ο Θεμιστοκλής προς μέν τον Ἐφιάλτην Ελεγεν ότι συναρπάζειν αὐτον ή βουλη μέλλει, προς δε τους Αρεοπαγίτας ότι δείξει τινάς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ καταλύσει της πολιτείας. ἀγαγών δε τους αἰρεθέντας της βουλης οῦ διέτριβεν ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, ἵνα δείξη τ[ου]ς ἀθροιζομένους, διελέγετο μετὰ σπουδης 4 αὐτοις. ὁ δ' Ἐφιάλτης ώς είδεν καταπλαγεις καθίζει μονοχίτων

16 αφαιρεθεντας (κ): alpeθέντας? κ (κ-w, b); alpeθέντας ύπὸ Richards; έφαιρεθέντας H-L, coll. Thuc. iv 38; έξ- Poland. ΟΥ: οἶ H-L.

undivided allegiance. With regard to the adventures of Themistocles in Asia, while respecting the chronology of Thucydides, Plutarch disdains to reproduce the historian's account of those adventures, following by preference the untrustworthy romance of Phanias of Eresos (Holden's Introd. §§ 17, 12). Such a fact detracts considerably from his authority as a judicious critic of the materials which he had before him.

As to (3), Prof. Tyrrell in the Quarterly Review, 1891, p. 344, infers from the silence of Plutarch that he 'never read the work before us. But he had certainly read some other treatise ascribed to Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution; therefore there must have been other editions of the Athenian Constitution cir-culating under the name of Aristotle.' Yet both the passages, which Plutarch in his Themistocles quotes as from this treatise, are to be found in the edition which we possess. Prof. Tyrrell regards the description of this attack on the Areopagus as 'very bald and feeble.' Such a consideration might point to its not being by the same hand as the main bulk of the treatise; and suggest that, without our assuming that it was absent in Plutarch's copy, it might on this ground alone be regarded as an interpolation. But the style of the narrative does not appear to me to differ materially from that of the context, and I should therefore prefer to attribute it to the same author as the rest of the treatise. But, while the narrative may be genuine, we can hardly regard it as authentic. The celebrated story of the proposal of Themistocles to burn the Hellenic fleet at Pagasae is described by Grote (v 27, note 2) as 'probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age'; and the present narrative has probably no earlier origin.

ην τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν] He owed this position to the fact that he had been archon in 482/1; see note on c. 22 § 7.
συναρπάζειν] The object of Themisto-

cles perhaps was to inveigle the Areopagus into exposing itself to a charge of attempting to 'pounce upon' an influential citizen. It was one of the things remembered against the Thirty that they 'pounced on' citizens in this way, Lys. 12 § 96 (Newman).

τούς alpeθέντας] τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας, if retained, means not 'the persons despatched by the Areopagus,' but 'members of the Council of the Areopagus selected and set apart for the purpose.' Hist. An. 6, 22, 576 b 23, ώρα δ' οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται οὐδεμία ἀφωρισμένη (Class. Rev. v 164 a). ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, however, is very rarely used in this sense.

'In Lys. 13 § 23 the Codex Palatinus has ol διαιρεθέντει τῶν βουλευτῶν, where Reiske's correction ol αἰρεθέντει has been generally accepted; Weidner, however, proposes ol δέκα αἰρεθέντει' (Wyse).

34. καθίζει—ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν] On altars as places of refuge, cf. Eur. lon, 1257—1260, ποῖ φύγω δῆτ';...ποῖ δ' ἄν ἀλλοσ', ῆ'πὶ βωμόν; μονοχίτων] 'wearing his tunic only,' instead of the lμάτιον as well. Such a guise would be appropriate to his position as a suppliant. The word is formed on the analogy of μονόπεπλος 'wearing but one robe,' 'wearing the tunic only,' Eur. Hec. 933—ἀπεπλος, 'without the upper garment'; Pind. N. i 74. But, hitherto, it has not been found earlier than Polybius (fragm. xiv 11, 2). It was also quoted from Pythaenetus, ap. At hen. 589 F, Μέλισσα ἀναμπέχουος καὶ μονοχίτων ἢν. τὸν βωμόν] The article is

έπὶ τὸν βωμόν. θαυμασάντων δὲ πάντων τὸ γεγον[ὸς] καὶ μετὰ 20 ταῦτα συναθροισθείσης τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων κατηγόρουν τῶν ᾿Αρεοπαγιτῶν ὅ τ᾽ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ <ὁ> Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἔως περιείλοντο αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ <ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς — —>, ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης δολοφονηθεὶς μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δι᾽ ᾿Αριστοδίκου [τ]οῦ Ταναγραίου.

26. ή μεν οὖν τῶν Αρεοπαγιτῶν βουλὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπεστερήθη τῆς ἐπιμελείας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινεν ἀνίεσθαι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοὺς προθύμως δημαγωγοῦντας. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνέπεσε μηδ' ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιει-5 κεστέρους, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν προεστάναι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου, †νεώτε-

21 <δ> Θεμ. Κ-W, H-L, Β. 22 ΠΕΡΕΙΛΟΝ^{ΤΟ}: περιείλοντο Κ, Κ-W, Β; παρείλοντο Η-L. 23 καὶ <δ μέν Θεμιστοκλής — >, ἀνηρέθη δὲ κτλ Κ-W. καὶ om.

ΤΑΘΥΤΟ ΤΑΙΑ.

J B Mayor, Blass, (H-L).

XXVI 4 Post ἡγεμόνα adiectivum (velut ἔμπειρον) desiderat Richards, σπουδαΐον Gennadios; an ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἰκανὸν?

δ νεώτερον: νωθρότερον? Κοπτος, κ-W; idem mavult Herwerden qui ἀνούντερον coniecerat; 'fort. νωθρὸν' Β; νωθέστερον vel ἐνεώτερον Weil (Journal des Savants, Avril, 1891); aliquid eiusmodid esiderabat Wyse; quondam ἀβελτερον conieci; στρατιωτικώτερον (coll. Polyb. 23, 10, 4 στρατιωτικώτερον ἡ πολιτικώτερος) vel πολεμικώτερον Richards, cf. Plut. Prace. Ger. Reip. c. 16 § 22 ἡν γὰρ ὁ μὲν (Περικλῆς) πρὸς πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ (Κίμων) πρὸς πόλεμον εὐφυέστερος.

TESTIMONIA. XXV 23, 24 * Plut. Per. 10 (infra exscriptum).

peculiar. If the 'house' of Eph. is meant, it implies 'the family altar.' Otherwise, some notable altar may be intended, such as the 'altar of the twelve gods' (so Milchhöfer in Curtius, Stadtgeschichte, p. cxxi), or that of Zevs dyopaïos. The latter was near the στολ βασίλειος where meetings of the Areopagus were sometimes held (Dem. 25 § 23). Cf. Lys. 13 § 4 καθίζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνιχίασν and § 54, ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐκάθητο.

τῶν πεντακοτών] added to contrast the βουλή of the Five Hundred with that of the Areopagus mentioned in the context.

ἀνηρέθη] Plut. Per. 10 ad fin. Έφιάλτην ... ἐπιβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δι' ᾿Αριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ (υ.λ. -αἰου) κρυφαίως ἀνείλον, ως ᾿Αριστοτέλης εἰρηκεν. In the same chapter Plutarch quotes and rejects the account of Idomeneus, κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους, ὡς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινωνὸν ὅντα τῆς ἐν τῆ πολιτεία προαιρέσεως δολοφωνήσαντος διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης. Diod. xi 77, 6, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναιρεθεὶς άδηλον ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν. [Plat.] Ακιολ. 368 D, ποῦ δ' Ἐφιάλτης (τέθνηκε); Αntiph. 5 § 68, οὐδέπω νῦν εθρηνται οἱ ἀνακτείναντες. ΧΧΥΙ. Cimon.

§ 1. dvieσθαι πολιτείαν] The metaphorical use of dvieσθαι is common in

Ar. e.g. Rhet. i 4, 1360 a 24, πολιτείαι και ανιέμεναι και έπιτεινόμεναι φθείρονται (with Cope's note), Pol. v 1, 1301 b 17, ba έπιταθώσιν $\hat{\eta}$ άρεθώσιν al πολιτείαι, vi (iv) 3, 1290 a 28, πολιτείαι ανειμέναι και μαλακαί (opp. to συντονώτεραι), iv (vii) 4, 1326 a 28, πολιτεία ανειμένη πρός τὸ πλ $\hat{\eta}$ θος. The origin of the metaphor (from the strings of a musical instrument) may be seen in Pol. v (viii) 7, 1342 b 22, αρμονίαι ανειμέναι opp. to σύντονοι.

For the facts, cf. Plut. Cimon 15, ώς

For the facts, cf. Plut. Cimon 15, ως δε πάλιν έπι στρατείαν έξέπλευσε, τελέως άνεθέντες οι πολλοί και συγχέωντες τόν καθεστῶτα τῆς πολιτείας κόσμων τά τε πάτρια νόμιμα, οις έχρῶντο πρότερον, Εφιάλτου προεστῶτος ἀφείλοντο τῆς έξ λαρείου πάγου βουλῆς τὰς κρίσεις πλὴν όλίγων ἀπάσας, και τῶν δικαστηρίων κυρίους ἐαυτούς ποιήσαντες εἰς ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν ἐνέβαλον τὴν πόλω, ῆδη και Περικλέους δυναμένου και τὰ τῶν πολλῶν φρονοῦντος. The time to which Plutarch refers is later than Cimon's subjugation of Thasos (463 Clinton; 457 Bauer). He is following those who place the beginning of the influence of Pericles at an earlier date than that assumed in the present treatise.

τολς δημαγωγούντας] Pol. 1274 α
14, δημαγωγούς έλαβε φαύλους.
νεώτερον] possibly means 'rather young'

ρου όντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν όψὲ προσελθόντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις έφθάρθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον· τῆς γὰρ στρατείας γυγνομένης εν τοις τότε χρόνοις εκ καταλόγου, και στρατηγών εφισ[τ]αμένων ἀπείρων μέν τοῦ πολεμεῖν τιμωμένων δὲ διὰ τὰς πατρικάς δόξας, αξί συνέβαινεν των εξιόντων ανά δισγιλίους ή τρισγιλίους 10 ἀπόλλυσθαι, [ώ]στε ἀναλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ

7 FIN (K-W).

10 AIEI (K, K-W).

to be the leader of a great political party. But, as Cimon had fought at Salamis 18 But, as Cimon had fought at Salamis 18 years before (Plut. Cim. 5), he could hardly have been less than 36 in B.C. 462; and was probably more than 40, if we place his birth in 504 (the date given on p. 39 of Ekker's ed. of Plut. Cim.). His birth should probably be placed earlier, as he was στρατηγός (and therefore over 30) at Eion in 476 (Thuc. i 98). Again. Pericles, who was probably born Again, Pericles, who was probably born in B.C. 493, is described as a young man (réos ar, 27 § 1), when he made his reputation by accusing Cimon, presumably after the expedition to Thasos, 463. How then can Cimon, who was obviously older than Pericles, and who had won the battle of Eurymedon three years before, be described as 'rather young' shortly after B.C. 462? νεώτερον has therefore been generally regarded as corrupt, and various emendations have been suggested, expressive of Cimon's inadequacy for the position of a political leader. The fact that his intellectual development was somewhat tardy is implied in the story preserved by Aristides, ii 203 Dind., according to which his guardians did not allow him to manage his own property until some time after he had come of age (μέχρι πόρρω της ήλικίας), while in Plut. Cim. 4 he is said to have resembled his father in εθήθεια. (Cf. Wyse in Class. Rev. v 274 b.) The combination of reώτερον and δψε προσελθύντα is in itself open to suspicion.

is in itself open to suspicion.

*νωθρότερον (which has been suggested) is found in Ameipsias, frag. 16, Pollux ix 138; cf. the description of Chares in Theopompus, frag. 288, *νωθροῦ τ' ὅντος καὶ βραδέος. See also Schol. to Aristides in iii 515, 8—10 and 517, 28—30 Dind.

νεώτερον is, however, retained by Bauer (p. 101), who suggests that, under the influence of the Areopagus, the leaders of the political parties had generally been elderly men. Mr E. M. Walker (Class. elderly men. Rev. vi 98) holds that the epithet is consistent with c. 25 which implies that Themistocles was at Athens in 462: 'it

is only when we recognise that the author ...put the battle of Eurymedon some eight years too late, and that the interval between Tanagra and the five years' truce found no place in his historical retrospect, that we can understand how he came to apply to Cimon in the year 462 those much discussed words rewrepor orra kal

πρός την πόλιν όψε προσελθόντα.]

πρός την πόλιν όψε προσελθόντα.]

having been rather late in entering on public life.' I am not aware of any exact parallel to this phrase; but we have someparallel to this phrase; but we have thing like it in c. 27 § 1, πρὸς τὸ δημαγωγεῦν έλθώντος.

έκ καταλόγου] 'from the roll of hoplites,' as contrasted with the mercenary troops that came into vogue at a later date.

warpurds] here 'ancestral.' See c. 28

\$ 5.
dvd Signiklovs—dw6hhvo8ai] Isocr. De Pace § 87 (of the losses sustained by De Pace § 87 (of the losses sustained by Athens in her pursuit of supremacy of sea), τοὺς κατὰ χιλίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀποθνήσκοντας τὶς αν ἀμιθμήσειεν; Pol. viii (v) 3, 1303 a 9, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεξή οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τὸν Απενικών πλολούν. Λακωνικόν πόλεμον.

dw6\lambda\verture Between 462 and 457
B.C. the Athenians were defeated by
the Corinthians at Halieis (458; Thuc. i 105, 1), and by the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra (457; ib. 108, 1). The opera-tions in Egypt, which had been begun in 460, came to an unsuccessful conclusion in 455 (ib. 110, 1). On the other hand, they were victorious over the Peloponnesians on the sea at Kekryphaleia, and over the Aeginetans in a naval engagement in 458 (Thuc. i 105, 1—2). During the absence of the main body of the Athenian soldiers in Egypt and Aegina, Myronides defeated the Corinthians in the territory of Megara (458, i 105, 4). In 456 the Athenians defeated the Boeotians at Oenophyta, and in the same year Aegina yielded to Athens.

τῶν εὐπόρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πάντα διώκουν οὖχ ὁμοίως καὶ 2 πρότερου τοις νόμοις προσέχοντες, την δε των εννέα άρχόντων αιρεσιν ουκ εκίνουν, άλλ' έκτφ έτει μετά τον Εφιάλτου θάνατον . 15 έγνωσαν καὶ ἐκ ζευγιτῶν προκρίνεσθαι τοὺς κληρωσομένους τῶν έννέα άρχόντων, καὶ πρώτος ήρξεν έξ αὐτών Μνησιθείδης. οί δὲ προ τούτου πάντες έξ ίππέων και πεντακοσιομεδίμνων ήσαν, οί $<\delta \hat{\epsilon}>\zeta$ ευγίται τ \hat{a} ς $\hat{\epsilon}$ γκυκλίους $\hat{\eta}$ ρχον, $\epsilon \hat{\iota}$ μή τι παρεωρ \hat{a} το τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν $\hat{\epsilon}$ ν τοις νόμοις. ἔτει δὲ πέμπτφ μετά ταῦτα ἐπὶ Λυσικράτους ἄρχον- 3 20 τος οί τριάκοντα δικασταί κατέστησαν πάλιν οί καλούμενοι κατά δήμους καὶ τρίτω μετά τοῦτον ἐπὶ ᾿Αντιδότου διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν 4 πολιτών, Περικλέους εἰπόντος, ἔγνωσαν μη μετέχειν της πόλεως ος / αν μη έξ άμφοιν άστοιν ή γεγονώς.

12 ovx quondam delebat Wyse. 14 άλλ' ή Blass (H-L). 18 & add. K post παρεωράτο deletum ὑπὸ τῶν δήμων retinent H-L. (edd.). 21 METAY-23 HN: COTT. K. TON ante corr. (K1, H-L, B); μετά τοῦτον post corr. (K-W, K2).

§ 2. oux ouoles—wpoorexorres] The main change was the reduction of the power of the Areopagus. But while, in this and other respects, Athens departed from her previous constitutional arrangements, she retained the limitations under which the archons were appointed from among the first and second classes of It was not until 457 that the archonship was thrown open to members of the third class.

έκτφ έτα] It was in 462 B.C. that Ephialtes overthrew the Areopagus; and 457 is the date of the change in the archonship immediately before the archonship of Mnesitheides. The latter event is 5 years (or in the sixth year) after the former. The change in the archonship is here described as happenarchonship is here described as happen-ing in the sixth year 'after the death of Ephialtes.' It follows (as observed by Mr Kenyon) that Ephialtes was put to death in the year in which he overthrew the Areopagus.

ek [evyitiev] Originally the office of archon was open to members of the first class only (cf. c. 7 § 3 and Plut. Arist. 1). In course of time it became open to the second class, possibly after the Persian wars, when, according to Plut. Arist. 22, the archonship was made accessible to 'all the Athenians,' on the motion of Aristides, who (after the battle at Plataea) γράφει ψήφοιμα κοινήν είναι τήν πολιτείαν και τους άρχοντας έξ 'Αθηναίων πάντων αιρεῦσθαι. Lastly, in 457 we here have the office open to the third class. It was never legally open to the fourth class (c. \ 7 ad fin.). Cf. Abbott, Hist. Gr. ii 385-6.

προκρίνεσθαι] 8 § 1; 22 § 5.
κληρωσομένους τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων]
sc. ἀρχήν. Lysias 6 § 4, ἐὰν ἔλθη κληρωσόμενος τῶν ἐντέα ἀρχόντων καὶ λάχη βασιλεύς, and ib. 24 § 13, τί με κωλύει κληρουσοι των έννέα άρχόντων;

Mynpotet8ng] B.C. 457/6.

τds εγκυκλίουε] sc. 4ρχάs, 'the ordinary
(i.e. inferior) offices.' Pol. i 7, 1255 6 25, τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα, ii 5, 1263 α
21, τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους, ii 9, 1269 δ 35, χρησίμου δ' οδοτης της θρασύτητος πρός οδδέν των έγκυκλίων άλλ' είπερ πρός τον πόλεμον. The term had already been similarly used by Isocr. 3 § 22, ev τοις εγκυκλιοις και τοις καθ' ημέραν εκάστην γιγνομένοις, and de Pace 87. Inf. C. 43,

l. 3.

el μή τι παρεωράτο] 'assuming the laws were strictly observed'; in other than the strictly observed that class words, the members of the third class were, strictly speaking, eligible for the ordinary offices alone; but occasionally by an oversight they were elected to the office of archon. Similarly, in later times even members of the fourth class became archons, although not legally qualified.

\$ 3. ἐπὶ Αυσικράτους] B.C. 453/2.
οὶ τρίακοντα] 16 § 5.
§ 4. ἐπὶ 'Αντιδότου] B.C. 451/0.
Περικλόους εἰπόντος—γεγονώς] Pol.
iii 5, 1278 a 34, τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῦν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιοῦσιν. Plut. Perj. cles 37, ακμάζων ο Περικλής έν τη πολιτεία προ πάνυ πολλών χρόνων και παίδας έχων 27. μετά δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ δημαγωγεῖν ἐλθόντος Περικλέους, καὶ πρῶτον εὐδοκιμήσαντος ὅτε κατηγόρησε τὰς εὐθύνας Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος νέος ὄν, δημοτικωτέραν ἔτι συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ γὰρ τῶν ᾿Αρεοπαγιτῶν ἔνια παρείλετο, καὶ μάλιστα προὔτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐξ ἦς συνέβη 5

ΣΣΥΠ 2 πρωτογ: πρὸ τοῦ Jackson, van Leeuwen; πρῶτον Blass, alii (κ-w, H-L, κ³). 4 παρειλέτο (κ, H-L, β): περιείλετο κ-w, cf. 25 vv. 8, 22. 5 προύτρεψε H-L.

... γκησίους, νόμον έγραψε μόνους 'Αθηναίους είναι τοὺς έκ δυεῖν 'Αθηναίων γεγονότας. Aclian Var. Hist. vi 10, xiii 24, frag. 68. Cf. Isacus 8 § 19; 12 § 9; Aeschin. 1 § 39. Philippi, Bürgerrecht, p. 69 seq.

The text places this event early in the public career of Parioles. Plutanh alexant.

8 39. Philippi, Burgerrech, p. 09 sq.

The text places this event early in the public career of Pericles: Plutarch places it later. It has been argued that no such law could have been proposed by Pericles (see Buermann, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. Suppl. Bd ix 624-, 1878; Gilbert, Gr. St. i 179; Schenkl, Wiener Studien, ii 171; Duncker, Bericht d. Berl. Akad., 1883, p. 935; Busolt in Müller's Handbuch IV I, 141). According to these, the 'law of Pericles' was really a revision of the list of citizens in 445/4 (Athenaeum, 1891, 435 c). See also Westermann's Introduction to Dem. Eubulides.

XXVII. Pericles.

κατηγόρησε -- Κίμωνος νέος άν] Plutarch, Cim. 14, states that Cimon was put on his trial on his return from the reduction of Thasos on the ground that he had been bribed not to follow up his success by an invasion of Macedonia: δίκην έφυγε (έφευγε? cf. Plut. Per. 10, ότε—δίκην έφευγε) των έχθρων συστάντων έπ' αυτόν. He also quotes from Cimon's contemporary, Stesimbrotus, the story of Cimon's sister Elpinice appealing to Pericles (οδτος γάρ ήν των κατηγόρων ὁ σφοδρό-τατος) in favour of her brother. The result was that Pericles έν γε τη δίκη πραότατον γενέσθαι τῷ Κίμωνι καὶ πρὸς την κατηγορίαν άπαξ άναστήναι μόνον, ώσπερ άφοσιούμενον. In Plut. Pericles 10, he is described as είς των κατηγόρων... ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, and as having done less than the rest of the prosecutors to damage the cause of Cimon. Cimon's expedition to Thasos has generally been placed in B.C. 465—3. The date suggested by Bauer for the revolt of Thasos is 459, and for its reduction (τρίτψ έτει, Thuc. i 101) 457.

eiθίναι 59 § 2, στρατηγοῖς εὐθύνας. τῶν 'Αροοπαγιτῶν ἔνια παρείλετο] Plutarch, *Pericles* 9, describes Pericles as attacking the Areopagus after he had instituted pay for the law courts at the instance of 'Damonides.' He also states that it was by the aid of Ephialtes that he deprived the Areopagus of the greatest part of its jurisdiction. In the text, which Plutarch professes to follow, by quoting Aristotle as his authority for 'Damonides,' the present attack on the Areopagus is placed before the account of the payment of the law courts; and Ephialtes is no longer alive (e. 28 & 4).

altes is no longer alive (c. 25 § 4).

παραιρεῖσθαι, in mid., is used of 'disfranchising persons' in Pol. iii 5, 1278 α
32, εὐποροῦντει δὴ ὅχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραιροῦνται τοὺς ἐκ δούλου πρῶτον ἡ δούλης,
14, 1285 ὁ 16, τῶν ὅχλων παραιρουμένων (of the withdrawal of royal privileges on the part of the people), viii (v) 10, 1311 ὁ 6, γυναῖκα παρελέσθαι, to seduce. In Hdt. ii 109, π. τί τινος is used in the general sense of 'taking away from,' stealing away from.' In c. 15 §§ 3, 4, and twice in 37 § 2, it is applied to δπλα.

general sense of 'taking away from,' 'stealing away from.' In c. 15 §§ 3, 4, and twice in 37 § 2, it is applied to δπλα. περιαιρείσθαι is similarly used of 'stripping off' and 'taking away,' ε.g. Dem. p. 246, 23, ἀπάντων...ἀνυθερίαν περιείλετο, Ροί. vii (vi) 2, 1318 α 1, (τὰ ταιαῦτα δημοτικά)...ἀν δέ τις καταλεφθή ἐξ ἀρχαίας μεταβολής, τότε περιαιρείσθαι τὴν δύναμν αὐτής καὶ ἐξ αἰρετῶν κληρωτούς ποιεῦν. Both words are equally defensible and the Ms reading may therefore be retained. We have περιαιρείσθαι τὰ ἐπίθετα in 25 § 2, and τὴν δύναμν in 25 § 4; we also have περιαιρείσθαι στέφανον in c. 57 § 4.

** ναυτικήν δύναμιν | Pol. vii (vi) 7, 1321 α 14, ή δὲ ψιλή δύναμις και ναυτική δημοτική πάμπαν. viii (v) 4, 1304 α 22 (immediately after mention of the influence of the Areopagus), και πάμω ο καυτικός δχλος γενόμενος αίτιος τῆς περί Σαλαμῶνα νίκης και διὰ ταύτης (ταύτην εοπί. Susemihl) τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν Ισχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν. The inhabitants of the Peiraeus, consisting mainly of the ναντικός δχλος, were distinctively democratical.

(θαρρήσαντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄπασαν τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἄγειν είς αύτούς. μετά δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίαν ένὸς δείν πεντη- 2 κοστώ έτει έπι Πυθοδώρ[ου] ἄρχοντος ό πρός Πελοποννησίους ενέστη πόλεμος, εν δ κατακλησθείς ο δήμος εν τῷ ἄστει καὶ συνιο εθισθείς έν ταις στρατείαις μισθοφορείν, τὰ μέν έκων τὰ δὲ ἄκων προηρείτο την πολιτείαν διοικείν αὐτός. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρα 3 τὰ δικαστήρια Περικλής πρώτος, ἀντιδημαγωγών πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν. ὁ γὰρ Κίμων, ἄτε τυραννικὴν ἔχων οὐσίαν, πρῶτον μέν τὰς κοινὰς λητουργίας έλητούργει λαμπρώς, ἔπειτα τών δημο-

6 MACAN: #âsar B, awasar ceteri. 7 Δει (H-L, B): δεῶν J E B Mayor, K-W, K3. 9 ENECTH: συνέστη H-L: confert K c. 5 vv. 11, 22; 17 v. 15; 41 v. 2, -KAICθEIC: -κλεισθείς K, cf. 19, 32; quibus omnibus in locis H-L συνέστη malunt. -κλησθείς K-W, H-L, B. 10 CTPATIAIC.

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. 14—18 Heraclidis epitoma (Rose, Ar. Frag. 611, 58): τουν ίδιουν άγρουν όπωρίζειν παρείχε τοις βουλομένοις, έξ ων πολλούς έδειπηζε. *Plut. Cim. 10 (infra exscriptum).

θαρρήσαντας] c. 22 and 24 § 1.

\$2. Sety] c. 19 end.

And Hubbodopov] B.C. 432/1, 48 years after 480/79. Thuc.ii 2, § 1 fixes the date of the beginning of the war as the Spring of 431, Πυθοδώρου έτι δόο μήνας άρχοντος.
ἐνέστη] συνέστη has been proposed, on the ground that ἐνέστη refers to a bellum instans, and oweorn to a bellum ortum. Thuc. i 15 § 2, κατά γην δε πόλεμος... ούδεις ξυνέστη. It is true that in Isocr. p. 82 Β τον πόλεμον τον ένστάντα...τŷ πόλει refers to an imminent war, but it is equally true that in Dem. 255, 10 (cf. 274, 6) the beginning of a war is expressed by δ τότε ένστας πόλεμος. Cf. Aeschin. F.L. 58, έτι τοῦ πολέμου... ἐνεστηκότος. The latter phrase is contrasted, in the Rhet. ad Alex. 3, 1425 a 36, with γίγνεσθαι μέλλων. Ar. Rhet. i. 9, 1366 b 23, κατά τον έν-εστώτα καιρόν. Φυσική 'Ακρόασις, iv 13, 222 δ 14, δ χρόνος έγγυς τοῦ ένεστωτος

κατακλησθείς-άστει] Thuc. ii 13 § 2, (Pericles) παρήνει την πόλιν είσελθόντας

φυλάσσειν, ib. 14—17.
§ 3. εποίησε μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια] Pol. ii 12, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς. Plut. Per. 9. Aristides, ii 192 Dind. Boeckh, II xv;

Grote, c. 46, iv 103; Gilbert, Gr. St. i 325.

TUPAVVIKIV—ovolav] Cimon, son of Miltiades, was (on the side of his mother, Hegesipyle) grandson of the Thracian king Olorus (Plut. Cim. 4). The fine of 50 talents inflicted on Miltiades was paid by Cimon.

λητουργίας έλητούργει] λητουργείν and λητουργός are quoted as Attic forms by Ancient grammarians (Ammonius 80; Moeris 201; Bekker's Anced. 277, οι παλαιοί 'Αττικοί διά τοῦ η Ελεγον λητουργεῦν); and the forms in λη- are found in inscriptions of the fourth century. In 386 B.C. we have [λ]ηιτουργιών, CIA in add. 554 b 14; in the time of Demosthenes and Aristotle, τά[s d]λλας ληι-[τουργ]las καλώς ληιτου[ργ]ei..., ib. 557, 5; in 340-332, ληιτού[ργ]ησαν, ib. 172,

τοις δεομένοις άδεως ύπαρχη λαμβάνειν της όπώρας, και δείπνον οίκοι παρ' αύτῷ λιτόν μέν, άρκοῦν δὲ πολλοῖς, ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ἡμέραν, εφ' δ των πενήτων δ βουλόμενος είσηει καί διατροφήν είχεν απράγμονα, μόνοις τοις δημοσίοις σχολάζων. ως δ' 'Αριστοτέλης φησίν, ούχ απάντων 'Αθη-ναίων, άλλα των δημοτών αυτού Λακιαδών παρεσκευάζετο βουλομένω το δείπνον. Pericl. 9, er apxi ... * pos the Kluwes obtar άντιταττόμενος ύπεποιείτο τον δήμον έλαττούμενος δὲ πλούτω και χρήμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας δεῖπνόν τε καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένω παρέχων 'Αθηναίων και τούς πρεσβυτέρους άμφιεννύων, τών τε χωρίων τούς φραγμούς άφαιρώς όπως όπωρίζωσιν οι βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ό Περικλής καταδημαγωγούμενος τρέπεται πρός την των δημοσίων διανομήν.

τῶν ἔτρεφε πολλούς· ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ βουλομένῷ Λακιαδῶν καθ 15 ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλθόντι παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὰ μέτρια, ἔτι δὲ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἄφρακτα ἢν, ὅπως ἐξῆ τῷ βουλομένῷ τῆς ὀπώρας 4 ἀπολαύειν. πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν χορηγίαν ἐπιλειπόμενος ὁ Περικλῆς τῆ οὐσία, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Οἰῆθεν (δς

15 τογαπολλογα, deleto τογα. 17 εξην: ἐξῆ (κ-w, h-l, κ³, b). 18 επιλειπ: ἀπολειπόμενος Richards (h-l). 19 < Δάμωνος > Δαμωνίδου "Οαθεν Wyse (Class. Rev. v 227), cf. Wilamowitz, Hermes xiv 320. Οἰῆθεν h-l, κ³ (Meisterhans, 45²); Οἰηθεν κ-w, b.

19 *Plut. Per. 9 (Ar. Frag. 3652, 4033), infra exscriptum.

story of Cimon's generosity appears in an exaggerated form in Theopompus, Philippica x (FHG ii 293, ap. Athen. 533 A), Kluw δ 'Aθηναίος έν τοις αγροίς και τοις κήποις οὐδένα τοῦ καρποῦ καθίστα φύλακα, όπως οι βουλόμενοι των πολιτών είσιόντες δπωρίζωνται και λαμβάνωσιν εί τινος δέοιντο τών έν τοις χωρίοις. Επειτα την οίκίαν παρείχε κοινήν απασι και δείπνον del εύτελες παρασκευάζεσθαι πολλοίς drθρώποις, και τους απόρους προσιόντας των 'Αθηναίων εισιόντας δειπνεύν. This exag-gerated account is recorded by Plutarch to be corrected on the authority of the present passage. Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, was no less careful in adhering to the truth, Cic. de Off. ii 64, 'Theophrastus scribit Cimonem Athenis etiam in suos curiales Laciadas hospitalem fuisse: ita enim instituisse et vilicis imperavisse, ut omnia praeberentur, qui-cumque Laciades in villam suam dever-tisset.' The excerpts ascribed to Heracleides tell the same story of Ephialtes: Έφ. τους ίδιους άγρους όπωρίζειν παρείχε τοις βουλομένοις, έξ ων πολλούς έδειπνιζε. The text is apparently the authority followed by the Schol. on Aristides, iii 517 30 Dind., τους γάρ φραγμούς ύπανεψγνυ τοις βουλομένοις όπωρίζεσθαι των αύτοῦ καί την οικίαν αριστούσιν αιρεύσθαι (?), and ib. p. 446 l. 18. Cf. Nepos, Cimon 4 § 1. The various forms which the story of

The various forms which the story of the generosity of Cimon assumed have been examined in *Mnemosyne*, ix 58.

Δακαδών] The δημόται of Cimon,

Plut. Cim. 4. The deme itself was also called Auxidoa.

rd μέτρια] 'moderate provision,' Xen. Lac. i 3, στος μετριώτατος, Mem. ii 6, 22, τὰ μ. κεκτήσθαι, Cyr. v 2, 17, μετριώτης τῶν σίτων. Subra 16 & 2.

τῶν σίτων. Supra 16 § 3.

δπως ἐξῆ] This implies that Cimon caused his fences to be pulled down in order to allow his fellow demesmen to enter his orchards. This constr. is sup-

ported by δπως όπωρίζωνται in Theopompus and δπως όπωρίζωσιν in Plut. Per. 9. δπως ἐξῆν would be quite out of place here (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, § 3332).

§ 4. ἐπιλειπόμενος] ἐπιλείπεσθαι in pass. c. gen., 'to fall short of,' is found in [Plat.] Épinomis 978 A. ἐπιλείπευ is far more frequently used in act. in the sense of 'to fail.' In Ar. we have Εth. iv 3, 1121 a 34, 17, ταχὺ ἐπιλείψει αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, and there are several exx. of its intransitive use. ἀπολειπόμενος does not appear to be supported by the usage of Aristotle, as shewn in the Index Aristotelicus. More probable than either is ὑπολειπόμενος. Cf. Pol. iv (vii) 16, 1334 b 39, δεῖ οῦτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις τὰ τέκνα τῶν πατέρων οῦτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι, and i 5, 1254 b 35, εἰ τοσοῦταν γένουτο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα δσον αὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους (inferiores) πάντες φαῖεν ἀν ἀξίους εἶναι τοῦτοις δουλεύεων.

Δαμωνίδου] Damonides is mentioned in Plut. Per. 9, τρέπεται πρός τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομὴν συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Οξηθεν ("Οαθεν Sintenis, collato Steph. Byz. s. v. "Οα: Δημωνίδου τοῦ "Οαθεν vulg.), ὡς "Αριστοτέλης ἰστόρηκε. Damon, τὸ. 4, ὁ δὲ Δάμων...τῷ Περικλεῖ συνῆν καθάπερ ἀθλητῷ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτης καὶ διδάσκαλος...ἀλλ' ὡς μεγαλόφων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη, τὸ. 14, Nic. 6, and Arist. 1. Plat. Alc. i 118 C, Lach. 180 D, Rep. 400 B, 424 C. Duncker, G. d. A., ix c. 8; Busolt, ii 443: Holm. ii 245. 17.

443; Holm, ii 345, 17.

Δάμων and Δαμωνίδης appear to be two forms of name belonging to one person (cf. Duncker, Gesch. des All. ix p. 12, n. 1).

As other exx. of double names we have Κλεανδρίδης and Κλέανδρος, Φρασικλείδης and Φρασικλής, Εύβουλίδης and Εδβουλος, Τευταμίδης and Τεύταμος, Σιμχίδης and Σίμχος, Μαιανδρίδης and Μαΐανδρος, Θεσπιάδης and Θέσπιος (Hemsterhuys on

20 έδόκει τῶν πολλῶν εἰσηγητὴς εἶναι τῷ Περικλεῖ, διὸ καὶ ἀστράκισαν αὐτὸν ὕστερον), ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡττᾶτο, διδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἀφ' ὧν αἰτιῶν- 5 ταί τινες χείρους γενέσθαι, κληρουμένων ἐπιμελῶς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἤρξατο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ 25 τὸ δεκάζειν, πρώτου καταδείξαντος ᾿Ανύτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πύλφ

20 Πολλων (κ-w, κ³, Β): Πολεμων (κ¹), πολιτικών Wyse (h-l).
22 δικαστηρίοις Blass, Richards (h-l), propter χειρω in versu proximo positum.

Richards (h-l).
23 χειρω (κ, h-l): χείρους Newman, Hude, κ-w; τὰ πράγματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, νel τὴν πόλιν, excidisse putant J B Mayor et Rutherford; τὰ κατὰ τὰ δικαστήρια desiderat Bury.

25 ᾿Ανύτου: ΔΥΤΟΥ corr. Κ.

25 "Harp. δεκάζων:...'Αρ. δ' έν 'Αθ. πολ. "Ανυτόν φησι καταδείξαι το δεκάζειν τα δικαστήρια. Bekk. Απ. p. 211, 31 "Ανυτός: οὖτος πρώτος δικαστήριον < δεκάζειν > κατέδειξεν. Schol. Aeschin. i 87 ἐδέκαζεν οὖν διέφθειρεν ἀργυρίω τοὺς δικαστάς: ἤρξατο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου πρώτος "Ανυτός. Bekk. Απ. p. 236, δ (= Etym. M. p. 254, 31) πρώτος δ' ἐδόκει δεκάσαι Μέλης (leg. "Ανυτός) τὰς εὐθύνας διδοὺς τῆς ἐν Πύλω στρατηγίας ἦν κακώς ἐστρατήγησεν. Cf. Rose, 371², 409³.

Lucian, Timon, p. 157), Καλλιπίδης and Κάλλιππος, 'Αγνωνίδης and Agnon, 'Εξηκεστόδης and 'Εξήκεστος, Εὐφρωνίδης and Εὐφρωνιόδης and Μεγακλής, Μεγακρέδης and Μεγακλής, Μεγακρέδης and Εάνθιππος (Ο. Crusius in N. Jahrb., 1891, pp. 385—394, 'Die Anwendung von Vollnamen und Kurznamen bei derselben Person'). Plutarch, Per. 4 init., tells us that certain persons said that the first syllable of Δάμων was pronounced short.

Mr Kenyon suggests that Plutarch confused two persons, the musician Damon, son of Damonides of Oa, and the politician Damonides of Oln, and transferred to the former some of the attributes of the latter. The demonymic of the former would be Oaber; of the latter, Olnber. This has also been suggested by Gomperz, Deutsche Rundschau, May 1891, p. 232, and is probably the best solution of the discrepancy.

είσηγητής] apparently not found in Ar. Thuc. viii 48, τους καλούς κάγαθούς—ποριστάς όντας και είσηγητάς των κακών τῷ δήμῳ. Pol. ii 8, 1268 ὁ 30, είσηγεῖσθαι (advise, propose) νόμων λύσω, and vi (iv) 1, 1289 α 1, τοιαύτην είσηγεῖσθαι τάξιν, and several times in [Ar.] Rhet. ad Alex. Thuc. iv 76, έσηγουμένου (τινός), 'on his proposal.'

Siboval role mollows rd avraw] 'to offer the people what was their own'—an easy piece of liberality. In epigrammatic point this phrase is somewhat of an exception to the ordinary style of the treatise and reminds one of Aristotle's manner; but the epigram is ascribed to Damon and the writer does not necessarily

claim it as his own. 'The dry way in which the sarcastic counsel of Damonides of Oca, the Ahithophel of his time, is repeated is not unlike Aristotle' (W. L. Newman, Class, Rev. v 150 b).

repeated is not unlike Aristotle' (W. L. Newman, Class. Rev. v 159 b).

χείρους γενίσθαι] The writer is possibly referring to Plato's Gorgias 515 E, ταυτ' γάρ Εγωγε άκούω, Περικλέα πεποιηκέναι 'Αθηναίους άργοὺς καὶ δείλοὺς καὶ λάλους καὶ φιλαργόρους, εἰς μισθοφορίαν πρώτον καταστήσαντα. Aristotle often refers to Plato in the Politics as τινες, ε.g. in iv (vii) 7, 5, 1327 b 38 (W. L. Newman in Class. Rev. v 160 b).

§ 5. δεκάζειν] Lys. 29 § 12, δεδεκασμένοι, Isocr. 8 § 50, θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης, ἐάν τις ἀλφ δεκάζων, Aeschin. 1 § 87, μαρτυρεῦν τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐδέκαζε τὸν δὲ ἐδέκαζετο. Cf. note on Dem. 46 § 26, ἐάν τις...συνδεκάζη τὴν ἡλιαίαν in Select Private Orations, ii 139, ed. 1886. Plut. Pericl. 9 § 3, συνδεκάσας τὸ πλήθος.

'Ανύτου] In 409 B.C. Pylos, which had remained an Athenian post since 425, was articles by the Lacedaemonians. The

"Aνύτου] In 409 B.C. Pylos, which had remained an Athenian post since 425, was retaken by the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians had sent to its relief 30 triremes under Anytus, who however came back without even reaching the place. On his return he was put on his trial for having betrayed the trust confided to him. Diodorus xiii 64. Plut. Coriolanus 14, 'Αθήνησι δὲ λέγεται πρῶτος ἀργύριον δοῦναι δικασταῖς 'Ανυτος ὁ 'Ανθεμίωνος προδοσίας περὶ Πυλου κρινόμενος (Grote c. 63, v 465). He is mentioned in c. 34 § 3 as one of the leaders of the moderate section of the oligarchical party. He was afterwards notorious as one of the prosecutors of Socrates (Anyti reus).

στρατηγίαν. κρινόμενος γάρ ὑπό τινων διὰ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν Πύλον, δεκάσας τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπέφυγεν.

28. ἔως μὲν οὖν Περικλής προειστήκει τοῦ δήμου βελτίω τὰ κατά την πολιτείαν ην, τελευτήσαντος δε Περικλέους πολύ χείρω. πρώτον γάρ τότε προστάτην έλαβεν ο δήμος οὐκ εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρά τοις επιεικέσιν εν δε τοις πρότερον χρόνοις άει διετέλουν οί 2 έπιεικείς δημαγωγούντες. Εξ άργης μεν γάρ και πρώτος εγένετο 5 προστάτης του δήμου Σόλων, δεύτερος δε Πεισίστρατος, τών εύγενων καὶ γνωρίμων καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος Κλεισθένης, τοῦ γένους ῶν τῶν ᾿Αλκμεωνιδῶν, καὶ τούτφ μὲν οὐδεὶς ἢν ἀντιστασιώτης ώς εξέπεσον οί περί τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μεν δήμου προειστήκει Εάνθιππος, των δε γνωρίμων Μιλτιάδης 10 έπειτα Θεμιστοκλής καὶ 'Αριστείδης μετά δὲ τούτους 'Εφιάλτης μέν τοῦ δήμου, Κίμων δ' ὁ Μιλτιάδου τῶν εὐπόρων εἶτα Περικλής μέν τοῦ δήμου, Θουκυδίδης δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων, κηδεστής ῶν Κίμωνος. 3 Περικλέους δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῶν μὲν ἐπιφανῶν προειστήκει Νικίας, ὁ ἐν Σικελία τελευτήσας, τοῦ δὲ δήμου Κλέων ὁ Κλεαι- 15

XXVIII 6-7 TÛN EÛYEPÛN KAL YNWPLHUN SECL. K-W; TÛN EÛYEPÛN <ÂN> KTÂ Richards (H-L, B).

TESTIMONIA. XXVIII 15-18 *Schol. in Luciani Timonem 30 (i p. 100 ed. Bipontinae, p. 47 Jacobitz): ὁ δὲ Κλέων δημαγωγός ην 'Αθηναίων προστάς αὐτῶν ἐπτά

XXVIII. The successors of Pericles. § 1. Περικλής προειστήκει του δήμου] From about B.C. 450 (c. 28 § 1) till his death in the summer of 429. The writer's praise of the policy of Pericles is so briefly expressed, that it hardly arrests our attention. The text implies that the excellence of that policy was not absolute, but relative:—βελτίω, as contrasted with that The of his successors, which was χείρω. merits of Pericles are here recognised with far less generosity than in the pages of Thucydides. In the text, Pericles is the last leader of the popular party who, owing to his high birth, was acceptable even to his opponents: the decadence begins with his successor, Cleon, who had no such advantages.

πρώτον -- ούκ εὐδοκιμοθντα] Pol. 1274 a 13-15, ὁ δημος...δημαγωγούς ελαβε φαύλους αντιπολιτευομένων των έπιεικων.

οί έπιεικείς δημαγωγούντες] Schol. Ατίστ. Ραχ 681, πρότερον δημαγωγούντων των πών πών λαμπρών πολιτών.
§ 2. προστάτης του δήμου] a purely

unofficial title, applied to the leader of the popular party. Cf. 2 § 2, and see Whibley's Political Parties, p. 51.

τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ γνωρίμων] We must

either insert we after everwe, or understand the words to refer to Solon and Peisistratus, or remove them from the text. In any case Peisistratus, who is described as δημοτικώτατος in 13 § 4 and 14 § 1, is to be regarded as a προστάτης του δήμου and not as a προστάτης τών εύγενων και γνωρίμων. Below, των γνωρίμων is contrasted with του δήμου.

dντιστασιώτης] Hdt. i 92, iv 164, v 69. Not found in Ar. Θεμιστοκλής και Αριστείδης] joint

leaders of the popular party, c. 23 § 3. Θουκυδίδης json of Melesias, of Alopeke mentioned below (§ 5) with Nicias and Theramenes. He was ostracised in 444 B.C., and it has been considered worthy of note that the writer says nothing of this fact (*Rhein. Mus.* xlvi 455), but to mention it here would only impede the natural course of the narrative.

Tŵy erepwy] 'the opposite party,' used here, and below, to avoid the too frequent repetition of των γνωρίμων, των εύπδρων, οτ τών έπιφανών.

§ 3. Niklas—redevrijous] Thuc. vii 86 § 1. Kdiev] Gilbert, Beitrüge, pp. 127—

νέτου, δς δοκεί μάλιστα διαφθείραι τὸν δήμον ταίς όρμαίς, καὶ πρώτος έπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ έλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος έδημηγόρησε, των άλλων έν κόσμφ λεγόντων. είτα μετά τούτους των μεν ετέρων Θηραμένης ο "Αγνωνος, του δε δήμου Κλεο-20 φων ο λυροποιός, δς καὶ τὴν διωβελίαν ἐπόρισε πρώτος καὶ

16 ΟΡΜΔΙΟ, ἐκάστοτε χαριζόμενος vel aliquid eiusmodi desiderat J B Mayor. Scribendum fortasse διανομαῖς, coll. Plut. Arist. 24 (de demagogis post Periclem) τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομάς προαγαγόντες, Per. 9 μασθῶν διανομάς, Aeschin. F. L. 76 Κλεοφῶν διεφθαρκῶς νομῆ χρημάτων τὸν δῆμον, Eth. 1130 b 31 ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τιμῆς ῆ χρημάτων, 1131 b 30 ἀπὸ χρημάτων κοινῶν ἐὰν γίγνηται ἡ διανομή, 1131 a 25. 20 LIWBONIAN.

έτη, δε πρώτος δημηγορών ἀνέκραγεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο... ἐπέστη δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήνη, ὡς Φιλόχορος καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης (᾿Αριστοτέλης Ηemsterhuis quem sequitur Rose, Frag. 368³, 406³), προσθείς ἀρχοντα Εθθυνον ᾿Αριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενον αὐτὸν λέγει δημηγορῆσαι, εἰς τὴν θρασύτητα αὐτοῦ ἀποσκώπτων. Schol. Aeschin. ἱ 25 "ἐν τῷ ἀγορῷ τῷ Σαλαμνίων ἀνάκειται ὁ Σόλων ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρ ἔχων": ἀνετέθη ἡ Σόλωνος εἰκὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν κόσμω λέγειν, ὡς φησιν Αἰσχίνης, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οῦτω τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ἀπήγγειλε. Δημοσθένης μέντοι (Οτ. 19 § 251) νεωστί φησι πρὸ πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀνατεθεῖσθαι ταὐτην τὴν εἰκὸνα. λέγεται δὲ Κλένη ὁ δημογωγρός προσβάς τὸ ἐξ ἔθους σχήμα περιζωή ψεντά ἐνῶν κονοβάς.

16 Κλέων ὁ δημαγωγός παραβάς τὸ ἐξ έθους σχήμα περιζωσάμενος δημηγορήσαι.

16 Heraclidis epitoma, 611, 6. Κλέων παραβαλών διέφθειρε τὸ πολίτευμα.

20—23 Locum de pecunia theorica ad iudicum mercedem male transtulerunt interpretes antiqui. *Schol. Arist. Vesp. 684 τούς τρεῖς ὁβολούς: τὸν φόρον λέγει,

ταίε όρμαίε] hardly 'his wild under-takings' (Kenyon), or even 'his incitations' (Poste), though the latter rendering may Better ses emportements (Reinach), 'his impulsive ways.' ί 1012, πραφτερος και ταις δρμαίς φύσει 1 1012, πραστερος και ταις ορμαις φυσει μαλακώτερος, Them. 2, έν ταις πρώταις τήνε νεότητος όρμαις. The pl. is found in Ar. Eth. i 13, 1102 b 21, έπι τάναντία al όρμαι τών άκρατών, Magn. Mor. i 35, 1197 b 39, άρεται φύσει οίον όρμαι τινες έν έκάστω. In contrast to Cleon, we read of Pericles (Plut. Per. 20) ού συνεχώρει ταις όρμαις των πολιτών. use of the word in the text is curious, and it is perhaps better to propose diaromais which would obviously refer to Cleon's

raising the μισθός δικαστικός to three obols.

επί του βήματος ἀνάκραγε] Neither βήμα nor ἀνακράζω is found in the Index

The Pnyx was first identified by Chandler in 1765 (Travels in Greece, ii 84, ed. 1825) as 'a large semicircular area or terrace, supported by stones of vast size cut into squares, nearly opposite the rock of the Areopagus,' from the centre of which it is distant about a quarter of a mile to the S.W. The excava-tions directed by Lord Aberdeen in 1822 disclosed a projecting cubic block, hewn out of the rock, and approached on each side by steps. This was identified as the $\beta \hat{\eta} \mu a$ of the Athenian orators. It has, however, been maintained by Ulrichs (1842), Welcker (1852), E. Curtius (1862, 1868), that this block is an altar, and the semicircular area a τέμενος of Zevs δψιστος. The site of the $\beta \hat{\eta} \mu a$ is placed by Curtius on the slopes of the 'Museum' hill, due S. of the Areopagus. See his Att. Studien, i 23—, and Stadigeschichte, pp. 30 and 61. See also Prof. Crow and Mr Clarke in

Papers of Amer. School, 1v 205-277.
ανέκραγε] Arist. Vesp. 596, Κλέων δ
κεκραξιδάμας, Εq. 137, Κυκλοβόρου φωνήν

περιζωσάμενος] 'with his cloak girt up short about him' (Kenyon), 'with his robes fastened or tucked up, as if he were engaged in some manual labour' (Poste, n). Cf. Plut. Nic. 9, περισπάσας τὸ Ιμάτιος (with Holden's n), and contrast Mor. if 800 (of Pericles), την χείρα συνέχειν έντὸς τῆς περιβολῆς.

Θηραμένης] inf. § 5. Κλιοφών ὁ λυροποιός] He is so styled by Andoc. de Myst. § 146; Aesch. F. L. 76; and the Scholiast on Aristoph. Thesm. 805, Ran. 681 (as restored by Taylor). Cf. Suidas, s. v. φιλοτιμότεραι Κλεοφώντοι. Aelian, Var. Hist. xii 43, says that his father's name was unknown (Mayor). Cf. Lysias 13 §§ 8, 9, 12; 30 §§ 11—13; and inf. 34 § 1. For further details see Holden's Onomasticon to Aristophanes

την διωβελίαν] Pol. ii 7, 1267 b 1,

χρόνον μέν τινα διεδίδοτο, μετά δὲ ταῦτα κατέλυσε Καλλικράτης Παιανιεὺς πρώτος ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιθήσειν πρὸς τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν 22

21 Διεδιδογ (Β): διεδίδοτο Wyse, Richards, κ-w, H-L (κ s). κατελγεε edd.: κατηύξησε Whibley.

άφ' ων έδίδοτο το τριώβολον. τοῦτο δὲ άλλοτε άλλως έδίδοτο, τῶν δημαγωγῶν τὰ πλήθη κολακευόντων, ως φησω 'Αρ. ἐν πολιτείαις (adde Schol. Vesp. 300, ἢν μὲν γὰρ άστατον τὸ τοῦ μωθοῦ· ποτὲ γὰρ διωβόλου ἦν, ἐγίνετο δὲ ἐπὶ Κλέωνος τριώβολου, Vesp. 88 ἐδίδοτο χρόνον μέν τινα δύο ὀβολοί, ὅστερον δὲ Κλέων στρατηγήσας τριώβολου ἐποίησεν άκμάζοντος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους). Cf. Rose, 411³, 461³. Ceterum Kenyon noster arbitratur schol. ad Arist. Vesp. 684 referre partim ad c. 62 § 1 (τὰ δικαστήρια τρεῖς ὁβολούς), partim fortasse ad locum tractatus nostri e fine deperditum ubi de iudiciis agitur.

21 *Zenob. vi 29 (Athous iii 151 apud κ-w laudatus) ὑπὸρ τὰ Καλλικράτους infra exscriptus = *Photius et Suidas, s.v.; fere eadem habet Pseudo-Plut. Proverbia, 111. Cf. Boeckh II xv p. 299 Fränkel; Meineke, Com. Gr. IV p. 700. Macarius iv 68... ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολήν τι ποιούντων, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἔν τισιν ὑπεραι-

ρόντων.

η πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ πρώτον μὲν ἰκανὸν διωβολία μόνον, δταν δ' ήδη τοῦτ' ἢ πάτρων, ἀεὶ δέωνται τοῦ πλείονος, ἔως εἰς ἀπειρον ἔλθωσιν. This must refer to the theoricon, the fund for paying the price of admission to the theatre at the rate of 2 obols for each of the ordinary seats (Dem. de Cor. p. 234, 24, ἐν τοῦν δυοῦν όβολοῦν). The payment of the theoricon out of the treasury of the State is attributed to Pericles in Plutarch, Pericl. 9, ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασι τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθήναι, and Ulpian on Dem. Ol. i ἐπιτ. τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα τὰ δημόσια θεωρικὰ ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς,...βουλόμενος ἀρέσαι τῷ δήμω καὶ τοῦς πένησεν. Cf. Gilbert, i 324.

It cannot refer to the μωσθός δικαστικός, for it was long before the time of Cleophon that Cleon (about 428 B.C.) raised the dicast's fee to three obols: Schol. on Ar. Plut. 330; Vesp. 80, 300; Eq. 51, 255 (425 B.C.); Vesp. 607, 682, 688, 797, 1116 (423 B.C.); Aves 1540 (415 B.C.). Boeckh, II xv p. 326 Lamb. Probably it was originally one obol and never two. Again, it cannot be the μωσθός ἐκκλησιαστικός as this was introduced by Agyrrhius at the rate of one obol, increased by Heracleides to two obols, and again by Agyrrhius to three (c. 41 end).

three (c. 41 end).

Sub(Store) '(the fee) continued to be paid.' karflwer! either (1) 'overthrew him,' 'ousted him' (K.), 'outbid him' (Reinach); or (2) 'abolished it' (Kaibel and Kiessling, Poland and Haussoullier). (2) is probably right; but we should have expected some notice of the subsequent restoration of the theoriem. This omission may, however, be only

accidental. Philochorus, ap. Harp. s.v. θεωρικόν, says that it was restored by Agyrrhius; but this is doubtful. Agyrrhius was certainly concerned with the μαθὸς ἐκκλησιμστικός (c. 42 end).

μισθός εκκλησισστικός (c. 42 end).

Καλλικράτης Ιπ Zenobius vi 29, and elsewhere (Boeckh, 11 xv p. 327 Lamb), we read of a proverbial phrase ὐπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους applied to excessive wealth by the inhabitants of Carystus in Euboea. This explanation of the proverb is quoted from Clearchus. Then follows an inaccurate reminiscence of the present passage in the following form: 'Αριστοτέλης δέ φησιν έν τη 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία Καλλικράφησιν έν τη 'Αθηναίων πολιτεια καλλικρα-την τινά πρώτον τών δικαστών τούς μισθούς els ύπερβολήν αὐξήσαι, δθεν και την παρ-oular εἰρήσθαι. Possibly the last clause, δθεν—εἰρήσθαι, has got displaced and should be placed at the end of the pre-vious sentence, immediately after the mention of the proverb. The first part of the explanation will then run as follows: φησί Κλέαρχος ότι Καλλικράτης τις έγένετο έν Καρύστω πλουσιώτατος: εί ποτε οδυ έθαύμαζου τινα οι Καρύστιοι έπι πλούτω, ὑπερβολικώς ελεγου, ὑπέρ τὰ Καλλικράτους δθεν και την παροιμίαν ειρήσθαι. In any case it is not absolutely necessary to suppose that the proverb was ever quoted in this treatise. Zenobius misunderstood the passage as referring to the pay of the dicasts, which had been increased to 3 obols about 428 B.C., whereas Cleophon, and a fortiori Callicrates, belongs to a much later date.

troo χόμενος άλλον δβαλόν] If the grant of the fee of two obols a head out of the theoric fund was sufficient to enable all the poorer citizens to attend the theatre, it is not easy to see what object

άλλον οβολόν. τούτων μέν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων θάνατον κατέγνωσαν ύστερον εἴωθεν γάρ, κᾶν έξαπατηθή τὸ πλήθος, ὕστερον μισεῖν 25 τούς τι προαγαγόντας ποιείν αὐτοὺς τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων. ἀπὸ 4 δὲ Κλεοφώντος ήδη διεδέγοντο συνεγώς τὴν δημαγωγίαν οί μάλιστα βουλόμενοι θρασύνεσθαι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς πρός τὸ παραυτίκα βλέποντες. δοκοῦσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι ς των 'Αθήνησι πολιτευσαμένων μετά τους άρχαίους Νικίας καί 30 θουκυδίδης καὶ θηραμένης καὶ περί μεν Νικίου καὶ θουκυδίδου πάντες σχεδον όμολογουσιν ἄνδρας γεγονέναι οὐ μόνον καλούς κάγαθούς άλλά και πολιτικούς και τή πόλει πάση πατρικώς χρω-

28 70 Kontos, кат: éar H-L. 25 TO. AFAFONTAC. Δε ex Δεοι corr. Gennadios (H-L, B qui 70 etiam in papyro invenit): 7d K, K-W. βέλτιστα: praestat fortasse βέλτιστα, coll. 28, 4—et 32, 10. 29 AOHNHICI, in titulis καλως

semel tantum apparet anno 302 A.C. (Meisterhans, p. 1142).

32 ΠΑΤΡΙΚώC.

28-30 * Plut. Nic. 2 (infra exscriptum).

there was in increasing it. But the theoricon was not confined to the Dionysia, it was also paid at the Panathenaea and at all the great festivals (Boeckh, 11 xiii p. 305 Lamb). Harpocr, s. v. θεωρικά χρή-ματα ... άλλοτε μέντοι άλλως ώρίσθη τὸ διδόμενον els τε τàs θέας και els τàs θυσίας καὶ ἐορτάς, ὡς ἔστι δήλων ἐκ τοῦ α' Φιλιπ-

πικών Δημοσθένους (i.e. Ol. i).

θάνατον] We know nothing of the death of Callicrates. That of Cleophon is well attested. In 404 B.C., not long before the establishment of the Thirty, he was condemned and put to death on the plea of having neglected his military duty; Lys. 13 § 12, πρόφασω μέν δτι ούκ ήλθεν είς τὰ δπλα άναπαυσόμενος, τὸ δ' άληθες ότι άντειπεν ύπερ ύμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη. The Council, whose temper and proceedings he had denounced, illegally constituted itself part of the trilegally constituted itself part of the tri-bunal that tried him (ib. 30 §§ 10—14). According to Xenophon, Hell. i 7 § 35, Callixenus and others, who had prompted the people to put to death the generals who had neglected their duty at Argi-nusae, made their escape before they could be put on their trial, στασεών τυσο could be put on their trial, στασεών τυσο γενομένης, έν ή Κλεοφων απέθανεν (Grote,

c. 65, v 552).

μιστίν] Ar. Rhet. ii 4. Similarly in Xen. Hell. i 7 § 35 Callixenus, the proposer of the motion against the generals who fought at Arginusae, who is there included among those who τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησων, returned on the restoration of the democracy, and μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμώ ἀπέθωνεν.

Mr W. L. Newman suspects a tacit reference to the death of Socrates, cf. Diod. xiv 37, and Diog. Laert. ii 43. § 4. dπd & Κλωφώντος κτλ.] Isocr.

διδέχοντο την δημαγωγίαν] Schol. Ατίst. Pax 681, οδτος (Τπέρβολος) μετά την του Κλέωνος δυναστείαν διεδέξατο

την δημαγωγίαν (Wyse).
παραντίκα] Hitherto found only in spurious writings of Ar., esp. in the De Plantis and in the Rhet. ad Alexandrum (Eucken, Sprachgebrauch des Ar., Prae-ponitionen, p. 62, quoted in Class. Rev. v 160 a). It occurs (without the article) in

Thuc. viii 48, 3 and iv 76, 5.
§ 5. δοκοθοι-βίλτιστοι γεγονέναι
τῶν... πολιτευσαμένων] This is somewhat carelessly paraphrased in Plut.
Νία. 2, ένεστω οδν περί Νικίου πρώτον
είπεὐ δ γέγραφεν 'Αριστοτέλης, δτι τρεῖς έγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καί πατρικήν έχοντες εύνοιαν καί φιλίαν πρός τον δήμον, Νικίας ο Νικη-ράτου καί Θουκυδίδης ο Μελησίου καί Θη-ραμένης ο Αγνωνος. The text describes the three as reputed to be the best politicians: Plutarch describes them as actually being the best citizens. The text describes Nicias and Thucydides as ruling the State in a paternal spirit; Plutarch ascribes to them a hereditary affection for astribes to them a hereinary anection in t. βέλτιστο here has a political sense; cf. ol ἐπιεικεῖς in § 1, and καλούς κάγαθούς in § 5; and see Holm, Gr. Gesch. ii 583. πατρικέκ] 'paternally'; not 'they acted in all 'beir public life. in all their public life in a manner worthy of their ancestry' (Kenyon), but μένους, περί δε Θηραμένους διά τὸ συμβήναι κατ' αὐτὸν ταραγώδεις < είναι> τὰς πολιτείας ἀμφισβήτησις τῆς κρίσεώς ἐστι. δοκεί μέν<τοι> τοις μή παρέργως ἀποφαινομένοις οὐχ ὥσπερ 35 αὐτὸν διαβάλλουσι πάσας τὰς πολιτείας καταλύειν, ἀλλὰ πάσας προάγειν ξως μηδεν παρανομοίεν, ώς δυνάμενος πολιτεύεσθαι κατά πάσας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου ἔργον, παρανομούσαις δὲ οὐ συγχωρών άλλ' ἀπεχθανόμενος.

29. ξως μέν οθν ισόρροπα τὰ πράγματα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ην, διεφ[ύλαττον] την δημοκρατίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ την ἐν Σικελία γενομένην συμφοράν ισχυρότερα τὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εγένετο διά την πρός βασιλέα συμμαχίαν, ηναγκάσθησαν κ[ινήσα]ντες

34 < clrai > ras modirelas K-W: ras modirelas < clrai > Richards (H-L). 85 M(EN)-ΤΟΙΟΜΗ: μέντοι τοις μὴ Κ (H-L); μέντοι μὴ Κ-W; δὲ τοις μὴ Β. Εργον secludendum aut Εργον αγαθοῦ πολίτου scribendum putat Β. 38 fortasse aut

XXIX 1 wpdymara secl. H-L. 8 Δ(1A)ΦΟΡΑΝ: συμφοράν Richards, K-W (e i), H-L (K³, B). ιςχγροτατα (K): Ισχυρότερα J B Mayor, Blass, 4 με[ταστήσα]ντες Κ; με[ταβαλό]ντες Hultsch (H-L); κι[νήσα]ντες Schol. Ar. Lys. 421), H-L (K3, B). K-W. H-L. K-W et B, qui in papyro recte legunt KE..... NTEC (= KELPHOAPTES).

TESTIMONIA. XXIX 8 v. notam proximam.

'they ruled the state as a father rules his household' (Poste). Pol. viii (v) 11, 1315 α 21, (δεί) τὰς κολάσεις πατρικώς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον.

Similarly Aristides ii 161 Dind. (quoted by Mr Wyse, Class. Rev. v 275 a) describes Pericles as, in certain respects, έν πατρός ων τάξει τῷ δήμφ.

Cf. Pol. iii 14, 1285 a 19 (Basileiai) kal κατά νόμον καί πατρικαί. i 2, 1253 b 10

and 12, 1259 a 38, (οἰκονομία) πατρική.
δοκεί μάντοι ἀπεχθανόμενος] This
eulogy of Theramenes is all the more welcome as the traditional opinion respecting him is that he was not much better than an Opportunist. His nickname, δ κόθορνος, is notorious. He is one of those who have been suggested as the politician referred to in Pol. vi (iv) 11, 1296 a 38, ets yap drip ourereloun ubros 1250 α 30, εις τωρ ανηρ τών πρότερον έφ' ήγεμονία γενομένων ταύ-την άποδοῦναι την τάξω (sc. την μέσην πολιτείαν). See Newman's Politics, i Toltrelar). See Newman's Politics, i p. 470. But it seems more probable that Solon is meant (cf. Susemihl² note

1303).

μη παρέργως] Pol. (vii) 11, 1330 δ 11, έπιμέλειαν τυνος έχευν μη παρέργως. ἀποφαινομένους] Pol. i ad fin. πρώτον έπισκεψώμεθα περί των αποφηναμένων περί της αρίστης πολιτείας. vi (iv) 1, 1288 b 35, οί πλείστοι των αποφαινομένων περί πολιτείας. (vii) 14, 1333 δ 12, απεφήναντο την αύτην δόξαν. Rhet. ii 21, 1395 a 7,

βαδίως αποφαίνονται. διαβάλλουσι] Critias is one of those referred to, Xen. Hell. ii 3, 30. Cf. Lys. 12 § 78 (Newman).

παρανομούσαις οὐ συγχωρῶν] See Meineke's notes in Frag. Com. Gr. ii 867 and 1165, where he quotes Hesych. των τριών έν: Θηραμένης έψηφίσατο τρεις τιμωρίας κατά των παράνομον τι δρώντων. The text dwells on the kindly feeling of Theramenes towards the whole city: we may contrast with this Lys. 13 § 10 (Newman).

XXIX—XXXIII. The Revolution of

the Four Hundred.

ΧΧΙΧ § 1. Ισόρροπα] Compare Eth.
9, 1, 1164 b 4, τιμή τε Ισόρροπος οὐκ ἀν
γένοιτο, De Part. Anim. iv 12, 695 a 12,
Ισορρόπου δυτος τοῦ βάρους. Thuc. i 105,
6, μάχης γενομένης Ισορρόπου.
μετα την έν Σικκλία—συμφοράν] Thuc.
viii 24, 5, μετα την Σικελικήν ξυμφοράν (iδ.
vii 85—87). Dem. Lept. 42, Isocr. 16
8 16.

§ 15.
βασιλία] After the Persian wars βασιλεύς, without the article, is the ordinary designation of the king of Persia (e.g. Hdt. vii 174, Thuc. viii 36). δ βασιλεύς is found in this sense in Hdt. i 132, 137 (L and S).

συμμαχίαν] in allusion to the successive treaties with Tissaphernes on behalf

5 την δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι την έπι των τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν, είπό[ντο]ς τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον Μηλοβίου, τὴν δὲ γνώμην γράψαντος Πυθοδώρου το[ῦ Ἐπι]ζ[ή]λου, μάλιστα δὲ συμπεισθέντων των πολλών διά το νομίζειν βασιλέα [μαλλο]ν έαυτοις συμπολεμήσειν έαν δι' ολίγων ποιήσωνται την πολιτείαν. 10 ην δε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ Πυθοδώρου τοιόνδε τὸν δημον ελέσθαι 2[Co

Τ [Πολυζήλ]ου Poland coll. Diog. Laert. ix 8, 5 $\Pi u \theta b \delta \omega \rho os$ Πολυζήλου, εἶs τῶν τετρακοσίων (Η-L, K^3); ['Επιζήλου K-W (B) coll. Athen. Mittheil. xiv 398: spatium septem octove litterarum capax, ut nomen utrumque scribi potuerit το[γ πολγ επι] ΖΗλΟΥ. 8 μᾶλλον J B Mayor (κ-w, κ², Β) quod confirmat Thuc. viii 48, 1; θᾶττον Η-L; μέλλειν Marchant. [ἄσμενο]ν κ¹, vel propter hiatum suspectum, etiam papyri scripturae evanidae minus congruere confitetur K.

10—14 Schol. Arist. Lys. 421: πρόβουλοι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα (τοῖσδε Schol., τοῖς οδσι Suid., correxit Schoell) ἡρέθησαν διλοι κ΄, εἰσηγησόμενοι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα (om. Puteanus) τῆ πολιτεία (τῆ πόλει Puteanus) μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῆ Σικελία συμφοράν (cf. v. 3).

of Persia. For the first of these, see Thuc. viii 18: for the second, ib. 37; for the third, ib. 58 (Grote c. 62, v pp. 330, 346, 373). See also Andoc. 2 § 11—17.

Thuc. viii 54—97, esp. 67.

mpb] either 'in favour of' (Reinach), like vep; or 'previous to' (Kenyon). Poste vaguely renders: 'the orator who Poste vaguely renders: 'the orator who prepared the public mind for the change.' But, unless sufficient authority can be found for either use of πρδ in such a context, it may be safer to accept περί, proposed by Mr Wyse.

Mπλοβίου] almost certainly identical with the Melobius who was afterwards who of the Thirty and who is including the

one of the Thirty and who joined in the attack on Lysias and his brother Pole-

marchus, Lysias 12 § 12.

IIu008apou] Pythodorus is the name of the archon in whose year of office the Peloponnesian war began (Thuc. ii 2, 1). reioponnesian war began (1 nuc. ii 2, 1).
It is also the name of a στρατηγόs (a son of Isolochus) in B.C. 426/5 etc, Thuc. iii
115, 1, 3; iv 2, 1, and 65, 3, who is described in Plat. Parm. 126—130 as entertaining Parmenides and Zeno (Alc. i
119 A): this Pythodorus had among his friends one Aristoteles τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα grebμeror (Parm. 127 D): it was hence inferred by Bergk (Comment. de rel. Com. ant., p. 100) that he was identical with the archon of B.C. 404—3. The name of Pythodorus was also borne by a representative of Athens in the treaty of RC. act. (Thus we have a suppressentative of Athens in the treaty of the suppressentative of Athens in the treaty of the suppressentative of Athens in the great of the suppressentative of Athens in the treaty of the suppressentative of Athens in the B.C. 421 (Thuc. v 19 and 24). A Πυθδ-δωρος 'Αλαιεύς was first ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ in B.C. 418/7 (CIA i 157). The date of the Pythodorus of Thuc. vi 105 (B.C. 414/3) makes it likely that he was identical with the Pythodorus who is mentioned in the text. This Pythodorus, the archon of B.C. 404/3, is identified as the prosecutor of Protagoras, Πυθόδωρος Πολυζήλου, els τῶν τετρακοτίων (Diog. Laert. ix 8, 54). But the name of his father was not Πολύζηλος but Ἐπίζηλος. In an inrestriction ascribed to the early part of the fourth century Πυθόδωρος Επιζήλου έχορη-γει (CIA ii 1250); and a pre-Euclidean inscr. at Eleusis bears the name of a tππαρχος who was son of Eπιζήλος. The confusion between Επίζηλος and Πολόζη-Nos is paralleled by the corruption of the Eπίζηλος of Hdt. vi 117 into the Πολύζη-λος of Diog. Laert. i 2, 56 and elsewhere. Cf. Athen. Mittheil. xiv 398.

συμπεισθέντων—πολιτείαν] In Thuc.

viii 48, 1, Alcibiades assures the Athenian officers who had crossed over to the mainland from Samos, Τισσαφέρνην μέν πρώτον, έπειτα δέ και βασιλέα φίλου ποιήσειν, εί μή δημοκρατοίντο (ούτω γάρ διν πιστεύσαι μάλλον βασιλέα). Ιδ. 53 § 2, Peisander asks each of his opponents at Athens el τινα έλπίδα έχει σωτηρίας...el μή τις πείσει βασιλέα μεταστήναι παρά πφάs. On their replying in the negative he says plainly (§ 3) that they cannot hope for any deliverance el μη πολιτεύσομε τε σωφρονέστερον και es δλίγους μάλλον τὰς άρχὰς ποιήσομεν, Γνα πιστείη ήμῶν βασιλεύς. Pol. viii (v) 4, 1304 δ 12, (of the 400) τὸν δημον έξηπατησαν φάσκουτες τον βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν πρός τον

πόλεμον κτλ.

μετά τῶν προϋπαρχόντων δέκα προβούλων ἄλλους εἴκοσι ἐκ τῶν ύπερ τετταράκοντα έτη γεγονότων, οίτινες, ομόσαντες ή μην συγγράψειν à αν ήγωνται βέλτιστα είναι τη πόλει, συγγράψουσι περί της σωτηρίας έξειναι δέ και των άλλων τώ βουλομένω 3 γράφειν, ίν' εξ άπάντων αίρωνται τὸ ἄριστον. Κλειτοφών δὲ τὰ 15 μέν άλλα καθάπερ Πυθόδωρος είπεν, προσαναζητήσαι δε τούς αίρεθέντας έγραψεν καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους οὺς Κλεισθένης ĕθηκεν ὅτε καθίστη τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπως <αν> ἀκούσαντες καὶ

18 συγγράψουσι: συμβουλεύσουσι Rutherford (H-L). 17 typave H.L. 18 ΟΠως—Βογλεγςωνται (κ): δπως—βουλεύσωνται Η-L; δπως &ν—βουλεύσωνται κ-w, B. Cf. v. 24, c. 30, 20, et Meisterhans, p. 212².

§ 2. τῶν δίκα προβούλων] Thuc viii 1 § 3, (ἐδόκει) ἀρχήν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἶτινες περί τῶν παρόντων ws ar καιρός ή προβουλεύσουσι. Cf. Grote, c. 61, v 318—9. This passage confirms Grote's observation that this 'Board was doubtless merged in the Oligarchy of Four Hundred.' Hermann, Staatsalt. § 165, 10 and 11; Curtius, ii 6906 n. 162 (Germ. ed.). Hagnon, the adoptive father of Theramenes, is described as one of the πρόβου-λοι in Lysias 12 § 65, and as joining Theramenes in favouring the establishment of the 400. It is implied in Ar. Rhet. iii 18, 2 that all of the πρόβουλοι lent their countenance to the change in the constitutional government of Athens (Grote c. 62, v 379 n). Cf. Isocr. Areop. 58; Pol. 1299 b 30—38.

The ten πρόβουλοι of the present pasage are identical with the ten ξυγγραφείε of Thus will be a character to the control of the present pasage.

of Thuc. viii 67, τον δήμον ξυλλέξαντες είπον γνώμην δέκα ανδρας έλέσθαι ξυγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ ξυγγρά-ψαντας γρώμην έσενεγκεῦ ἐς τὸν δήμον ἐς ἡμέραν ἐητὴν καθ' δ τι ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οίκησεται

In Bekker's Anced. p. 301, 13, no number is given, but Harpocration, s.v. συγγραφείs, describes that body as numbering 30, and Suidas, s.v. πρόβουλοι, speaks of 20 being elected in addition to the 10 πρόβουλοι to form a body of 30 συγγραφείς. Hence in the above passage of Thuc. it has been suggested by C. F. Hermann, Staatsalt. 165, 11, to alter δέκα into τριάκοντα. The historian's account is correct so far as it goes, but is less minute than that in the text, which has been followed by Harpocration and

Cf. Schol. on Aristoph. Lysistr. 421, πρόβουλοι δέ πρός τοῦς δέκα (τοῦσδε schol., τοις οὐσι Suidas; correxit Schoell) ήρέθησαν άλλοι κ΄, είσηγησόμενοι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα τῆ πολιτεία μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῆ Σικελία συμφοράν.

The account in the text is in accordance with the statement of Androtion (probably written before it) and of Philochorus (certainly written after it), as recorded by Harpocration s.v. συγγραφείς: ήσαν δε ol μέν πάντες συγγραφείς τριάκοντα οι τότε αιρεθέντες, καθά φησιν 'Ανδροτιών τε και Φιλόχορος, έκάτερος έν τῆ 'Ατθίδι' ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης τών ε έμνημόνευσε μόνων τών προβούλων. Cf. (with Wyse) Schol. Lysistr. 609, τοις κ' τοις έκ της συναρχίας, and Harpoct. s. υ. 'Απόληξις' είς τών συγγραφέων δυ Πλάτων κωμωδεί έν Σοφισταιs (where Cobet inserts i' after των, following Thuc. l. c.).
§ 3. KASTOGON mentioned with The-

ramenes as a 'pupil' of Euripides, in Arist. Ran. 967, ούμοι δε (μαθηται είσυ) Κλειτοφών τε και Θηραμένης ο κομψός. Identified by Holden (Onomasticon Arist.) with Cleitophon, son of Aristonymus, who gives the title to one of Plato's dialogues and is mentioned with Thrasymachus in Rep. 328 B (where Stallbaum does not identify them). He is named, with Cleon, as φαύλος in Plut. Mor. 805, but this is probably a mistake for Cleophon.

τὰ μὰν ἄλλα καθάπερ...ἐξτεν...δὶ] This

is the regular formula for introducing an amendment to a proposed decree. As examples before the archonship of Eucleides we have CIA i (l. 28), 18, 38, 41, 52°, 54, 55, 85, 95, 119, 131, 135 (?), 138, 146, 163, 186 (Hartel, Studien über Attention of the control of the cont tisches Staatsrecht, p. 221). Swoboda, Gr. Volksbeschlüsse, p. 14, shews that amendments are not often found except in Athenian inscriptions. Plato refers to the customary formula in Gorg. 451 B, είποιμ' αν ώσπερ οί εν τῷ δήμω συγγραφόμενοι, ότι τὰ μέν άλλα καθάπερ ἡ ἀριθμητική ή λογιστική έχει. Κλεισθένης] cc. 21, 22.

τούτων βουλεύσωνται τὸ ἄριστον, ώς οὐ δημοτικήν άλλά παρα-20 πλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθένους πολιτείαν τῆ Σόλωνος. οἱ δ' 4 αίρεθέντες πρώτον μέν έγραψαν επάναγκες είναι τούς πρυτάνεις ἄπαντα τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἔπειτα τὰς των παρανόμων γραφάς και τάς είσαγγελίας και τάς προσκλήσεις ανείλου, όπως αν οι εθέλοντες Αθηναίων συμβουλεύωσι περί των 25 προκειμένων εαν δε τις τούτων χάριν η ζημιοί η προσκαλήται η

28 προκληςεις: corr. Wyse, Blass (κ-w, H-L, κ³). 25-26 HEICATHIHEIC: corr. K.

implies (like Cleitophon) that the constitution of Cleisthenes was identical with, or closely similar to, that of Solon. text, while correcting the view of Cleitophon, is also a tacit correction of that of Isocr. (Class. Rev. v 161 a). For ws c. acc. of the participle, cf. c. 7 § 4 ώςσημαίνουσαν.

For the view that the constitution of Cleisthenes was not democratic, cf. Plut. Cim. 15, τοῦ Κίμωνος...πειρωμένου ἄνω τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισ-

θένους έγείρειν άριστοκρατίαν.

πρώτον μέν έγραψαν-§ 4. πρῶτον μὲν ἔγραψαν—μημιωσια... We here find stated in full detail what is briefly summarised in Thuc. viii 67, eatbriefly summarised in I nuc. viii 07, εσηνεγκαν οἱ ξυγγραφῆς ᾶλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτό
δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἀξήμων εἰπεῦν (so Classen, following Wilamowitz in Hermes, xii
336 n. 17: 'Αθηναίων ἀνειπεῦν οι ἀνατρέπειν, MSS; 'Αθηναίων Suidas; 'Αθηναίων
ἀνδρὶ εἰπεῖν Stahl ed. 1874: ἀνατεὶ εἰπεῖν
ed. 1883, following Sauppe. The text is

1883, following Sauppe. The text is ed. 1883, following Sauppe. The text is in favour of the restoration of 'Admaidur or some similar word, instead of accepting the conjecture of Wilamowitz. 'Αθηναίων τοῖς έθέλουσιν είπεῖν would make good sense, but would involve too great a departure from the MSS) γνώμην ήν αν τις βούληται ' ην δέ τις τον είποντα η γράψηται παρανόμων ή άλλφ τω τρόπω βλάψη μεγάλας ζημίας έπέθεσαν.

τούς πρυτάνεις έπιψηφίζειν] c. Tous πρυτάνεις έπιψηφίζειν] c. 43. The members of the tribe presiding for the time being were thus compelled to put every proposition to the vote, unde-terred by any risk of penalties falling on

the proposer or themselves.

τας τῶν παρανόμων γραφάς] The γραφή παρανόμων having become recognised as one of the safeguards of the democratic constitution, it was necessary to repeal it before any revolutionary changes could be introduced. Dem. Timocr. 24 § 154, ἀκούω...καταλυθήναι

την δημοκρατίαν, παρανόμων πρώτον γραφών καταλυθεισών και τών δικαστηρίων άκύρων γενομένων. Aeschin. 3 § 121, τηνικαύτα ὁ δήμος κατελύθη, έπειδή τινες τὰς γραφὰς τών παρανόμων ἀνείλον (Att. Process, p. 428—437 Lipsius; Hager in Smith's Dict. Ant. s. v.).

elouyellas] various forms of denunciation, applied to three kinds of legal causes: (1) κατά καινών και άγράφων άδικημάτων (Caecilius, in Lex. Rhet. Cant. 667, possibly referring to the times before Eucleides, see 8 § 4); (2) wrongs done to orphans, heiresses and widows; (3) complaints against διαιτηταί (c. 53 § 6). See Hager in Dict. Ant. s. v.; Att. Proc. 312 f. Lips.
προσκλήσεις] inf. προσκαλήται. Legal

προσκλησεις [11]. προσκαληται. Legal forms of summons to the defendant. Att. Process, p. 770—2. In the MS προσκλήσεις ('challenges') is a mistake for προσκλήσεις. Similarly in Plat. Leg. 936 E, and Dem. c. Aphob. iii § 20, προσκλέτε – 24. has been wrongly suggested instead σθαι has been wrongly suggested instead of προσ- (Att. Process, p. 884).

οί θέλοντες] 'Notetur usus verbi έθέ-λειν pro βούλεσθαι, qui per haec decreta (etiam c. 30) obtinet, ad imitationem veteris linguae, qua vel Solo (c. 35 § 2; Dem. 46 § 14) vel Clisthenes usus erat' (Blass).

τούτων χάριν] i.e. for making any pro-posal which he thought fit. ξημιοί...προσκαλήται...εἰσάγη κτλ.] In all three cases the present here has a tentative sense. Input implies an atmeans of a γραφή παρανόμων, or an είσαγγελία. προσκαλήται refers to the above-mentioned προσκλήσειε. «Ισάγη κτλ. to the fact that, under the first of the three varieties of είσαγγελία, the βουλή might hand the defendant over for trial by a court, instead of fining him. Cf. Att. Proc. p. 45 Lips.

είσάγη είς δικαστήριου, ενδειξιν αύτου είναι και απαγωγήν πρός τούς στρατηγούς, τούς δε στρατηγούς παραδούναι τοίς ενδεκα 5 θανάτφ ζημιώσαι. μετά δὲ ταῦτα τὴν πολιτείαν διέταξαν τόνδε <τὸν> τρόπον· τὰ μὲν χρήματα <τὰ> προσιόντα μὴ ἐξεῖναι άλλοσε δαπανήσαι ή είς τὸν πόλεμον, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους 30 άρχειν άπάσας έως αν ό πόλεμος ή, πλην των εννέα αρχόντων καί των πρυτανέων οι αν ωσιν τούτους δε φέρειν τρείς οβολούς εκαστου της ημέρας. την δ' άλλην πολιτείαν επιτρέψαι πασαν 'Αθηναίων τοις δυνατωτάτοις και τοις σώμασιν και τοις χρήμασιν λητουργείν μη έλαττον ή πεντακισχιλίοις, έως αν ὁ πόλεμος ή 35 κυρίους δ' είναι τούτους καὶ συνθήκας συντίθεσθαι πρὸς οῦς αν

26 els τὸ H-L. 29 <τδν> cf. c. 7 v. 8. <τà> add. κ (κ-w): χρήματα del. 33 MACIN (K): Tâgar J B Mayor, Newman, K-W, H-L, B. Richards (H-L). (A)N

34 σώμασι—χρήμασι H-L. 35 ΗΠΕΝΤΑΚΙΟΧΙΛΙΟΙC. Corrector aut ή non viderat aut delere neglexerat; illud existimat Κ (ή περτακισχιλίοις, H-L et B), hoc K-W (περτα-35 HITENTAKICXIAIOIC. Corrector aut # non viderat aut κισχιλίων).

Succertification articulo 'non opus in sententia condicionali '(Blass).
ἐνδαξιν...απαγωγήν] In neither of

these forms of procedure was there any summons: hence they were suited to the present emergency, in which προσκλήσεις had been abolished. ἀπαγωγή was a summary process, resorted to in certain cases of theft, but also applicable to murderers and adulterers, and to robbers of temples. Evõeugis was a charge in writing handed over by the prosecutor to the pro-per authority, who was bound to arrest or hold to bail the person criminated. It was directed against state-debtors, and others who exercised rights while labouring under a disqualification (Dict. Ant. s. v.). The text shews that, under the Four Hundred, these forms of procedure were arbitrarily extended to the case of those who attempted to resort to the ordinary legal remedies at a time when they were in abeyance. Cf. Att. Proc. pp. 270—280 Lips.
πρός τους στρατηγούς] In normal

cases of draywyh the delinquent was immediately brought before the Eleven; in those of brocks, generally before the Thesmothetae. The Four Hundred departed from those principles in providing that the offender should appear before the στρατηγοί, whose jurisdiction was usually limited to military matters. Such a provision may be illustrated by our modern declaration of martial law in cases of emergency.

§ 5. τα μεν χρήματα κτλ.] Thuc. viii 65, 3, λόγος τε έκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προσείργαστο αυτοῖς ώς οῦτε μισθοφορητέον εἶη άλλους ή τούς στρατευομένους, ούτε μεθεκτέον των πραγμάτων πλαίοσιν ή πεντακισχιλίοις, και τούτοις οι αν μάλιστα τοίς τε χρήμασι και τοις σώμασιν ώφελειν olol τε ώσιν, and 67, 3, ένταθθα δή λαμπρώς έλέ-γετο ήδη μήτε άρχην άρχειν μηδεμίαν έτι έκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κόσμου μήτε μισθοφορεῖν, προ-έδρους τε ελέσθαι πέντε ἀνδρας, τούτους δὲ έδρους τε έλέσθαι πέντε ἀνδρας, τούτους δὲ ἐλέσθαι ἐκατὸν ἀνδρας, και τῶν ἐκατὸν ἔκαστον πρὸς ἐαλθόντας δὲ ἀντον τρεῖς ἐλθόντας δὲ ἀντον τετρακοσίους ὅντας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀρχειν ὅπη ἀν ἄριστα γιγνώσκωσιν αὐτοκράτορας. και τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους δὲ ξυλλέγειν ὀπόταν αὐτοῖς δοκη. Lys. 20 §§ 13, 16; 30 § 8.

τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις κτλ.] The language is almost technical. Cf. (hesides Thur.

is almost technical. Cf. (besides Thuc. viii 47, 48, ol δυνατώτατοι, 63, δυνάτους and 65, already quoted) Xen. Hipparch. 1 § 9, τούς μέν τοίνυν Ιππέας...καθιστάναι δεί κατά τον νόμον τούς δυνατωτάτους και χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι». Also CIG 1845, 44 (inscr. from Corcyra), ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὰν βουλὰν τούς χειριξούντας το άργύριον ανόρας τρείς els ένιαυτόν τους δυνατωτάτους χρήμασι (Gilbert ii 320), and the phrase ἀσθενής χρήμασι (Wyse).
σώμασιν ... λητουργάν] Dem. c. Mid.

165, λ. τοι ε σώμασι.

37 εθελωσιν ελέσθαι δ' εκ της φυλης εκάστης δέκα ἄνδρας ὑπερ τετταράκοντα ετη γεγονότας, οἴτινες καταλέξουσι τοὺς πεντακισ-χιλίους ὀμόσαντες καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων.

30. οι μεν οθν αιρεθέντες ταθτα συνέγραψαν. κυρωθέντων δε τούτων είλοντο σφών αὐτών οι πεντακισχίλιοι τοὺς ἀναγράψοντας τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας. οι δ' αιρεθέντες ἀνέγραψαν καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν τάδε. βουλεύειν μεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς ὑπερ τριάκοντα 2 5 ἔτη γεγονότας ἄνευ μισθοφορᾶς τούτων δ' είναι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς

37 δέ και K, K-W: δ' έκ (confusis a librario κ et κ') H-L, B.

ἐλέσθαι...τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης δέκα κτλ.] These were the καταλογεῖς appointed to enroll the 5,000 persons to whom the franchise was conceded by the Four Hundred. One of them was Polystratus who is defended in a speech ascribed to Lysias, Or. 20, on the 'charge of seeking to abolish the Democracy.' He claims credit for having placed as many as 9,000 on the roll: § 13, ὑμῶν ψηφισαμένων πεντακισχιλίως καραδούναι τὰ πράγματα καταλογεῦς ῶν ἐννακισχιλίως κατέλεξεν. He served for eight days only, shortly before the overthrow of the Four Hundred (§ 14), who in the last resort found themselves compelled to take steps towards enrolling the 5,000. In § 2 it is said of Polystratus: ὑρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν. This is explained by 'the text,' in which ten καταλογεῖς are described as elected by each of the tribes. It was supposed by Grote c. 62, v 413, that Polystratus had the sole responsibility of drawing up the list. It is now clear that he was one of a hundred persons charged with this duty.

δμόστες καθ' ἰερῶν τελείων] cf. Thuc. ν 47, 10, δμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον δρκον ἔκαστοι (the Athenians on the one part, and the Argives, Mantineans, Eleans and their allies on the other part) τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ἰερῶν τελείων. Müller, Handwich ν. Αναλ.

buch, v 3, 104. supra c. 1.

XXX § 1. κυρωθέντων] Cf. 32 l. 2, επικυρωθέντων. The use of the two words in connexion with ψηφίσματα is discussed by Hartel, Studien, p. 207 ff., and Swoboda, Gr. Volksbeschlüsse, p. 18 ff. The latter has collected a large number of examples from inscriptions (Wwse).

amples from inscriptions (Wyse).

είλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πεντακισχ Οιοι
τοὺς ἀναγραψοντας] Here, and in c.
32 § 1, the existence of the 5,000 is assumed; whereas in 32 § 5 we are told
that the 5,000 λόγω μόνου ἡρέθησαν. The
latter statement is in accordance with

Thuc. viii 92, 11, ol τετρακόσιοι...ουκ ήθελον τούς πεντακισχιλίους οθτε είναι οθτε ησελου τους πεντακισχιλίους ουτε είναι ούτε μή διτας δήλους είναι. In c. 67 ad fin. ihad been proposed by Peisander τους πεντακισχιλίους ξυλλέγειν όπόταν αυτοίς δοκή, and this proposal was ratified by the ἐκκλησία in 69 § 1. Mr Kenyon suggests that 'all who could bear arms were provisionally entitled the Five Thousand until a body of that exact number had been drawn up by the board of 100 which was to be appointed for that purpose.' On the fall of the Four Hundred, the government was transferred to a body called the Five Thousand, consisting of all who could furnish arms (Thuc. viii 97, 1). Like the present, this would really be a body of indefinite number; whereas the body of 5,000 contemplated by the oligarchical revolution, though it never came into actual existence, was limited and definite in number. The envoys from the Four Hundred (as observed by Mr Kenyon) assure the army at Samos 'that they will all be members of the Five Thousand in turn (των πεντακισχιλίων πάντες έν τῷ μέρει

μεθέξουσυ, Thuc. viii 86, 3).
§ 2. τριάκοντα ἔτη] This was the age at which an Athenian citizen became capable of belonging to the Council under the regular constitution, Xen. Mem. i 2, 35.

duen μισθοφοράς] characteristic of an oligarchy. On the other hand, it is characteristic of a democracy μισθοφορεῖν μάλιστα μὲν πάντας, ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰς ἀρχάς καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ <τὴν > βουλὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς κυρίας (Pol. vii (vi) 2, 1317 ὁ 35). Similarly in the case of the law courts, Pol. vi (iv) 8, 1294 a 38; 13, 1297 a 37; 14, 1298 ὁ 18; and of the assembly, 1293 a 5—10. One of the causes that led to the fall of democracy in Rhodes was the fact that μισθοφορὰν οὶ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον (1304 ὁ 27).

καὶ τοὺς ἐνυέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἄρχοντας εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆ $\theta[εῷ]$ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις $\thetaεοῖς$ δέκα [καὶ ἐλληνοταμίας]] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁσίων χρημάτων ἀπάντων 9

ΣΧΧ 9 ἐλληνοταμίας—διαχειριοῦσιν mutila censent κ-w. ἐλληνοταμίας mutat in ταμίας Richards, omisso (ut videtur) και quod subsequitur; και ἐλληνοταμίας et οἰ διαχειριοῦσιν, utpote e v. 13—14 exorta, secludere malui. και et οἰ διαχειριοῦσιν iure secludit Thompson, sed idem ἐλληνοταμίας retinet (Class. Rev. v 277 a).

TOÚTEN 8' εἶναι κτλ.] Here follows a list of official members of the new βουλή. They are elected out of the βουλή for the time being. Mr T. Nicklin (Class. Rev. v 228 b) suggests that τούτων refers to τούν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονόταs, and that these are the body from which the four councils of 400 each, and the generals &c must come; also that the ἐλληνοταμίαι must not at the same time be in the council for the year. This interpretation appears improbable; Mr Kenyon has already pointed out that it involves the insertion of καὶ before τούς.

στρατηγούε] c. δι §§ 1, 2. αρχονταε] c. 55. Ισρομνήμονα] α recorder or notary. Pol. νιί (νι) 8, 1321 α 34—40, έτέρα δ' άρχη πρός ήν άναγράφεσθαι δεῖ τά τε ίδια συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων...καλοῦνται δὲ ἰερο με τήμονες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες κτλ. Hermann-Thumser, Staatsalt. p. 99; Gilbert, ii 413.

ταξιάρχουs] c. 61 § 3. [κπάρχουs] c. 61 § 5. ἀρχοντας ds τα φρούρια] = φρούραρχοι, the commanders of Athenian garrisons.

 c. 24 § 3. Gilbert, Gr. St. i 400.
 ταμίας τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων τῆ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς άλλοις θεοῖς δέκα] At Athens the treasures of the various temples were under the charge of officials called raplas των lepων χρημάτων (cf. Ar. Pol. vii (vi) 8, 1322 b 25). The most important of these treasures was that of Athene on the Acropolis. The officials in charge of this Acropous. The onicias in charge of this were called ταμίαι της θεοῦ οτ τῶν της θεοῦ, ταμίαι τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων της 'Αθηναίας, ταμίαι τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων της θεοῦ. They are first mentioned in Hdt. viii 51 at the time of the battle of Salamis, ταμίας του ίερου; also in documents relating to the transfer of the treasure from one body of officials to their successors, from the date of the consecration of the Parthenon to 406 B.C.; in public accounts previous to Euclides; in Dem. Macart. p. 1075, 2, and Aeschin. Timarch. p. 127 § 110; lastly in inscriptions belonging to B.C. 385, 325 and 300. Similarly, every temple had its special treasurers who, together with its superintendents (ἐπιστάται) and sacrificers (ἰεροwοιοί), had the money of the same under their care.

In 435—4 B.C. (CIA i 32) these several treasurers of the temples, with the exception of those of the temple of Athene, were all united into a single board called ταμίαι των θεών οι των άλλων θεών. From this date all the sacred moneys were kept in the Acropolis, but the treasures of Athene and those of the other divinities were generally under separate officials. Dem. Τέπιοςτ. p. 743, 1, οΙ ταμίαι έφ' ών δ 'Οπισθόδομος ένεπρήσθη, και οΙ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ και οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. Nevertheless we find that both were united for a time as one board of officers, as in the text, and in a decree quoted in Andocides de Myst. p. 36, τους ταμίας της θεου και των άλλων θεων. In inscriptions ascribed to B.C. 401, 400, 399—397 they are called ταμίαι των lepων χρημάτων της 'Αθηνάς και των άλλων θεων, and are (as here) in 411 B.C. ten in number. In 385 the treasurers of the goddess again became a separate board of Ten, who were independent of the treasurers of the other deities (see Boeckh II v, 217-220 Lamb, and Gilbert,

Gr. St. i 234—5).

The $\tau a\mu lai$ have been mentioned in c. 4 § 2, c. 7 § 3, c. 8 § 1. They are called of $\tau au lai$ $\tau f s$ 'Aθ $\eta \tau a s$ in c. 47 § 1, and simply of $\tau au lai$ in c. 60 8 2

simply of ταμίαι in c. 60 § 3.

*λληνοταμίας] obviously corrupt. These officials are immediately afterwards described as excluded from the Council and they could not possibly be here enumerated among its official members.

That portion of the treasures on the Acropolis which, in contrast to the leph χρήματα, was known as δσια χρήματα, was according to Suidas (s. v. ταμίαι, art. 1) entrusted to 'the treasurers chosen by lot who had the care of the statue of Athene.' Thus the public money was ordinarily kept by the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, who were often called ταμίαι alone (Boeckh

το είκοσι[ν οδ διαχειριούσιν] καλ δεροποιούς καλ επιμελητάς δέκα έκατέρους· αίρεῖσθαι δὲ πάντας τούτους ἐκ προκρίτων, ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ βουλευόντων πλείους προκρίνοντας, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ὁπάσας κληρωτάς είναι και μή έκ τής βουλής. τούς δε έλληνοταμίας οι άν διαγειρίζωσι τὰ γρήματα μη συμβουλεύειν. βουλάς δὲ ποιήσαι 3

10 διαχειριούσι Η-L.

ΤΕ ΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. 13-14 "Harp. έλληνοταμίαι: ... ὅτι ἀρχή τις ἡν οἱ ἐλληνοταμίαι, οῖ διεχείριζον τὰ χρήματα, καὶ 'Αρ. δηλοί ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ.

1. c. p. 221-2). In the text, with a view to multiplying the official members of the 400, a separate board of 20 is mentioned.

Mr Kenyon infers from the present passage that separate ταμίαι τῶν ὀσίων χρημάτων formed part of the ordinary Athenian constitution; in the absence of evidence it is perhaps better to regard them as a special body created by the oligarchical revolution.

Lepowows c. 64 § 6. Gilbert, Gr. St. i 249. Pol. vii (vi) 8, 1322 b 22—25, συμβαίνει την έπιμελειαν ταύτην (την περί

τούς θεούς) ένιαχοῦ μέν είναι μίαν...ένιαχοῦ δέ πολλάς και κεχωρισμένας της Ιερωσύνης, οίον ίεροποιούς και ναοφύλακας και ταμίας

των Ιερών χρημάτων

των ιερων χρημαιίως.

ἐπιμελητάς] Pol. vii (vi) 8, 1322 b 19,

ἄλλο δ' είδος ἐπιμελείας ἡ περί τους θεούς, οίον iepeis τε και έπιμεληται των περι τά iepa του σώζεσθαι τε τα υπάρχοντα και ανορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν οἰκοδομη-μάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς τοὺς θεσύς. The lepomoioi, the ναοφύλακες and the ταμίαι των ιερών χρημάτων are in Pol. l. c. separate officials entrusted with this ἐπιμέλεια. The term ἐπιμελητήs is vague, but the context implies that the official here meant was connected with matters of public ritual.

alpetσθαι ik προκρίτων] 'and that they (the Council, c. 31, 15) should appoint all these officials out of a number of selected candidates, choosing a larger number (than those actually required) out of the members of the Council for the time All the officials enumerated were to be members of the Council of 400, and the Council itself was (1) to nominate candidates out of its own body to succeed these officials and (2) to choose such successors out of the number so nominated.

άλληνοταμίαs] it is probably this passage, and not the corrupt passage a few lines earlier, that is the source of Harpocration's notice s. v. Mr Kenyon leaves both passages as they stand in the MS;

he points out the inconsistency between them in his commentary and endeavours to remove it in the notes to his Translation:—"If this is not to be taken as directly contradicting the statement made just above, it must be supposed that the actual handling of the money was confined to a few of the Hellenotamiae (probably in rotation), the duties of the rest being to advise and superintend." The Hellenotamiae, or special board for the manage-ment of the tributes, existed from the time of the formation of the confederacy of Delos and lasted to the end of the Peloponnesian war. They are frequently mentioned in inscriptions down to the of the anarchy. On the restoration of the democracy, the office was not revived, as the ηγεμονία of Athens, and the duty of paying tribute on the part of her allies, had come to an end.

In 410/9 we know of eleven Hellenotamiae, three of them from one tribe alone. and two others from another tribe. Two of the tribe Acamantis were Hellenotamiae in the same prytaneia, and the two of the tribe Aeantis were similarly holding office at the same time. Boeckh supposes that in their appointment no regard was paid to the tribes (II vii p. 243 Lamb). Gilbert, Gr. St. i 236.

§ 3. Sounds—rérrapas] i.e. four Councils of 400 each, each of the four holding office for one year (els évicurés inf.). The order in which they were to hold office was to be decided by lot (cf. τὸ λαχὸν μέρος). The one hundred who had drawn up the constitution were to distribute themselves and 'the rest,' i.e. the rest of the 5,000 above the age of thirty, into four divisions of 400 each. At the end of c. 31 provision is made for the future 'in order that the 400 may be distributed over the four divisions (els τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις),' one hundred being assigned by lot to each of the four divisions of 400.

The total number of the officials above

τέτταρας ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς εἰρημένης εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, καὶ 15 τούτων τὸ λαγὸν μέρος βουλεύειν, νείμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς την ληξιν έκάστην. τους δ' έκατον ἄνδρας διανείμαι σφας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρα μέρη ὡς ἰσαίτατα καὶ διακληρῶσαι, 4 καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν. <βουλεύεσθαι> δὲ ή αν δοκή αὐτοῖς άριστα έξειν περί τε των χρημάτων, δπως άν σωα ή καὶ εἰς τὸ δέον 20 αναλίσκηται, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς αν δύνωνται ἄριστα· ἐαν δέ τι 'θέλωσιν βουλεύσασθαι μετά πλειόνων, επεισκαλείν εκαστον έπείσκλητον δυ αν έθέλη των έκ της αυτής ήλικίας τας δ' έδρας ποιείν της βουλης κατά πενθήμερον έαν μη δέωνται πλειόνων.

16 ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ. 19 βουλεύειν. <βουλεύειν $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ Κ; βουλεύειν <τούτ λαχόντας πράττειν $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ Κ-W; βουλεύεσθαι $\dot{\eta}$ αν δοκ $\dot{\eta}$ κτλ Richards (H-L). malui βουλεύειν. <βουλεύεσθαι $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ scribere. βουλεύειν <τούτ λαχόντας βουλεύεσθαι $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ Blass. 20 CωA; et σωσ et σως in titulis Atticis exstant (Meisterhans, pp. 522, 1172): σψα K-W. 21-22 EANTI: καν τι Κ; έαν <δέ> τι J B Mayor, K-W, H-L, B.

28 ETTEICEKAHTON COTT. K. 24 TTENOHMIMEPON COTT. K.

23-24 Hesych. έδραι βουλής: αι έγινοντο κατά πενταήμερον.

enumerated is as follows, if we assume that the numbers were in every case the same as usual:

στρατηγοί (10), άρχοντες (9), ιερομνήμων (1), ταξίαρχοι (10), ἔππαρχοι (2, 1 in 31, 14), φύλαρχοι (10), άρχοντες είς τὰ φρούρια (?), ταμίαι των ίερων χρημάτων (10), ταμίαι των όσιων χρ. (20), ίεροποιοί (10), έπιμεληral (10), making 92 out of a total of per-

haps 100.
The άρχοντες els τὰ φρούρια were possibly eight in number, in which case they may have represented the 8 tribes not represented by the 2 Ιππαρχοι. Thus η may have dropped out after φρούρια (l. 7). But it is more probable that there was But it is more probable that there was only one $I\pi\pi\alpha\rho\chi\sigma$ s under this constitution and therefore 9 $d\rho\chi\sigma$ eres els $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $d\rho\rho\dot{\omega}\rho\mu a$, in which case θ may be the missing number. This is confirmed by the fact that the number of Attic $d\rho\rho\dot{\omega}\rho\mu a$ known to us is exactly nine, Eleusis, Anaphlystus, Sunium, Thoricus, Panactum, Œnoe, Phyle, Aphidna and Rhamnus (Boeckh, Ux: the evidence for the last two be-II x; the evidence for the last two belongs to the times of Philip).

είς τον λοιπόν χρόνον] = είς τον μέλλοντα

χρόνον c. 31 § 1.

τοὺς ἀλλους] probably, not the 300 co-opted by the 100 (Thuc. viii 67, 3), but the rest of the 5,000.

διανείμαι... τέτταρα μέρη] c. 21 § 4,

οιένειμε...τριάκοντα μέρη.

de loralτατα] Plat. Leg. 744 C. διακληρώσαι, to 'assign them by lot,' Thuc.

viii 30, 1, διακληρωσάμενοι, 'having drawn lots, νί 42, τρία μέρη νείμαντες έν έκάστω εκλήρωσαν.

§ 4. $\sigma \hat{\omega} a$] The evidence of inscriptions shews that $\sigma \hat{\omega}$ and $\sigma \hat{\omega}$ were alike in use (Meisterhans, Gr. p. 117 ed. 1888). Cf. Dem. Lept. § 142 note. The codex Z of Dem. has nom. masc. res in Mid. 126, Aristocr. 131; neut. our Lept. 142; acc. pl. σωs in Pac. 17, Chers. 15; gen. sing. σωαs F.L. 78; pl. σωσι in F.L. 57, 153, 326; acc. sing. owar Mid. 177; pl. nom. own Cor. 49, Phil. iii 70, Timocr. 106 (Voemel, Proleg. Gramm. in Dem.

Cont. § 33).
els το δέον αναλίσκηται] Aristoph.

Nub. 859, els το δέον απώλεσα, Dem. Ol.
3, 28, ανηλώκαμεν els οὐδεν δέον, Plut. Per.

emelorately (to co-opt) and emeloran-

Tow are only found in this passage.

18pas] c. 4 § 3. It is the technical term. CIA i 31, 7; 59, 41; ii 800 6 15 cet. (Mayor).

κατα πενθήμερον] not 'for five days at a time'; but 'once every five days'; cf. a time'; but 'once every nve days'; cr. κατ' ἐνιωντόν ('year by year'), κατὰ μῆνα. καθ' ἡμέραν ('daily,' Thuc. vii 8 § 1 and 50 § 3). Mr Poste extracts both senses out of the passage: 'the sessions of the council shall be for five days at a time with intervals of five days.' Under the democracy the Boult met daily except on public holidays (43 § 3). πλειόνων, sc. έδρων.

25 κληροῦν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας, τὰς δὲ χειροτονίας κρίνειν πέντε τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἔνα κληροῦσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην <τὴν> ἡμέραν τὸν ἐπιψηφιοῦντα. κλη- 5 ροῦν δὲ τοὺς λαχόντας πέντε τοὺς ἐθέλοντας προσελθεῖν ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν, δεύτερον δὲ κήρυξιν, τρίτον πρεσ-30 βείαις, τέταρτον τῶν ἄλλων· τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ὅταν δέῃ ἀκληρωτὶ προσαγαγόντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς χρηματίζεσθαι. τὸν δὲ μὴ ἰόντα 6 εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῶν βουλευόντων τὴν ὥραν τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν ὀφείλειν δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης, ἐὰν μὴ εὐρόμενος ἄφεσιν τῆς βουλῆς ἀπῆ. ||

25 'an πλήρουν?' κ-w. 27 την addidit B. 29 πρες Βειαι: πρεσβείαι: Wyse, κ-w, H-L, K³, B. 33 εὐρόμενος Tyrrell et Richards (H-L, B); εγρις κομένος (κ, κ-w).

κληροῦν . . την βουλήν τους έννέα άρχοντας] This means either (1) that the Council is to appoint the archons by lot, or (2) the archons are to superintend the sortition of the Council. (1) is followed by Kaibel and Kiessling, and also by Poland; (2) by Mr Poste and Mr Kenyon. In (1) the order is verb, subject, object, just as in § 5 κληροῦν τοὺς λαχόντας πέντε τοὺς ἐθέλοντας; and this is supported by the context. We are first told how the Council is constituted, and next what it has to do. But this view is open to a fatal objection. The Council cannot appoint the archons by lot, because under the present constitution the archons are chosen out of a select list (§ 2, 1.11). We must therefore suppose that the archons were to superintend the sortition of the Council. Those of the 5,000, who were over 30 years of age, have already been divided into four groups determined by lot (§ 3). The archons in each year have to draw lots for appointing 400 out of each of these groups to serve on one of the four successive Councils. M. Th. Reinach regards this sentence as an inter-

For πληροῦν, which has been proposed in place of κληροῦν, cf. δικαστήρια πληροῦν in Dem. 24 § 92, 21 § 209, and Isaeus 6 § 37; also Arist. Eccl. 89, πληρουμένης έκκλησίας.

xssporovias kpivese] 'decide divisions taken by show of hands.' The five functionaries act as 'tellers.' One of them is appointed by lot for each of the five days during which the Council six, 'to put questions to the vote,' i.e. to act as president or chairman.

§ 5. κληρούν—βουλής] These five

persons were to determine by lot the order of precedence among those who wished to appear before the Council.

Low... κήρυξιν... προσβεία... τών άλλων] The two alternative constructions are arranged in the order of a chiasmus or introverted parallelism, the two nearest and the two furthest terms corresponding in construction. Apart from love of variety there is no apparent reason for this change. Exactly the same order and the same variety of expression is found in the statement of the proceedings in the έκκλησία in c. 43 § 6, leρών...κήρυξυ καί προσβείαις... δοίων. Cf. also Aeschin. Τίπατch. 23, προχειροτονεύν κελεύει τους προόδρους περί leρών τών πατρίων καί δοίων καί κήρυξι καί προσβείαις.

§ 6. την ώραν] not 'the hour,' but 'the time'; the use of ώρα for 'hour' is not earlier than the Alexandrine age.

δφείλειν δραχμήν] the infliction of a fine for non-attendance is characteristic of an oligarchy. Pol. vi (iv) 9, 1294 a 38, (of law courts) ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, ἀν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, cf. 1298 b 17. It is one of the devices of aristocracies mentioned ib. 13, 1297 a 17, ζημίαν ἐπικεῦσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιάζωσιν. Fines for non-attendance at the βουλὴ in particular are apparently not mentioned in the Politics.

εὐρισκόμενος, 'in the enjoyment of leave of absence,' is less likely to be right than εὐρόμενος, 'having obtained for himself leave of absence.'

dφεσω] not found in this sense in Ar. The corresponding adj. αφέσιμος occurs in c. 43 § 3.

31. ταύτην μέν οθν είς τον μέλλοντα χρόνον ανέγραψαν τήν 1. 13.] πολιτείαν, εν δε τώ παρόντι καιρώ τήνδε. βουλεύειν μεν τετρακοσίους κατά τὰ πάτρια, τετταράκοντα έξ έκάστης <της> φυλης, έκ προκρίτων [ο]θς αν έλωνται οἱ φυλέται τῶν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. τούτους δὲ τάς τε ἀργὰς καταστήσαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ 5 δρκου δυτινα χρή ομόσαι γράψαι, < καί > περί τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν εὐθυ[ν]ων καὶ των ἄλλων πράττειν ή ἀν ἡγωνται [συμ]φέρειν. τοῖς δὲ νόμοις οδ ἀν τεθῶσιν περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι 2 μετακινείν μηδ' ετέρους θέσθαι. Τών δε στρατηγών το νυν είναι την αιρεσιν έξ απάντων ποιεισθαι των πεντακισχιλίων, την δε βουλήν, το έπειδαν καταστή, ποιήσασαν έξέτασιν < έν > ὅπλοις, έλέσθαι δέκα ανδρας και γραμματέα τούτοις, τούς δε αίρεθέντας αρχειν τον είσιόντα ενιαυτόν αὐτοκράτορας, κᾶν τι δέωνται συμβουλεύεσθαι μετά της βουλής. ελέσθαι δε καὶ ἵππαρχον ενα καὶ φυλάρχους δέκα· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν αἴρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τούτων τὴν βουλὴν κατὰ 15 3 τὰ γεγραμμένα. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρχῶν πλὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγών μη έξειναι μήτε τούτοις μήτε άλλφ μηδενί πλέον ή

XXXI 3 77 addidit B. $6 < \kappa \alpha l > K$, K-W, H-L, B. τεθώσι Η-L. ΟΠλΟΙC: <έν> δπλοι: Wyse, Blass, 11 KATACTHCHI COTT. Wyse, Blass, etc. **13** ἐξιόντα Η-L. kal do K, K-W, B; kal edo H-L. K-W, H-L; δπλων Κ. 17 πλειον (K-W, B): πλέον H-L, K3, cf. Meisterhans, p. 1202, n. 1090. BOYNEYCOAL.

XXXI § 1. xpóvov... καιρῶ] Ar. Anal. Pr. i 36 § 6, ὁ καιρόν ἐστι χρόνον δέων.
- ἀνέγραψαν] 'drew up,' c. 2 § 4.'
κατὰ τὰ κάτριω] in allusion to the Council of 400 under the Solonian constitution, c. 8 § 4. The phrase is inserted to propitiate those who regarded Solon as the founder of the Athenian democracy.

democracy.
ἐκ προκρίτων σθε ἀν Ελωνται οἱ φυλέται] According to this, the ten tribes were to make a preliminary selection of more than the requisite number; but we are not told how the final choice was made out of those nominated by the tribes. According to Thuc. viii 67, 3, the proposal carried at the ἐκκλησία held at Colonus was to choose five πρόεδροι; and for these to elect 100 in all, and for each of these 100 to co-opt three others. The historian's account supplies an omission in the text by describing the process by which the requisite number was arrived at. The two accounts may be partly reconciled by supposing that the 100 were limited in their choice to selecting the additional 300 out of those preliminarily selected by the tribes. As regards the method by which the original hundred were appointed, the precise account in Thuc. seems more trustworthy than the vague description of the appointment of

the 400 given in the text.

Over] 'the examination of official accounts,' 'audits.' c. 48 § 4. Att. Proc. p. 259 Lips. § 2. 78 vûr cîrai] Plat. Rep. 506 E,

Xen. Cyr. v 3 § 42.

Thy alperiu... would all inf. l. 15.

καταστή] 32 § 2. Lys. 13 § 34 and 25 § 14, οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν. Εξέτασιν ἐν ὅπλοιε] Χεπ. Απαδ. ν 3, 3,

and Cyrop. ii 4, 1, eférages év rois onhois. Thuc. iv 74 § 3, εξέτασιν δπλων έπαιη-σαντο, vi 45 § 2, δπλων έξετάσει και Ιππων. εἰστόντα] during the 'ensuing' year, after the lapse of the two remaining months of the archonship of Callias.

The normal number was two (c. 6184). φυλάρχους, c. 6185.

§ 3. μη ξάναι—πλέον ή άπαξ άρξαι]
Under the normal constitution of Athens military offices might be repeatedly held by the same person, but none of the others more than once, except in the case of membership of the Council, which

απαξ αρξαι την αὐτην αρχήν. εἰς δὲ τὸν άλλον χρόνον, ΐνα νεμηθώσιν οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις, ὅταν [[τοῖς]] αὐτοῖς 20 γίγνηται μετά των άλλων βουλεύειν, διανειμάντων αὐτούς οί έκατὸν ἄνδρες.

32. οι μεν οθν έκατον οι υπό των πεντακισχιλίων αίρεθέντες ταύτην ανέγραψαν την πολιτείαν. ἐπικυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιψηφίσαντος ᾿Αριστομάγου, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ <ἡ> ἐπὶ Καλλίου πρὶν διαβουλεῦσαι κατελύθη μηνὸς Θαργηλιώνος τετράδι 5 ἐπὶ δέκα, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι εἰσήεσαν ἐνάτη φθίνοντος Θαργηλιώνος: έδει δὲ τὴν είληγυῖαν τῷ κυάμφ βουλὴν εἰσιέναι τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα

18-20 tra et orar locum inter se mutasse putat Hude, qui etiam (cum Thompsono) έγγίγνηται conicit; όταν νεμηθώσω—, Ινα μή μετά των αύτων βουλεύεω, άλλως διανειμάντων nimis audacter Poste.

19 τοις άστοις secl. κ³, retinent K-W; τοις aυτοιs Tyrrell (H-L, et B qui etiam in papyro invenit [a]γτοις): mihi quidem [ε]τε-POIC aut simile aliquid scriptum fuisse videtur; malui tamen avrois accipere, et rois secludere, utpote ex interpretamento rois r' (sc. rois rerpanosloss) exortum.

XXXII 8 < \$\eta > Rutherford, Blass, K-W, H-L, K^3. 5 EICHIECAN: εἰσῆσαν K, H-L; eloheow K-W, B. 6 €õei õè : ETIÀE COTT. K.

might be held twice (see c. 62 end, and Pol. 1275 a 25; 1299 a 10; 1317 b 24; there quoted).

νεμηθώσιν...els τds...λήξεις] c. 30 § 3, νείμαι... τους άλλους πρός την ληξιν έκάστ

'As regards the future, in order that the 400 may be distributed into the four divisions (above mentioned, 30 § 3), let the hundred make the distribution when it is possible for them (i.e. the 400) to sit in council with the rest.'

τῶν ἄλλων refers to the 5,000, as in c. 30 § 3, twice. avrots refers to the τετρακόσια aforesaid. Kaibel and Wilamowitz explain τῶν

άλλων as των εν Σάμω, but (as observed by Mr Kenyon) βουλεύευ is a technical word, and the Athenians with the fleet would not become members of the βουλή on their return, and there would be no occasion to await their return before arranging the subdivision of the Four Hundred among the four councils.'

In Stavenarrow we have a sudden * transition from the inf. of orat. obliqua to

the imperative of oratio recta.

XXXII § 1. enulyplouvros] 30 § 4 end. Apiotopiaxov, otherwise unknown. 'The absence of the name of father and deme is in accordance with the lapidary style of the 5th century, in which the decrees simply have à δεῦνα έπεστάτει, e.g. CIA 1, 32, έδοξεν τῆ βουλῆ και τῷ δήμω. Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευε. Μνησίθεος εγραμμάτευε Εύπείθης επεστάτει.

Καλλίας είπε. On the other hand, the addition of the deme (c. 34 ult., έγραψε το ψήφισμα Δρακοντίδης Αφιδναΐος) or father (29 § 1, γράψαντος Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Ἐπιζήλου) of the proposer, is not in the manner

of 5th century inscriptions' (Wyse).

4rl Καλλίου] Β.C. 412—411.

πριν διαβουλεύσαι] 'before the completion of its term of office.' The word is not found elsewhere in act. διαβου-λεύεσθαι, 'to deliberate thoroughly,' is found in Andoc. 2 § 10; and in the sense of 'taking counsel' in Thuc. ii 5 and elsewhere (L and S), c.g. vii 50 § 4, 'to discuss.' As appears from the context, the Council was within a month of completing its year of office.
Θαργηλιώνος τετράδι έπι δέκα, the 14th

of Thargelion (May-June) or about the end of May. tháty φδίνοντος Θαργηλιώνος, the 21st of Thargelion, or about June 7. τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα Σκιροφοριώνος, the 14th of Scirophorion (June-July), or

about the end of June.

thei] 'was bound' in ordinary course, according to the normal constitution.

την είληχυίαν τῷ κυάμφ βουλήν] Thuc. viii 66 § 1, δημος μέντοι όμως έτι και βουλή ή άπο τοῦ κυάμου ξυνελέγετο, iò. 60 (of the attack of the Four Hundred and their emissaries on the Council of 412-411), ἐπέστησαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου βουheurais. The object of the emphatic mention of κύαμος is to point the contrast between the constitutional Council and

2 Σκιροφοριώνος. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχία τοῦτον κατέστη τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ Καλλίου μὲν ἄρχοντος, ἔτεσιν δ΄ ὕστερον τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολῆς μάλιστα ἐκατόν, αἰτίων μάλιστα γενομένων Πεισάνδρου καὶ 'Αντιφώντος καὶ Θηραμένους, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεγενημένων εὖ καὶ το τ4.] 3 συνέσει καὶ γνώμη δοκούντων διαφέρειν. || γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας οἱ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι λόγω μόνον ἡρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ τῶν δέκα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦρχον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβευσάμενοι κατελύοντο τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἰς ἐκάτεροι τυγχάνουσιν τ5 ἔχοντες. οὐχ ὑπακου[σά]ντων δ΄ ἐκείνων εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς [θ]αλάττης ἀφήσουσιν, οὕτως ἀπέστησαν.

that of the Revolution. The latter was not appointed by lot out of the general body of citizens. Cf. 31, 4, 00s ar έλων-ται.

§ 2. μάλιστα έκατόν] Β.C. 510—to end of May 411, or 99 years; hence μάλιστα. Thuc. viii 68, 4, έπ' έτει έκατοστῷ μάλιστα έπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν.

μαλιστα έπειδη οι τόραννοι κατελύθησαν.

Πεισάνδρου] Thuc. viii 49, 53—56, 63—68, esp. 68 § 1 (οf the έκκλησία held at Colonus), ην δε ό μεν την γνώμην ταύτην ειπών Πείσανδρος, και τάλλα έκ τοῦ προφανοῦς προθυμότατα ξυγκαταλύσας τον δημον' ὁ μέντοι πῶν τό πρῶγμα ξυνθείς ὅτω τρόπω κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο και ἐκ πλείστου ἐπιμεληθείς 'Αντιφῶν ην, ἀνηρ 'λθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀρετῆ τε οὐδενὸς δεύτερος και κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθήναι γενόμενος και ἀ γνοίη εἰπεῖν. In § 3 Thuc. mentions Phrynichus who παρέσχε... ἐαυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμότατον ἐς τὴν όλιγαρχίαν, and in § 4 Θηραμένης, who ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τὸν δήμου πρῶτος ῆν, ἀνηρούτε εἰπεῖν οὐτε γνώμα αδόνατος. ὧστε ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν και ξυνετῶν (cf. στυνέσει) πραχθέν τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀπεικότως καίπερ μέγα δν προύχώρησε. On Peisander, see also Lys. 12 § 66; 25 § 9; and Andoc. 2 §§ 12—15; on Antiphon, Lys. § 3. λόγω μόνον] Thuc. viii 92 § 11, και οι πετρακόσιοι διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ηθελον τοὺς

καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ήθελον τοὐς πεντακισχιλίους οὐτε εἶναι οὐτε μὴ όντας δήλους εἶναι, τὸ μὲν καταστῆσαι μετόχους τοσούτους ἄντικρυς ὰν δῆμον ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' αὖ ἀφανὲς φόβον ἐς ἀλλήλους παρέξειν. οἱ δὰ τετρακόστοι κτλ.] Thuc. viii 70, οἰ

τετρακόσιοι έσελθόντες ές το βουλευτήριον...

τά τε άλλα ένεμον κατά κράτος την πόλιν κτλ. τών δέκα] the ten στρατηγοί of c. 31 § 2. πρός Λακ. κτλ.] Thuc. ib. πρός τε Αγιν τον Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα όντα έν τη Δεκελεία έπεκηρυκεύοντο, λέγοντες διαλ-Δεκκειά επεκηρυκευοντο, Λεγμντες υπαλ. λαγήναι βούλεσθαι (Grote, v p. 391). 71 § 3, μετά δε τούτο παρά τε τον Αγιν έπρεσβεύ-οντο οι τετρακόσιοι ούδεν ήσσον, κάκείνου μάλλον ήδη προσδεχομένου και παραινούντος έκπέμπουσι καί ές την Λακεδαίμονα περί ξυμβάσεως πρέσβεις βουλόμενοι διαλλαγήναι. 90 § 2, απέστειλαν 'Αντιφώντα και Φρύνιχον και άλλους δέκα κατά τάχος... έπιστείλαντες παντί τρόπφ όστις και όπωσουν ανεκτός ξυναλλαγήναι πρός τους Λακεδαιμονίους. Lastly, 91 § 1, οί έκ της Λακε-δαίμονος πρέσβεις οὐδέν πράξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν τοις ξύμπασι ξυμβατικόν. 'We read with astonishment,' says Grote, v 409, 'that the (Lacedaemonians) could not be prevailed upon to contract any treaty and that they manifested nothing but back-wardness in seizing the golden opportunity.' But the envoys clearly could not answer for the armament at Samos, and therefore returned without obtaining any terms that would apply to the Athenians at large. The text tells us what we do not learn from Thucydides, viz. that the reason for this failure in the negotiations was due to the envoys declining to sur-render the maritime supremacy of Athens. This embassy was afterwards impeached by Theramenes (Lysias 12 §§ 66—68); Antiphon was condemned and executed (Phrynichus had been already assassinated)

κατελύοντο] tentative impf.

33. μηνας μεν οθν ίσως τέτταρας διέμεινεν ή των τετρακοσίων πολιτεία, καὶ ἡρξεν έξ αὐτῶν Μνησίλοχος δίμηνον ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου άρχουτος, <δς> ήρξε τους επιλοίπους δέκα μήνας. ήττηθέντες δὲ τῆ περὶ Ἐρετρίαν ναυμαχία κ[αὶ] τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀποστάσης ὅλης 5 πλην 'Ωρεοῦ, χαλεπώς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τῆ συμφορά μάλιστα τῶν προγεγενημένων (πλείω γαρ έκ της Εύβοίας ή της Αττικής έτύγχανον ώφελούμενοι), κατέλυσαν τούς τετρακοσίους καὶ τὰ πράγματα παρέδωκαν τοις πεντακισχιλίοις τοις έκ των ὅπλων, ψηφισάμενοι μηδεμίαν άρχην είναι μισθοφόρον. αἰτιώτατοι δ' 2 το εγένοντο της καταλύσεως 'Αριστοκράτης καὶ Θηραμένης, οὐ συνα-

K (K-W, B): & & H-L. 9 ΜΙCΘΟΦΟΡώΝ: μισθοφόρον J B Mayor, Rutherford, Naber, Fränkel,

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. 1 * Harp. s.v. τετρακόσιοι:...οὶ τετρακόσιοι πρὸ ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν κατέστησαν τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων παρ' 'Αθηναίοις' οἴτινες τέτταρας μῆνας ἡρξαν τῆς πόλεως, ως φησιν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. (Frag. 372², 410²).

XXXIII § 1. µη̂νας...ίσως τέτταρας] The 400 were practically in power from the end of May to the end of June, also for the two months of July and August in the civil year next ensuing (δίμηνον). This makes three months. Hence the oligarchical revolution began about a month earlier, i.e. at the end of April, while the constitutional Council was still while the constitutional Council was still nominally in office (Thuc. viii 66, 1), and the four months are May, June, July and and August. Thuc. viii 63, 3, places the fall of the democracy a little earlier than the spring of 411. It has been assigned to March 411, soon after the *Lenaca* in which the *Lysistrata* was produced (Wattenbach, *De Quadr.* p. 29, quoted by Classen, Thuc. *l.c.*). Similarly Grote, c. 62 init... describes the Four Hundred as c. 63 init., describes the Four Hundred as installed in the Senate-House about February or March 411 B.C., and deposed about July of the same year, and speaks of Athens undergoing 'four or five months of danger and distraction.' It now appears that these dates are rather too early.

Myng Cloxes] the archon eponymus selected by the 400. Myng Cloxes is mentioned in the list of the Thirty given mentioned in the list of the 1 nirty given in Xen. Hell. ii 3, 2 and there is every probability that the two are the same. Cf. Cia iv 3, 179 d 1, p. 162, ['Αθηναΐ]οι ἀνήλ[ωσαν ἐπὶ Μνησιλό]χου ἀρχο[ντοί]. This expenditure was authorised not (as usual) by vote of the δήμοι, but ψηφισαμένης της βουλής. At the date specified, the 21st of Hecatombaeon, the Four

Hundred were still in power.

Geomourou] the archon eponymus appointed by lot on the restoration of the democracy in the third month of the civil year, B.C. 411-10.

emilo(movs] not found in the Index Ar. In 40 § 1 we have the ordinary word υπολοίπους. ἐπίλοιποι is often used by Plato, Rep. 540 B and Leg. 728 D, τον ἐπίλοιποι βίον, iò. 628 A, els τον ἐπίλοιποι

τη περι Έρετρίαν ναυμαχία] Thuc. viii 5. In Lys. 20 § 14 one of the καταλοyeis sails for Eretria after holding office γεις saits for Evertal after holding omce under the 400 for eight days only. πλην 'Ωροού. Τhuc. Lc. § 7, (the Lac.) Εθβωαν άπασαν άπωστήσαντες πλην 'Ωροού. χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες κτλ.] Thuc. viii 96 § 1, τοῦς δ' 'Αθηναίοις ὡς ῆλθε τὰ περί την Ευβωαν γεγενημένα, ἔκπληξις μεγίστη δη

τών πρίν παρέστη.

πλείω Δφελούμενοι] Thuc. viii 96 § 2,
(Euboea) έξ ής πλείω ή τής 'Αττικής ώφελοῦντο. Decelea was at this time in the occupation of Agis.

κατέλυσαν τους τετρακοσίους κτλ.] Thuc. viii 97 § 1, τούς τετρακοσίους κατα-παύσαντες τοις πεντακισχιλίοις έψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα παραδούναι είναι δὲ αὐτών όπόσοι και όπλα παρέχονται και μισθών

μηδένα φέρειν μηδεμμᾶ άρχᾶ.
§ 2. 'Αριστοκράτης καλ Θηραμένης]
Thuc. viii 89, 2 (of the opposition to the

ρεσκόμενοι τοις ύπὸ των τετρακοσίων γιγνομένοις. ἄπαντα γὰρ δι' αύτων έπραττον, οὐδεν επαναφέροντες τοις πεντακισχιλίοις. κοῦσι δὲ καλῶς πολιτευθηναι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιρούς, πολέμου τε καθεστώτος καὶ ἐκ τών ὅπλων τῆς πολιτείας ούσης.

τούτους μεν ουν αφείλετο την πολιτείαν ο δημος διά τάγους έτει δ' έβδόμω μετά την των τετρακοσίων κατάλυσιν, έπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ ᾿Αγγεληθεν ἄρχοντος, γενομένης της ἐν ᾿Αργινούσαις ναυμαχίας, πρώτον μέν τούς δέκα στρατηγούς τούς τή ναυμαχία 4

11 FENOMENOIC; γινομένοις K-W; γιγν. H-L, K3, B. 13 an καίπερ πολέμου? Herwerden.

XXXIV 2 EBAOMOI: EKTW K-W2. ΚΑΤΑλΥCIN K, H-L, K-W⁹, B; κατάστασιν

8 APPINOYCAC: 'Approvorate B. 4 The raumaxiar Tyrrell. Tousνικῶντας e margine irrepsisse putat Richards.

TESTIMON. XXXIV 3-12 *Schol. Arist. Ran. 1532 Κλεοφών δέ μαχέσθω: ΤΕΣΤΙΜΟΝ. ΣΑΛΑΙ ΘΕΙΙΟΙ ΛΙΙΝ. ΛΙΙΝ. 1332 ΑΛΕΘΡΑΙΟ Ο ΕΜΑΣΕΙΟΙ ΑΤΙΝ. 1332 ΑΛΕΘΡΑΙΟ Ο ΕΜΑΣΕΙΟΙ ΑΤΙΝ. 1332 ΑΛΕΘΡΑΙΟ ΕΦΟΙΛΟΙΡΙΟΙ ΑΙΚΟΙ ΑΙΚΟΙ ΑΙΚΟΙ ΑΙΚΟΙ ΕΙΝΟΙΚΟΙ ΕΙΝΟΙ ΕΙ

extreme members of the 400), έχοντες ήγε-μόνας τῶν πάνυ [στρατηγῶν] τῶν ἐν τῆ δλιγαρχία [καl] ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὅντων, οἰον Θη-ραμένην τε τὸν "Αγνωνος καl 'Αριστοκράτην τὸν Σκελλίου. Lys. 12 § 66, (Theramenes) μετέσχε τῶν 'Αριστοκράτους ἔργων. Απίστητες had been του of the envoys

Aristocrates had been one of the envoys who negotiated the peace of 421 B.C. who negotiated the peace of 421 B.C. (Thuc. v 19 and 24). In 414 B.C. he is represented as a typical 'aristocrat' in Arist. Aves, 125, (Έποψ) άριστοκρατεῖσθαι δήλος εἶ ζητών. (Εὐελπ.) έγώ ; ἤκιστα: καὶ τὸν Σκελλίον βδελόττομαι, cf. Plat. Gorg. 472 A. He was a ταξίαρχος under the 400 (Thuc. viii 92) and is extended the 400 (Thuc. viii 92). tolled by the author of the speech against Theorrines, [Dem.] 58 § 67, for taking part in the destruction of the fortress of Eetioneia and restoring the democracy. He was one of the generals at Arginusae (406).

ούδεν ἐπαναφέροντες τοῦς πεντακισ-χιλίοις] In Thuc. l.c. the opponents of the 400 insist τους πεντακισχιλίους έργφ καί

400 Insist τους πεντακισχιλίους εργφ και μή δυόματι χρήναι ἀποδεικνύναι.

δοκούσι δε καλώς πολίτευθήναι κτλ.]

Thuc. viii 97, 2, ούχ ήκιστα δή τον πρώτον χρόνον έπί γ' έμοῦ 'Αθηναῖοι φαίνονται εδ πολιτεύσαντες: μετρία γὰρ ή τε ές τοὺς όλίγους και ές τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις έγέκτας και ές τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις έγέκτας και ές τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις έγέκτας και έχει τοῦς πολλοὺς και εξύγκρασις έχει τοῦς πολλοὺς και εξύγκρασις έχει τοῦς πολλοὺς και έχει τοῦς πολλοὺς και εξύγκρασις έχει τοῦς πολλοῦς και εξύγκρασις εξ νετο και έκ πονηρών τών πραγμάτων τοῦτο πρώτον ανήνεγκε την πόλιν. Grote c. 57,

V 430. έκ τών δπλων] c. 4 § 2, ἀπεδέδοτο ἡ πολιτεία τοις όπλα παρεχομένοις. Pol. 1297 b I, deî de thu moditelau elvai mèv ek two

τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον.

XXXIV. Arginusae and Aegospotami.
§ 1. ἐτα δ' ἐβδόμφ κτλ.] The archonship of Theopompus was in B.C. 411/o; that of Callias in 406/5. Thus, the later in the sixth wear after the overthrow was in the sixth year after the overthrow of the Four Hundred. Mr Kenyon suggests that 'the calculation was probably made by inadvertence from the establishment of the Four Hundred, which was in

the official year 412—411 B.C.'

700'Ayya\nothing Added to distinguish him from the Callias who was archon in B.C. 412 (c. 32 § 1). Others of the same name were archons in 456 and 377.

It was more usual to remove such ambiguities by adding the archon of the previous year, e.g. Arg. to Arist. Ranae, ent Καλλίου τοῦ μετ' Αρτιγενή (the Callias of the text); Schol. Ach. 10, Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Μνησίθεον (the Callias of 456). In Schol. Nub. 971 Phrynis is said to have been victorious at the Panathenaea έπι Καλλίου άρχοντος, probably B.C. 406, as this was the third year of the Olympiad

(Wyse).

'Apyrotorus] Xen. Hell. i 6, 27—38.

Cf. Grote, c. 64, v 501—536; Holm, Gr. Gesch. ii 573 ff, 585.

τους δέκα στρατηγούς] In Xen. Hell.
i 5, 16 we have the names of the ten generals: Conon, Diomedon, Leon (also mentioned in 6 § 16, but probably a mistake for Lysias, who is mentioned in 6 § 30, and 7 § 1), Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, 5 νικώντας συνέβη κριθήναι μιζ χειροτονία πάντας, τούς μέν οὐδέ

Thrasyllus, Aristogenes. Of these Conon was blockaded in the harbour of Mitylene, and was therefore not present at the battle of Arginusae (Hell. 6 §§ 16 ff.). Leon and Erasinides were with Cleon when he first made for Mitylene (Le. § 16) and we hear no more of them until we find Erasinides among those engaged in the battle (§ 29). The other generals engaged in it were Aristocrates, Diomedon, Pericles, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Lysias, and Aristogenes. We know from Lysias 21 § 8 that Archestratus died at Mitylene, though Xenophon is silent on this point; and Erasinides probably left Mitylene on board the vessel mentioned in the passage of Lysias just quoted: \$\pi\text{movarbay}\text{movarbay}\text{Therefore}\text{movarbay}\text{mova

Thus only eight of the ten were engaged in the battle; after the battle, the generals were recalled. Two of them, Protomachus and Aristogenes, declined to come. 'Warned of the displeasure of the people and not confiding in their own case to meet it, they preferred to pay the price of voluntary exile' (Grote v 510, c. 64).

Only six returned to Athens. It was

Only six returned to Athens. It was ultimately proposed to the Council by Callixenus (Xen. Hell. i 7 § 9) and carried, that the case should be decided by the public assembly voting in their tribes by ballot, and that one single vote was to decide the case of all the generals (§ 34, μαῦ ψήφω ἀπανται κρίνεν). In the assembly it was moved by Euryptolemus that each of the generals should be tried separately (κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδραι δίχα ἔκαστον, ib.). The assembly first voted by show of hands (διαχειροτονία) in favour of this motion, and then against it; thereupon they condemned all the eight generals who had taken part in the battle (κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγών, ὀκτώ ὁντων). The six who had returned were put to death.

If we now turn from the narrative in Xenophon to the description in the text, we find several discrepancies: (1) all the ten are put on their trial, not eight alone; (2) they are tried μᾶ χειροτονία, whereas it was only the vote on the rival motions (including the decision to try them collectively) that was taken by show of

hands, and the final verdict was given by ballot (διαψήφωτε). τους μέν ουδέ συνναυμαχήσωτας must refer to Conon who was at Mitylene, and to Archestratus who died there. τους δ' έπ' άλλοτρίας νεώς σωθέντας is so far borne out by Xenophon that, according to the statement made in the speech of Euryptolemus (l.c. § 32), one of the generals was έπι καταδύσης νεώς διασωθείς (cf. Diod. xiii

99).
As regards our other authorities, Philochorus (frag. 121) speaks of six generals as having been put to death; Diodorus (xiii 101—2) describes six only as actually condemned. According to Androtion's Atthis (quoted by Pausanias vi 7, 7) the decision was limited to the generals who actually took part in the battle. Plut. Per. 37 says of Pericles the younger, τοῦτον...ἀπέκτευεν ὁ δῆμως μετὰ τῶν συστρατηγῶν. The Schol. on Aristoph. Ran. 698 describes four of the generals as having escaped and six as having been put to death. This is somewhat fancifully regarded by Bauer (p. 161) as implying that the charge concerned all the ten.

ing that the charge concerned all the ten. Plato Apol. 32 B says: δτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς τοὺς οὐκ ἀρελομένους τοὺς κέκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐβουλεύσασθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν παρανόμως, τότ' ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν πρυτάνεων ἡναντιώθην ὑμῶν. [Plat.] Αχίοςλ. 368 D states that all the ten στρατηγού were condemned to death. This account is carelessly followed by Aelian V. H. iii 17, ούκ ἐπεψήφισεν ᾿Αθηναίοις (Σωκράτης) τὸν τῶν δέκα στρατηγών θάνατον. Cf. Valerius Max. iii 8, 3 and Schol. Aristid. iii 245, 24 Dind.

According to Bauer the 'dream of Thrasyllus' (Diod. xiii 97, 6) implies that seven of the generals were put to death. The seventh (he suggests) was Leon. Diodorus (xiii 101 § 5) states that Conon also was accused but acquitted. Bauer considers the account in the text too definite in its terms (suscharf ausgedrückt), in so far as it takes no note of Conon's acquittal; but he actually regards it as more correct than the narrative in Xenophon. He suggests that Xenophon passes over the case of Leon who had not been present at the battle, because it would put the injustice of the sentence in too extreme a light. In Bauer's opinion the author can only refer to Leon in the vague plural rovs ovôt συνναυμαχήσαντας, which Bauer admits is an exaggeration.

συνναυμαχήσαντας, τούς δ' έπ' άλλοτρίας νεώς σωθέντας, έξαπατηθέντος τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοὺς παροργίσαντας ἔπειτα βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων εκ Δεκελείας απιέναι και εφ' οις εχουσιν εκάτεροι 1. 15.] εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἔνιοι μὲν ἐσπούδαζον, τὸ δὲ πληθος || οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν έξαπατηθέντες ύπο Κλεοφώντος, δς εκώλυσε γενέσθαι την ειρήνην 10 έλθων είς την εκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ενδεδυκώς, οὐ φάσκων

6 EZATTATHOENTEC COTT. K. 8 ANIENAI: ἀπιέναι J B Mayor, Sidgwick, Wyse, Blass, Herwerden, Naber, Gennadios, coll. Schol. Arist. Ran. 1532, H-L, κ-W, κ³. και εφ οις εχογςικ ιρηκηκ εκατεροι αρεικ; καὶ ἐψο ἐκ ἐχουσω ἐκάτεροι εἰρήνην ἀγεω κ. (H-L);—εἰρήνην ἀγεω ἐκάτεροι Gompers; ἐφ' οἰς ἔχουσω ἐκάτεροι καὶ εἰρήνην ἀγεω κ-W e Schol. Arist. (et B, in archetypo ἐφ' οἰς ἔχουσω ἐκάτεροι supra versum adscriptum fuisse arbitratus).

9 ὑπήκουσων mavult Herwerden.

10 ἐξαπατηθέν Rutherford.

7-12 *Schol. Arist. Ran. 1532; v. Testimonia in p. 129.

έξαπατηθέντος του δήμου] Xen. Hell. i 7 § 35, θστερον...εψηφίσαντο οίτινες τὸν δήμον εξηπάτησαν, προβολάς αὐτών είναι και έγγυητας καταστήσαι, έως αν κριθώσιν.

παροργίσαντας] in Act. hitherto found only in N. T.

έκ Δεκελείας dwiévaι] Decelea had been occupied by Agis since the spring of 413 B.C. (Thuc. vii 19 § 1), and it was re-tained until the end of the Peloponnesian On the site, about 15 miles N.E. of Athens, near the entrance of the defile of Athens, near the entrance of the defile leading between Parnes and Pentelicus from the plain of Athens to Oropus and Tanagra, see Leake's Demi p. 18 and plan in Curtius, Sieben Karten.

Lip' ole Exouris indrapos art.] These overtures after the battle of Arginusae are not mentioned by Xenophon or Diodorus. The terms are the same as

Diodorus. The terms are the same as those proposed, according to Diodorus (xiii 52), after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C., and opposed by Cleophon (ib. 53) (see Grote c. 63, v 458-461). The present overtures are in fact 'a second edition' of those put forward four years Xenophon says nothing of ther occasion. The account previously. them on either occasion. in Diodorus led Grote (c. 65 init. p. 537 n) to suppose that the Scholiast on Aristoph. Ranae ult., who quotes the present passage, had confounded the two battles. It now appears that the Scholiast's quotation was correct. It is not improbable that Diodorus is wrong. It is to the overtures in the text that we should refer the account in Philochorus, fragm. 117—118 Müller (ap. Schol. ad Eur. Orest. 371):— Λ ακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσαμένων περί είρηνης απιστήσαντες οί 'Αθηναΐοι οὐ προσήκαντο. Cf. Schol. on 1. 722. Grote v 460 n.

Kanarηθίντες ὑπὸ Κλεοφώντος] In c. 28 § 4 Cleophon (and Callicrates) are described as having 'deceived the people.' Cleophon's action is described as follows in Lysias 13 § 8, ότε γάρ ή πρώτη έκκλησία περί τής είρήνης έγίγνετο, καί οί παρά Λακεδαιμονίων ήκοντες έλεγον έφ' οίς έτοιμοι είεν την είρηνην ποιείσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εί κατασκαφείη των τειχών των μακρών έπι δέκα στάδια έκατέρου, τότε υμείς τε, ώ άν. 'Αθ., ουκ ήνέσχεσθε άκουσαντες περί αν. Αν., ουν ηνεσχεσνε ακουσαντες περ τών τειχών τής κατασκαφής, Κλεοφών το υπέρ ύμῶν πάντων άναστάς άντειτεν ώς ούδενὶ τρόπφ οίόν τε είη ποιείν ταύτα. Aeschin. F. L. 76, Κλεοφών...άποκόψειν ήπειλει μαχαίρα τον τράχηλον, εί τις τής είρηνης μνησθήσεται, and F. L. 151, παντά-παριν Καρον δράμετο (with schol. ου 150. πασιν έκφρων έγένετο (with schol. on 150, where el τις είρηνη γεννηθήσεται, printed elphrns γεννητής έσται, is clearly a mistake for elphrns μνησθήσεται). Cf. Arist. Ran. ad fin. Κλεοφῶν δὲ μαχέσθω, and Holden's Onomasticon s. v.

μεθύων καλ θώρακα ένδεδυκώς] It has been suggested (by Hartman) that we should read θώρακα έχων and interpret the latter as a metaphorical phrase equivalent to μεθύων (coll. Aristoph. Vesp. 1195 etc). If so, the writer has misinterpreted a phrase borrowed from a comedy and quite out of place here. But there is nothing unreasonable in Cleophon's appearing in armour. His life was not safe, as may be inferred from the animosity with which the was regarded by members of the oligarchical party (Aristoph. Ran. 1504, Lys. 13 § 7 ff., 30 § 10 ff.). (Herwerden's n.) It will be remembered that Cicero, at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, went down to the Campus Martius armed with a lata insignique lorica (Cic. pro Murena,

ἐπιτρέψειν ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφῶσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς πόλεις. οὐ 2 χρησάμενοι δὲ καλῶς τότε τοῖς πράγμα[σι], μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀμαρ[τίαν]. τῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει ἐπ' 'Αλεξίου 15 ἄρχοντος ἢτύχησαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν, ἐξ ἢς συνέβη κύριον γενόμενον τῆς πόλεως Λύσανδρον καταστῆσαι τοὺς τριάκοντα τρόπφ τοιῷδε. τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ῷ τε 3 πολιτεύσονται τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ διασψζειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν δῆμον, τῶν δὲ γνωρίμων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐταιρείαις 20 ὅντες καὶ τῶν φυγάδων οἱ μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατελθόντες ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμουν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἐταιρεία μὲν οὐδεμιᾶ συγκαθεστῶτες [ἄ]λλως δὲ δοκοῦντες οὐδενὸς ἐπιλείπεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐζήτουν· ὧν ἢν μὲν καὶ 'Αρχῖνος καὶ 'Ανυτος καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Φορμίσιος καὶ ἔτεροι πολλοί, προειστήκει δὲ

12 αφιωτι (κ): ἀφῶσι Naber, Gennadios, Richards, κ-w, H-L, B e schol. Arist.

18 Διαςωζείν ; -σώσευ κ¹; -σώσαι hiatu admisso J B Mayor et Wyse; -σώζευ Blass, κ-w, h-l, κ³.

20 αρχίαν corr. J B Mayor, Rutherford, Blass, Fränkeł.

22 επιλιπεςθαι: ἐπιλείπ. κ, β, ('an λείπεσθαι?') κ-w; ἀπολείπ. Richards, Gennadios, Kontos, Hultsch (h-l).

23 εζητογν (κ, κ-w, β): ἐζήλουν h-l.

§ 2. ἐπ' 'Aλείου] B.C. 405/4.

ἡτόχησαν τὴν—ναυμαχίαν] an exceptional, but quite intelligible, phrase for expressing 'defeat in the naval engagement.' We have something like it in Aristides ii 334 Dind., Σοφοκλῆς Φιλοκλίους ἡττᾶτο...τὸν Οιδίπουν.

èv Alyds ποταμοίς] Xen. Hell. ii 1, 21—32. Plut. Lysander, c. 11—12. Grote c. 65, v 542—7. Λύσανδρον] Lysias 12 §§ 72—76. Plut.

Λύσανδρου] Lysias 12 88 72—76. Plut. Lys. 15, τριάκοντα μέν έν άστει, δέκα δέ έν Πειραιεῖ καταστήσας άρχοντας, Grote c.

Πειραιεῖ καταστησας αρχυνιώς, C.5.9 5.59.
§ 3. Την πάτριον πολιτείαν] C. 31,
l. 3. Χεπ. Hell. ii 3 § 2, ξδοξε τῷ δήμω τριάκοντα ἀνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψωσι, καθ΄ οῦς πολιτεύσουσι.
The term (as Mr Kenyon observes) was 'sufficiently vague,' indicating generally the constitution of Solon; but, as the virtue of the constitution depended on its working, it was possible for moderate democrats, extreme oligarchs, and moderate aristocrats alike to hope that it would be modelled according to their views. Diodorus (xiv 3) recounts the arguments of the opposing parties at some length, and describes Theramencs as urging the Athenians to follow τῆ πατρίω πολιτεία.

Athenians to follow τη πατρίφ πολιτεία.

τῶν γνωρίμων] 2 § 1, 5 § 1, 16 § 9, 28 § 2.

ἐταιρείαιε] Cf. Thuc. iii 82, 8; viii
54, 4. Hermann, Staatsall. 70, 2 and
10; Schömann, Ant. p. 363 E. T.

'Αρχίνος] Dem. Τίποςτ. p. 742 § 135, 'Αρχίνου...τοῦ καταλαβόντος Φυλήν καὶ μετά γε τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτιωτάτου δντος τῆς καθόδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀλλα πολλά καὶ καλά πεπολιτευμένου καὶ ἐστρατηγηκότος πολλάκις. Isocr. 18 § 2, Aeschin. c. Ctes. 187, 195. Inf. c. 40 §§ 1, 2.

Inf. c. 40 §§ 1, 2.

"Avvros] In the speech made by Theramenes in his desence, in Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 42, Anytus is mentioned with Thrasybulus and Alcibiades: οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὖτε Θρασύβουλον οὖτε Ανντον οὖτε Αλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν, and ið. § 44, πότερον οἰεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ανντον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας α᾽ ἐγὰ λέγω μᾶλλον αν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἀ οὖτοι πράττουσιν;

μαλλον αν εννασε ρουλεσσαι γιγνεσσαι η α οῦτοι πράττουσυ;

Κλειτοφῶν] the proposer of the rider to the proposal of Pythodorus respecting the establishment of the 400 (29 § 3). Isocr. Callim. II § 30. He is possibly the same as the son of Aristonymus and pupil of Socrates who gives his name to Plato's Cleitophon. In Plut. Mor. 805 Κλειτοφῶν (mentioned with Cleon) is probably a mistake for Κλεοφῶν.

Φορμίστος] Τπόθεσι το Lysias Or. 34, Newstern Haliant (Mentioned States)

Φορμίσιος] 'Τπόθεσις to Lysias Or. 34, Dionys. Halic. de Lysia, c. 32, τοῦ γὰρ δήμου κατελθόντος έκ Πειραιώς, καὶ ψηφισαμένου διαλύσασθαι πρός τοὺς ἐν ἀστει, καὶ μηδενός τῶν γεγενημένων μυησικακεῖν, δέους δὲ ὅντος, μὴ πάλιν τὸ πλήθος εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους ὑβρίζη τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐξουσίαν κεκομισμένον, καὶ πολλῶν ὑπὲρ τούτου γινομέ-

μάλιστα Θηραμένης. Λυσάνδρου δὲ προσθεμένου τοῖς όλιγαρχι- 25 κοις καταπλαγείς ὁ δήμος ήναγκάσθη γειροτονείν την όλιγαρχίαν. έγραψε δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα Δρακοντίδης 'Αφιδναίος.

35. οί μεν οθν τριάκοντα τοθτον τον τρόπον κατέστησαν επί Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος. γενόμενοι δὲ κύριοι τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν άλλα τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς πολιτείας παρεώρων, πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτάς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες ἐκ προκρίτων έκ των χιλίων, καὶ προσελόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πειραιέως 5

XXXV 1 KATECTHCE COTT. K. 5 έκ τῶν χιλίων delet Marindin: πεντακισχιλίων? K-W, έκ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων Thompson, H-L; έκ τῶν φυλῶν Hude. και τὰς άλλας άρχας καταστήσαντες έκ προκρίτων έκ των χιλίων post μισθοφόρον in c. 33, 9 ponit Harberton, mutato χιλίων in πεντακισχιλίων et nostro in loco προσελόμενοι δέ scripto

(Class. Rev. vi 123). TΓΙΡΑΙως: Πειραθώς Κ, K-W; Πειραιώς H-L, B.

ΤΕSTIM. **ΧΧΧΙΥ 27** *Schol. Arist. Vesp. 157 Δρακοντίδης:...ξοτι γάρ οδτος ό τό περί τῶν τριάκοντα ψήφισμα περί όλιγαρχίας γράψας, ὡς Αρ. ἐν πολιτείαις (Frag. 373², 411²). **ΣΧΧΥ 5—6** Bekk. Anecdota, p. 235 δέκα τινες εἰσί: δέκα ήσαν τινες ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἱ ἀρξαντες κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα τῶν τριάκοντα. ἀλλά καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτοῖς εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχης δοῦναι. μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν δὲ ὅτι ἔτεροί εἰσι δέκα, οδς ᾿Αθηναῖοι είλοντο μετὰ τὴν τῶν τα κατάλυσω (c. 38, 5).

Κόγων, Φορμίσιός τις τῶν συγκατελθόντων μετά τοῦ δήμου γνώμην είσηγήσατο, τούς μέν φεύγοντας κατιέναι, την δέ πολι-τείαν μη πάσιν, άλλα τοις την γην έχουσι παραδούναι, βουλομένων ταύτα γενέσθαι και Λακεδαιμονίων. Grote c. 66 vi 4; Schömann, On Grote, § 11, holds that it is wrong to regard Phormisius as an adherent of the oligarchical party; at the same time he was no friend to extreme democracy. Schömann's view is supported by the text.

He was sent with Epicrates and others as an envoy to Artaxerxes before the Corinthian war and accepted valuable gifts from the king. The envoys were attacked for this in the Πρέσβεις of Plato, ap. Athen. 229 F (frag. 119 with Kock's note). He is mentioned in Arist. Ran. 965 as an admirer (μαθητήs) of Aeschylus. Didymus, in Schol. ad loc., describes him as δραστικός και την κόμην τρέφων και φοβερός δοκών είναι.

Λυσάνδρου-τοίς όλιγαρχικοίς] Dio-

dorus, xiv 3.

ψήφισμα] Isocr. 15 § 67, οι μέν γάρ
ψήφισματι παραλαβόντες την πόλιν.

Δρακοντίδης] Lysias 12 § 73. Θηρα-μένης εκέλευσεν ύμας τριάκοντα ανδράσιν πετης εκεπευσε υμας τρακοντα ανορασιν πιτρέψαι την πόλιν, και τῆ πολιτεία χρήσθαι π. Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινεν. Aristoph. Vesp. 15 with Schol. He was himself nomi-natel as one of the Thirty (Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 2) Hypereid. ap. Harp. s.v.). Cf. Plat. Com. frag. 139 Kock.

XXXV-XXXVII. The Rule of the Thirty.

XXXV § 1. ol... trudkovta] Diodorus (xix 32 etc) is the first writer who calls them of $\tau \rho$. $\tau \dot{\nu} \rho \alpha \nu \sigma \nu$. The same designation occurs in Plut. Sull. 5 and in later writers.

έπὶ Πυθόδωρου ἄρχοντος] δυ Άθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν δλιγαρχία ἡρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσω, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσω, Χεπ.

Hell. ii 3 § 1; cf. however Lys. 7 § 9.

rd wir alla Bouleving Kanastifferares

Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 11, alpeberres έφ' ψτε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οδστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μέν del έμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε και αποδεικνύναι, βουλήν δέ και τας άλλας άρχας κατέστησαν, ώς έδόκει αὐτοις. τας άλλας άρχας, e.g. that

of King-Archon which was filled by Patrocles, Isocr. Callim. 18 § 6.

ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων] 'out of those selected beforehand, i.e. out of the 1000.' If χιλίων is right, the reference is to the Knights. Cf. Philochorus, fragm. 100, ap. Hesych. s. v. lππής, lππείς (Ίππεῦσιν Schow) άλλ' είσιν lππής άνδρες άγαθοι χίλιοι [Aristoph. Εq. 225]. σύστημα πολεμικών άνδρων χιλίων ίππους τρεφόντων. Φιλόχορος δε έν τετάρτω είρηκε, πότε κατεστάθησαν χίλιοι. διάφορα γάρ ην ίππέων πλήθη κατά χρόνον Αθηναίοις. Cf. Gilbert's Gr. St. i 305. The Knights were generally credited with oligarchical sympathies. Cf. Martin, Les Cavaliers Athéniens, 1886,

άρχοντας δέκα καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλακας ἔνδεκα καὶ μαστιγοφόρους τρια[κ]οσίους ύπηρέτας, κατείχου την πόλιν δι' έαυτών. το 2 μέν οὖν πρώτον μέτριοι τοῖς πολίταις [ή]σα[ν] καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διώκειν την πάτριον πο[λιτ]είαν, καὶ τούς τ' Ἐφιάλτου καὶ 10 Αρχεστράτου νόμους τους περί των Αρεοπαγιτών καθείλον έξ 'Αρείου [πάγου] καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητ[ήσ]εις είχου, καὶ τὸ κῦρος ὁ ἡν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κ[ατέ]λυσαν, ὡς έπανορθούντες καὶ ποιούντ[ες] ἀναμφισβήτητον τὴν πολιτείαν:

7 ὑπηρ. del. Rutherford. EAYTWN: αὐτῶν Ι Β Mayor sc. τῶν ὑπηρετῶν (H-L). 8 πολιτεύμασι Poste. 9 ΔΙΟΙΚΕΙΝ (Κ coll. c. 27, 11): διώκειν Kontos, Gertz, K-W, H-L, B, coll. c. 13, 18. 11 ΔΙΑΜΦΙΖΒΗΤ. 18 ΑΝΑΜΦΙΖΒΗΤΗΤΟΝ. Post annum 329 A.C. etiam in titulis Atticis apparet f aut σf pro σ , e.g. ενδέζμους (329 A.C.). ψήφιζμα (paullo post 100 A.C.), Meisterhans, p. 682.

pp. 472—480, Les Cavaliers et les Trente. It is improbable however that the select body, out of which the 500 and the other officials were appointed, numbered only 1000. Hence it has been proposed to read πεντακωχιλίων (or $\epsilon \kappa$ των π.), but (as observed by Mr Kenyon) we know of no such body as in existence at this time,

no such body as in existence at this time, unless it is vaguely applied (as under the 400) to all capable of bearing arms.

τοῦ Περαιίως ἄρχοντας δέκα] Plut.

Lysander 15, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καταστήσας ἄρχοντας. Plat. Ερίσι. vii p.
324 B. Scheibe, Oligarchische Umwäl-

zung, p. 68.

tνδεκα] c. 52 § 1. Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 54. This new board of Eleven was under the control of Satyrus, one of the most violent

is not specified.

§ 2. μέτριοι] cf. Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 12. The Thirty began by attacking the συκοφάνται alone. Plut. Mor. ii pp. 959, 998.

φάνται αιο...

Inf. 1. 18.

Eφιάλτου] c. 25 § 2.

'Αρχεστράτου] Possibly the στρατηγός

'Αρχεστράτου] Possibly the στρατηγός

'Αρχεστράτου] 'Αρχεστράτου 'Αρχεστ a son of Lycomedes (Thuc. i 57 § 4; Xen. Hell. i 5, 16; ii 2, 15). He died at Mitylene (Lys. 21 § 8). In Thuc. viii 74 § 1 we have an Archestratus, who is described as the father of Chaereas.

Mr Kenyon conjectures that 'probably Archestratus was one of the supporters of Ephialtes, and some of the laws curtailing the power of the Areopagus stood in his

καθείλου & 'Aρείου πάγου] This implies that the laws of Ephialtes &c limiting the powers of the Areopagites were actually preserved on the Areopagus and that the Thirty removed them from the hill of Ares and thereby virtually repealed them. The context further implies that the laws of Solon were also preserved on the Areopagus, whereas they were really preserved in the Prytaneum (note on 7 § 1, κύρβεις). Possibly we should strike out έξ Αρείου πάγου. As a milder remedy we may remove the comma after elxor, so as to bring the laws of Solon here referred to under the influence of the verb κατέλυσαν: but as the text stands, the laws of Solon are coupled to those of Ephialtes and Archestratus and can only be separated from them by striking out τ' before

Έφιάλτου. Σόλωνος] Schol. Aeschin. 1 § 39, οί λ΄ τύραννοι...έλυμήναντο τούς Δράκοντος καί Σόλωνος νόμους.

θεσμών] c. 12 § 4 l. 45, in the Iambic lines from Solon.

διαμφισβητήσεις] In c. 9 § 2 it has been remarked that the right of appeal to a lawcourt was one of the strongest points in the democracy as constituted by Solon. In the same passage the ambiguities in the law of property and the law of 'heiresses' are described as giving additional power to the lawcourts. Some of these power to the lawcourts. Some of these ambiguities are removed by the Thirty and the power of the lawcourts (and the commons) pro tanto diminished.

dvaμφισβητητον] an epithet of κρίσις in Pol. iii 13, 1283 b 4, and coupled with φανερον in 1332 b 20 and Categ. 5, 3 b 4. The adverb is found in Categ. 8, 11 a 2.

1. 16.] οἶο[ν] < τὸν> || περὶ τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ῷ ἄν ἐθέλῃ κύριον ποιή-σαντες καθάπαξ, τὰς δὲ προσούσας δυσκολίας 'ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν ἡ 15 γήρως <ἔνεκα> ἡ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος' ἀφείλον, ὅπως μὴ ἢ τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἔφοδος· ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτ' ἔδρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. 3 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ τοὺς τῷ δήμῷ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ κακοπράγμονας ὄντας καὶ πονηροὺς ἀνήρουν, ἐφ' οἶς ἔχαιρεν ἡ πόλις 20 4 γιγνομένοις, ἡγούμενοι τοῦ βελτίστου χάριν ποιεῖν αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔσχον, οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπέκτεινον τοὺς καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς

περί τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ῷ ἄν ἐθέλη]
Plut. Sol. 21, εὐδοκίμησε δὲ κάν τῷ περί διαθηκῶν νόμῳ πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμένειν, ὁ δ' ῷ βούλεταί τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ παίδες ώσι γνήσιοι, δοῦναι τὰ αὐτοῦ κτλ. οῦ μὴν ἀνέδην γε πάλω οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τὰς δόσεις ἐφῆκεν, άλλ' εἰ μὴ νόσων ἔνεκεν ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ δεσμῶν ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασχεθεὶς ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος. See note on Dem. Lept. § 102.

Rasawat] 'absolutely.' Under Solon's law it was only in the event of a man's having no legitimate children that he could make a will at all. Possibly the Thirty made the right absolute.

rals mporousus Sus worklas] either 'the inconvenient limitations attaching thereto' or 'the additional inconvenient limitations'; probably the former.

τοι ; probaby the iornier.

ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν πιθόμενος] [Dem.]

46 § 14, ἐαν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γήρως ἢ

φαρμάκων ἢ νόσου ἔνεκα, ἢ γυναικὶ
πειθόμενος, and § 16, νοσοῦντα η φαρμακῶντα ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενον ἢ ὑπὸ

γήρως ἢ ὑπὸ μανιῶν ἢ ὑπὸ ἀσάγκης τινος
καταληφθέντα. 48 § 56, ἄκυρά γε ταῦτα
πάντα ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι ὁ Σόλων, ὁ τι ἀν
τις γυναικὶ πειθόμενος πράττη. Lys. frag.
74, τῆς διαθέσεως...ἦν ἐκεῖνος διέθετο ο
παρανοῶν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ πεισθείς. Isaeus 6
§ 9, ἐὰν μὴ ἀρα μανεὶς ἢ ὑπὸ γήρως κτλ.

§ 3. τους συκοφάντας κτλ.] Xen. Hell.

ii 3, 12, πρώτον μέν οδε πάντες ήδεσαν έν τή δημοκρατία άπό συκοφαντίας ζώντας καί τοῦς καλοῦς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς όντας συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου καὶ ἡ τε βουλἡ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἱ τε άλλοι, όσοι ξωήδεσαν ἐαυτοῖς μἡ όντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἡχθοντο. Lysias 13 § 5, (οἱ τριάκοντα) φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλυν. Plato, then a young man of 24, and a nephew of Critias, was at first misled by these splendid professions, Ερίει. 324 BC (Grote, v 562).

at first misled by these splendid professions, Epist. 324 BC (Grote, v 562).

προδε χάριν] (λέγεω τωι) Xen. Mem. iv 4, 4: Hell. vi 3, 7; Rhet. i 1, 1354 b 34, ἀκροδαθαι προδε χάριν. Pol. iii 16, 1287 a 38, πολλά προδε έπήρειαν και χάριν πράττευ. Εth. 10, 2, 1173 b 33, (δ φίλοτ) προδε τάγαθον διμλεῖν δοκεῖ, (δ κόλαξ) προδε ήδοντην. Theramenes protested against putting people to death simply because they had enjoyed influence under the democracy:

Theramenes protested against putting people to death simply because they had enjoyed influence under the democracy: 'Even you and I (he reminded Kritias) have both said and done many things for the sake of popularity' Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 15 (Grote, v 565).

§ 15 (Grote, v 565). § 4. ούδενός ἀπείχοντο κτλ.] Χεπ. Hell. ii 3 § 14, ους έβούλοντο ξυνελάμβανον, ούκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ όλίγου ἀξίους.

οὐκέτι τοὐς ποιηρούς τε καὶ δλίγου ἀξίους.
ἀπάκτεινου κτλ.] ib. § 15 (ὁ Κριτίας)
προπετὴς ἢν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλούς ἀποκτείνειν,
and § 17, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλών καὶ
ἀδίκως. Among those who were put to
death were Strombichides and other
officers who were attached to the demo-

άξιώμασιν προέχοντας, ὑπεξαιρούμενοί τε τὸν φόβον καὶ βουλό-25 μενοι τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζειν καὶ χρόνου διαπεσόντος βραχέος, οὐκ έλάττους ανηρήκεσαν ή χιλίους πεντακοσίους.

36. ούτως δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑποφερομένης, Θηραμένης ἀγανακτῶν έπι τοις γιγνομένοις της μεν ασελγείας αὐτοις παρήνει παύσασθαι, μεταδούναι δε των πραγμάτων τοις βελτίστοις. οι δε πρώτον έναντιωθέντες, έπει διεσπάρησαν οι λόγοι πρός το πλήθος και 5 προς του Θηραμένην οικείως είγον οι πολλοί, φοβηθέντες μή προστάτης γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου καταλύση τὴν δυναστείαν καταλέγουσιν των πολιτων τρισχιλίους ώς μεταδώσοντες της πολιτείας. Θηραμένης δὲ πάλιν ἐπιτιμᾶ καὶ τούτοις, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι, βουλό- 2 μενοι μεταδούναι τοις έπιεικέσι, τρισχιλίοις μόνοις μεταδιδόασι, ώς το εν τούτφ τφ πλήθει της άρετης ώρισμένης, έπειθ' ὅτι δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ποιούσιν, βίαιόν τε την άργην καὶ των άργομένων ήττω κατασκευάζοντες. οί δε τούτων μεν ώλυγώρησαν, τον δε κατάλογον

24 άξιώμασι Η-L. 25 Διαπετοντός (edd.)?: διαλιπόντος J B Mayor, διελθόντος Herwerden.

ΧΧΧVΙ 1 οῦτω Η-L. 2 FIN (K-W).

3 прытог соп. к. 6 ката-

KA

λέγουσι Η-L. 7 Διςχιλιογς corr. κ. CKEYAZONTEC.

9 μεταδιδόασω Η-L.

19 META-

XXXV 26 Heraclidis epitoma, Frag. 611, 63 (locus infra exscriptus).

cracy (Lysias 13 § 13; 30 § 14); Lycurgus who belonged to one of the most eminent sacred gentes in the State ([Plut.] Vit. Orat. p. 838); a wealthy man named Antiphon; Leon of Salamis (Plat. Apol. p. 32); and even Niceratus the son, and Eucrates the brother, of Nicias, Xen. Hell. ii 3, 39—41; Lysias 18 §§ 5—8 (Grote v 566).

ὑπεξαιρούμενοι φόβον] 'cunningly removing (making away with) all whom they had reason to fear.' Plat. Rep. 567 B, and in pass. Thuc. viii 70 (of the Four Hundred) ανδρας... απέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς οι έδόκουν έπιτήδειοι είναι ὑπεξαιρεθήναι. Either τον φόβον, as suggested by Mr W. L. Newman (Class. Rev. v 164 b), is the 'object of their fear' (a somewhat poetic usage), or we must render the passage 'getting quit of their own apprehension.'

χιλίους πεντακοσίους] Heraclides 9, καὶ ἀνείλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων φ΄. Ιsocr. Ατεορ. 67 (of the Thirty), οἱ μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσματι παραλαβόντες την πόλιν πεντακοσίους μεν και χιλίους των πολιτών ακρίτους απέκτειναν, Paneg. 131. Aeschin. Ctes. § 235. Cf. Grote v 577 n. The Schol. on Aeschin. 1 § 39 quotes Lysias for the

number 2500. XXXVI § 1. ὑποφερομένης] c. 25 § 1. Θηραμένης κτλ.] Xen. Hell. ii 3 §§ 15

διεσπάρησαν] δ. λόγον, Xen. Hell. v 1

φοβηθέντες πολιτείας] Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 18, έκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας και οι άλλοι των τριάκοντα, ήδη φοβούμενοι και ούχ ηκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μη συρρυείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τούς μεθέξοντας δη των πραγμάτων.

προστάτης τοῦ δήμου] c. 2 l.9; c. 28 § 2. § 2. Θ. πάλιν ἐπιτιμῷ] Χεπ. Hell. ii 3 § 19, δ δ' αῦ θ. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα έλεγεν, ὅτι άτοπον δοκοίη ξαυτώ γε είναι το πρώτον μεν βουλομένους τούς βελτίστους τών πολιτών κοινωνούς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ώσπερ τον άριθμον τούτον έχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλούς κάγαθούς είναι, καὶ ούτ ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους ούτ έντος τούτων πονηρούς οίδν τε είη γενέσθαι έπειτα δ', έφη, δρώ έγωγε δύο ήμας τὰ έναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε την άρχην και ήττονα

τών άρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. τον δε κατάλογον κτλ.] The narrative in Xenophon (Hell. ii 3 § 20) pro-

των τρισχιλίων πολύν μέν χρόνον ύπερεβάλλοντο καὶ παρ' αύτοῖς έφύλαττον τοὺς έγνωσμένους, ὅτε δὲ καὶ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρειν τούς μεν εξήλειφον των < εγ>γεγραμμένων, τούς δ' αντενέγραφον 15 τῶν ἔξωθεν.

37. ήδη δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος, καταλαβόντος Θρασυβούλου μετά των φυγάδων Φυλήν, και κατά την στρατιάν ην έξήγαγον οι τριάκοντα κακώς ἀπογωρήσαντες, ἔγνωσαν τών μέν άλλων τὰ ὅπλα παρελέσθαι, Θηραμένην δὲ διαφθεῖραι τόνδε <τὸν> τρόπον. νόμους εἰσήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν δύο κελεύοντες | 5 »l. 17.] ἐπιχειροτονεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶς αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίει τοὺς τριάκοντα

18 Υπερβαλλ. 14 συμφέρευ van Leeuwen. 15 TETPAMMENWN (K): <iγ>> γεγραμμένων Herwerden (H-L, K-W, B).

XXXVII 2 ral secl. K-W. CTPATIAN K, H-L, B: orparelar K-W.

τριάκοντα del. Richards (H-L), ante έγνωσαν ponit J B Mayor. 4 παριεσθαι $5 < \tau \delta \nu > K-W, H-L, K^3, B, coll. c. 7, 8.$

ceeds immediately with an account of the review of the 3000 in the agora and of the rest (τῶν ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου) elsewhere. The κατάλογοι is the list of the 3000 referred to by Theramenes in Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 52, Ικετεύω...μή έπε Κριτία είναι έξαλείφειν...δν αν βούληται, άλλ' ονπερ νόμον ούτοι έγραψαν περί των έν τώ καταλόγω, κατά τοῦτον...τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι, ib. 4 § 28.
ἀντενέγραφον] The word is used by Dem., but only in the pass.

ΧΧΧΥΙΙ § 1. τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος]

XXX VIA 3... the winter of B.C. 404/3. — λαβάντος — Φυλήν] Xenophon (Hell. ii 3, 23—56) completes the story of the opposition of Theramenes to the proceedings of the Thirty, and his consequent death, before relating the capture of Phyle by Thrasybulus. In ii 4, 1, after the death of Theramenes, the opponents of the Thirty were compelled to withdraw, and many of them went to Megara and Thebes. Thereupon (ἐκ τούτου § 2) Thrasybulus ὁρμηθείς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλήν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει lσχυρόν. In the text the occupation of Phyle, and the defeat of the force sent out by the Thirty against the holders of that fort, are described as the cause of the disarmament of the general body of citizens and the execution of Theramenes

This implies that Thrasybulus held Phyle for a longer time than has generally been supposed. It was not long after the surrender of Athens, on the 16th of Munychion (end of April), that the Thirty came into power, probably early in May,

404. Cleocritus in Xen. Hell. ii 4, 21, speaking immediately after the battle which ensued on the occupation of Munychia, describes the rule of the Thirty as having lasted for eight months. The brings us to the end of December, 404.

It was not until the small force which originally occupied Phyle, variously stated as 30, 60, 70 or over 100 (Grote v 585), had increased to 1000 that Thrasybulus advanced on Athens. Mr Kenyon suggests that 'they probably remained for two or three of the winter months at Phyle.' The fact that it was during the winter that Phyle was in occupation is illustrated by the narrative of the snowstorm which thwarted the Thirty in their attempt to blockade Phyle after their first

repulse (Xen. Hell. ii 4, 2).

rd 8mla mapello 8ai] Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 20, τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλην των τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, and ib. § 41. Pol. 1311 a 8 ff. νόμους είσηνεγκαν] asyndeton.

αὐτοκράτορας τρισχιλίων] Xen. Hell. ii 3 § 51 (Critias loquitur), έστι δε έν τοις καινοίς νόμοις των μέν έν τοις τρισχιλίοις όντων μηδένα αποθνήσκειν άνευ της υμετέ-ρας ψήφου, των δ' έξω του καταλόγου κυρίους είναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οδν, έφη, Θηραμένην τουτονί έξαλείφω έκ τοῦ καταλόγου ξυνδοκοῦν ἄπασιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. This implies that there were other καινοί νόμοι, and the second given in the text, but un-recognised by Xenophon, would be one of them. But if it had already been passed before the meeting of the Council at which Critias denounced Theramenes,

τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς μὴ τοῦ καταλόγου μετέχοντας τῶν τρισχιλίων, ὁ δ' ἔτερος ἐκώλυε κοινωνεῖν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν τὸ ἐν Ἡετιωνεία τεῖχος κατασκάψαντες, ἡ τοῖς το τετρακοσίοις ἐναντίον τι πράξαντες [[ἡ]] τοῖς κατασκευάσασι τὴν προτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ὧ[ν] ἐτύγχανεν ἀμφοτέρων κεκοινωνηκῶς ὁ Θηραμένης, ὥστε συνέβαινεν ἐπικυρωθέντων τῶν νόμων ἔξω τε γίγνεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα κυρίους εἶναι θανατοῦντας. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Θηραμένους τά τε ὅπλα παρείλοντο 2 15 πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολὺ πρὸς ὡμότητα καὶ πονηρίαν ἐπέδοσαν.— πρέσβεις πέμψαντες εἰς

7 τῶν τρισχιλίων delere vult B. 9 τυγχάνουσι H-L. 10 $\mathring{\eta}$ secl. K-W, H-L. 14 θανατογντας (K, K-W) defendit Kontos coll. Thuc. v 34, Plat. Leg. 878 E, Polyb. iii 85, 2 etc.: θανατοῦν Lacon, Keil, (+αὐτόν Poland), coll. Xen. Hell. ii 13, 51. 16 πρέσβεις -δδ> J B Mayor, Blass, Hude (H-L, K^3 , B): ante πρέσβεις lacunam indicant K-W; verba πρέσβεις -δφρούρουν olim in fine capitis 36 locum habuisse censet van Leeuwen.

the latter would obviously have withdrawn from Athens. The only alternative is to suppose, with Mr Kenyon, that Critias proposed the second law on the spot and 'forced it down the throat of the council by the threat of armed force.' This is not inconsistent with striking the name of Theramenes out of the list of the 3000, the only detail recorded by Xenophon, who omits the second law as superfluous, and as therefore marring the dramatic effect of his narrative.

Cf. Isocr. 18 § 16, οὐδένα φανήσομαι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐτε χρήμασι ζημιώσας οὐτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος εἰς κίνδυνον καταστήσας, οὐτ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας ἐξαλείψας εἰς δὲ τὸν μετά Λυσάνδρου κατάλογον ἐγγράψας.

λογον έγγράψας.
τό ἐν Ἡετωνεία τείχος κατασκάψαντες]
'the projecting mole which contracted and commanded, on the northern side, the narrow entrance of Peiraeus,' Grote c. 62, v 403, 408, 412. See Map of Peiraeus

narrow entrance of Peiraeus, Grote c. 62, v 403, 408, 412. See Map of Peiraeus in Curtius, Sieben Karten, no. 2.

Thuc. viii 90 § 1, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἡετωνεία καλουμένη τείχοι ἐπαιοῦντο. ib. 90 § 3, ἢν δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἡ γνώμη αιντη, ὡς ἔφη Θηραμένης καὶ οι μετ αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἴνα τοὺς ἐν Σάμφ, ἢν βἰα ἐπιπλέωσι, μὴ δέξωνται ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἀλλ' ἴνα τοὺς πολεμίους μαλλον, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ναυσί καὶ πεξῶ δέξωνται. χηλὴ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἡετιώνεια, καὶ παρ αὐτην εὐθὺς ὁ ἔσπλους ἐστίν. ib. 92 § 10, τὸν Θηραμένην ἡρώτων εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐπ ἀγαθῷ τὸ τείχος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, καὶ εὶ ἀμεινον είναι καθαιρεθέν, καὶ ἐς ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ καθαιρεθέν, καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἔφη ξυνδοκεῦν. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εὐθὺς

ἀναβάντες οι τε ὁπλίται και πολλοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνθρώπων κατέσκαπτον τὸ τείχισμα. In [Dem.] Theor. § 17 p. 1343, the incident is wrongly referred to the time of the Thirty

1343, the incident is wrongly referred to the time of the Thirty.

§ 2. δπλα παριθλοντο] This has already been mentioned as resolved by the Thirty, in § 1. Xenophon places the actual disarmament before the execution of Theramenes. Hell. ii 3, 20.

of Theramenes, Hell. ii 3, 20.
πολύ πρός ώμότητα - ἐπέδοσαν] Χεη.
Hell. ii 3, 21, πολλούς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινο, πολλούς δὲ χρημάτων. It was after the disarmament, and before the death of Theramenes, that, according to Xenophon, ten of the μέτοικοι became the victims of the Thirty. Among these was Polemarchus, the brother of Lysias (Lys. 12 § 17).—Categ. 10, 13 a 24 ἐπιδοίη ἀν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον εἰναι, Εth. 10, 5, 1175 a 35, ἐπιδιδόασιν εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον. Magr.
Mor. i 9, 1186 b 29, πρὸς ὰ μᾶλλον ἐπιδιόριεν. Isocr. 33 Β, ἐ. πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν.
πρέσβεις πίμψαντες] This asyndeton is not justifiable on the same grounds as

πρέσβεις πέμθαντες] This asyndeton is not justifiable on the same grounds as νόμουν εἰστὴνεγκαν in the second sentence of this chapter; and betrays some serious disturbance of the text. 'There is no connexion whatever between the first of these sentences and those that go before them, and the coming of Callibius preceded the final measures taken against Theramenes' (Edinburgh Review, 1891 p. 478). Besides, it is too late to accuse Theramenes when he is already executed. There is thus every reason for believing (with van Leeuwen) that this paragraph ought to be transferred to

Λακεδαίμονα τοῦ τε Θηραμένους κατηγόρουν καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ηξίουν ων ακούσαντες οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι Καλλίβιον απέστειλαν άρμοστήν καὶ στρατιώτας ώς ἐπτακοσίους, οι τήν ἀκρόπολιν έλθόντες έφρούρουν.

38. μετά δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν Μουνιχίαν, καὶ νικησάντων μάχη τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα βοηθήσαντας, έπαναχωρήσαντες μετά τὸ[ν] κίνδυνον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, τῆ ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αίροῦνται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν 5 [τοῦ πο]λέμου κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' οἷς μεν ήρεθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, *έπε[στελλον] δ' είς Λακεδαίμονα 2 βοήθειαν μεταπε[μπόμ]ενοι καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενοι. χαλεπώς δὲ [φε]ρόντων ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία, φο[βούμεν]οι μὴ καταλυθώσιν της άρχης καὶ βουλόμενοι κατ[απληξ]αι τοὺς ἄλλους 10 (ὅπερ ἐγένετο), συλλαβόντες [Δ]ημάρετον οὐδενὸς ὅντα δεύτερον των πολιτων απέκτειναν, και τα πράγματα βεβαίως είγον, συνα-

17 **ΔΥΤΟΙ**C (Κ, H-L): αὐτοῖς Κ-W, ἐαυτοῖς Β.

EXXVIII 2 et 16 MOYNYXIAN. Cf. c. 19, 5. 4 CYNACOPOICO? 6 ENOIC r. K. 7 $\ell[\pi \rho \ell \sigma \beta e \nu] \sigma[a\nu]$ K (K-W): $\ell[\pi e[\mu \psi a \nu]]$ H-L, B; spatium litteras aliquanto Full transfer of the people of the first and the forest forest and the forest forest and the forest forest forest and forest fores

TESTIMONIA. XXXVIII 5 Bekk. An. 235-6 (cf. Testim. ad xxxv 5-6).

some such place as the end of c. 36. Xenophon's narrative (Hell. ii 3 §§ 13, 14), as noticed by Mr Kenyon, is supported by Diodorus xiv 4, and is in itself more probable than that in the text:—'It would hardly have been possible for the Thirty to have carried on their Reign of Terror without an armed force at their backs, whereas Aristotle represents it as having occurred while the whole body of Athenians was still in possession of weapons.' Part of this objection is removed by transferring the passage to the end of c. 36, but we still have the protests of Theramenes placed after, instead of before, the arrival of the Spartan garrison.

Καλλίβιον] Χεη. I.c. and Plut. Lysand.

15 ad fin. In neither of these passages is 15 da fin. In neither of these passages is the number of the garrison mentioned. XXXVIII—XL. The Rule of the Ten. The end of the oligarchical revolution and the restoration of the democracy. XXXVIII § 1. καταλαβόντων—Μου-

νιχίαν κτλ.] Xen. Hell. ii 4, 11—19. Andoc. De Myst. 80.

ἐπαναχωρήσαντες κτλ.] Xen. l.c. § 22, τοὺς μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

τούς τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν κτλ.] ib. 23, έψηφίσαντο έκείνους μέν καταπαθσαι, άλλου δὲ ἐλέσθαι. καὶ είλοντο δέκα, ἔνα ἀπὸ

φυλής.
The appointment of the Ten is described by Lysias, c. Eratosth. 12 § 54, άρχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνοις ἐχθίστους είλοντο. Among them were Pheidon, formerly one of the Thirty, with Hippocles and Epichares and others who were regarded as opposed to the extreme party of Charicles and Critias (§ 55). λαβόντες...τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς και την ποιών αμφονερος το περους, τος το τριάκοντα πάντα κακά είργασμένοις και ύμεν πάντα κακά πεπουθόσι (57). ἐπέ-στελλον κτλ.] (Pheidon) έλθων είς Λακε-δαίμονα έπειθεν αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι...οὐ δυνάμενος δε τούτων τυχείν... έκατον τάλαντα έδανείσατο, ΐνα έχοι έπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι (58—59). They were appointed soon after the time when περί [τῶν] διαλλαγῶν οἰ λόγοι έγίνοντο (53), but their policy tended οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ' ἀπολέσαι...την πόλιν (60). The 100 talents are also mentioned by Xen. Hell. ii 4, 28. Suidas and Harp. s.v. δέκα.

γωνιζομένου Καλλιβίου τε καλ τών Πελοποννησίων τών παρόντων καὶ πρὸς τού[τοι]ς ἐνίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι· τούτων γάρ τινες 15 μάλιστα των πολιτων έσπούδαζον μή κατελθείν τούς ἀπὸ Φυλής. ώς δ' οί τὸν Πειραιέα καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντες, ἀποστάντος 3 άπαντος του δήμου πρός αὐτούς, ἐπεκράτουν τῷ πολέμφ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς πρώτους αἰρεθέντας, ἄλλους είλοντο δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους είναι δοκοῦντας, ἐφ' ὧν συνέβη καὶ τὰς 20 διαλύσεις | γενέσθαι καὶ κατελθεῖν τὸν δῆμον, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ [Col. : προθυμουμένων τούτων. προειστήκεσαν δ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα ' Ρίνων τε ό Παιανιεύς καὶ Φάϋλλος ό Αχερδούσιος οὖτοι γὰρ πρίν <τε> [[ຖື]] Παυσανίαν [[τ']] ἀφικέσθαι διεπέμ[ποντ]ο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεί, καὶ άφικομένου συνεσπούδασαν την κάθοδον. ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ήγαγε 4 25 την είρηνην και τας διαλύσεις Παυσανίας ο των Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς μετά των δέκα διαλλακτών των υστερον άφικομένων έκ

16 піраіа : Пеграгеа к, к-w, в; Пеграга н-L: in titulis Atticis Пеграгеа saepius quam Пеграе́а apparet; Пеграга nondum inveni. 17 ATTANTOC Blass (K3): аутни (к): астося Blass, Kontos, Hude, к-w, н-L. TTANTOC K1 (K-W, H-L). 22 ΑχΕΡΑΟΥζΥΙΟC COTT. Bywater, etc. 22—28 ΠΡΙΝ Η ΠΑΥCANIAN ΤΕ κτλ (Κ): πρω ή Π.—διεπέμποντό <τε> Κ-W¹; πρω <τε> Π.—διεπέμποντο Richards (H-L, € €

K-W2, B). 23 MIPAII: Пеграгеї К, H-L; Пеграеї К-W, В. Пеграеї tituli Attici 320) év vel éu Heipaeî. (Meisterhans, p. 252) duodecim in locis habent, e.g. Dittenberger 337, 9, 14, 36 (B.C. 24 ADIKNOMENOYC COTT. K. 25 Havoarias del. H-L; -βασιλεύs del. Richards, regis nomine iam antea commemorato.

21 Heraclidis epitoma, 611, 63, τούτων δέ καταλυθέντων Θρασύβουλος καὶ 'Ρίνων προειστήκεσαν, δε ήν άνηρ καλός και άγαθός.

§ 2. τοῦς ἱππεῦσι] Xen. Hell. ii 4, 24. Lysias Mantith. 16 § 3, ούχ ໃππευον... έπι των τριάκοντα. After the restoration of the democracy there was evidently a prejudice against those who had been $l\pi\pi\epsilon is$ at the time of the Thirty. Mantitheus meets this prejudice by shewing that he was not of the number, and also that many who were, had subsequently become members of the βουλή or had been

elected στρατηγοί and Γπταρχοι (iδ. 8).
§ 3. άλλους άλουτο δέκα] These are not mentioned either by Lysias or by Xenophon.

συναγωνιζομένων] with the democrati-

cal party. **τούτων** probably refers to the Ten. 'P(νων') Isocr. Callim. § 7, els τῶν δέκα γενόμενος, but Isocrates does not clearly distinguish this board of Ten from those who were elected immediately after the overthrow of the Thirty: § 5, ήρχον μέν γὰρ οι δέκα οι μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα κατα-

Φάϋλλος] otherwise unknown.

πρίν] The removal of ή (proposed by Herwerden) is justified not only by its rarity in Attic Greek, but also by the fact that MSS often vary between πρίν and πρίν ή (Wyse).

§ 4. ἐπὶ πέρας -- ήγαγε] The phrase πέρας ξχειν = περαίνεσθαι is found in Isocr. 42 B,

Exercise πέραινεσούα is found in 180cf. 42 B, Lycurg. 155, 34 (§ 60) and elsewhere: and Polybius uses πέραι λαμβάνειν (ν 31, 2) and π. ἐπιθεῦναὶ των (i 41, 2). Ατ. Μετεοτ. 1, 14, 353 α 18, τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἔχει πέραι, λ. Βλ ενόμες και πέραι, με πέραις και περιούς και πέραις κ ο δε χρόνος ούκ έχει. πέρας is a frequent word in Ar., but έπι πέρας άγεω is not recorded in the Index Ar., though άγεω

'Αθήνας και έπέταξαν ξύν Παυσανία διαλ λάξαι όπη δύναιντο κάλλιστα. (It will be observed that Xenophon mentions 15, not 10, and as the number is exceptional it is more likely to be right than not.) οἰ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ῷτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρός άλλήλους, άπιέναι δέ έπι τα έαυτών

Λακεδαίμονος, οθς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πε[ρὶ] τὸν 'Ρίνωνα διά τε την εύνοιαν την είς τον δ[ημον] επηνέθησαν, καὶ λαβόντες την επιμέλειαν εν όλιγαρχία τας ευθύνας έδοσαν [ε]ν δημοκρατία, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδεν ἐνεκάλεσε[ν αὐ]τοῖς οὕτε τῶν ἐν ἄστει 30 μεινάντων ούτε των έκ Πειραιέως κατελθόντων, άλλα δια ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγὸς εὐθὺς ἡρέθη 'Ρίνων.

39. Έγενοντο δ' αί διαλύσεις επ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κατά τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε. τοὺς βουλομένους Αθηναίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων έξοικείν έχειν Έλευσίνα, έπιτίμους όντας καὶ κυρίους 2 καὶ αὐτοκράτορας έ[αυ]τῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν καρπουμένους. τὸ δ' ίερον είναι κοινον άμφοτέρων, έπιμελείσθαι δε Κήρυκας καί 5 Εύμολπίδας κατά τὰ πάτρια. μὴ έξειναι δὲ μήτε τοις Ἐλευσίνοθεν είς τὸ ἄστυ μήτε τοις ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως Ἐλευσίναδε ἰέναι πλην μυστηρίοις έκατέρους. συντελείν δε άπο των προσιόντων είς το

29 post ἐπιμέλειαν . . COYC (εὐθύς ? H-L) deletum. 31 π κ, κ-w; Πειραιώς H-L. [Π]ε[ι]ραώς CIA ii 834 b 1 64 (B.C. 329). 81 πιραιως: Πειραιέως

XXXIX 2 ΔθΗΝΑΙώΝ, supra τωΝ additum, retinet K, post τ $\hat{\omega}$ locat K^1 , coll. c. 27, 15 $\tau\hat{\omega}$ βουλομένω Λακιαδών et c. 29, 24 οἱ ἐθέλοντες ᾿Αθηναίων: delent K-W, H-L; ante τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν ponunt Blass et K^3 . 4 ἐ[αυ]τῶν Jackson, K-W, K^3 , B: ἐ[πὶ τᾶσ]ω K^1 ; ἀπάντων Poland (H-L). 8 ἐκατέρους fortasse aut defendi aut excusari posse putat Jackson, sed mavult exarépois, 'mysteriis maioribus minoribusve'; idem mavult Hude.

ξκαστον πλην τών τριάκοντα και τών ξνδεκα καί των έν τῷ Πειραιεί άρξάντων δέκα. el δέ τιν es φοβούντο των έξ άστεωs, έδοξεν αύτοιs

(αὐτούν Hartman) Έλευσινα κατοικείν. ΧΧΧΙΧ § τ. ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου] Β.C. 403/2. The διαλύσεις took place near the

403/2. The διαλύσεις took place near the end of the summer of 403. Xen. l.c. § 25 speaks of the party of the Peiraeus as foraging for ξύλα καὶ ὁπώραν, and Plut. Mor. p. 349 F (de gloria Ath.) gives the 12th of Boedromion (September) as the date of the return of the exiles.

*ξοικείν έχαν] If we retain Ἐλευσίνα, we should probably have to render the passage: 'should have Eleusis to migrate to.' The words are generally understood to mean: 'should have it in their power to migrate to Eleusis.' This would require Ἐλευσίναδε. Cf. Dem. 29 § 3. Μέγαρδδ' ἐξώκηκε, and Lys. 31 § 19, of an incident of the same date as the an incident of the same date as the present, (Philon) συσκευασάμενος γάρ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐνθάδε els τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐξψκησε.

emir(µovs] in full possession of their rights as citizens; cf. Xen. Hell. ii 2, 11 (of an earlier date, when Agis was holding Decelea), τους άτιμους έπιτίμους ποιήσωντες έκαρτέρουν. Χεπορhon is referring to the Ψήφισμα of Patrocleides, quoted in Andoc. de Myst. 77-79; ib. 73, έπει γάρ al νῆες διεφθάρησαν και ἡ πολιορκία έγένετο, έβου-λεύσασθε περί όμονοίας και Εδοξεν ὑμῶν τοὺς άτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαι. Then follows the locus classicus about dripla in which, among those who were under partial dτιμία, are mentioned (in § 75) the soldiers who ἐπέμειναν ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων ἐν τη πόλει (τετρακοσίων may be suggested instead of τυράννων; this suggestion is anticipated by Dobree, and approved by Blass; in any case the Four Hundred are meant; and not the Thirty). suplous sal abrosparopas 'possessing full and independent powers of self-government'

§ 2. ἰφὸν] The temple of Demeter Eleusis. Κήρυκας και Εύμολπίδας] at Eleusis.

c. 57 § 1.

Tols Executivoler] constructio praegnans, influenced by lévai; similarly below, èk τοῦ ἄστεως.

inaripous] The constr. changes from the dat. to the acc. with the inf. For a similar change of constr. after éfeirai, cf. Aeschin. 3 § 2, Ινα έξη πρώτον μεν τώ πρεσβυτάτψ τών πολιτών...έπι το βήμα παρελθόντι τὰ βέλτιστα τῆ πόλει συμβουλεύειν, δεύτερον δ' ήδη και των άλλων

συμμαχικον καθάπερ τους άλλους 'Αθηναίους. Εάν δε τινες τών 3 το άπιόντων οἰκίαν λαμβάνωσιν Έλευσινι, συμπείθειν τὸν κεκτημένου εάν δε μη συμβαίνωσιν άλληλοις, τιμητάς ελέσθαι τρείς έκατερου, καὶ ηντιν' αν οὖτοι τάξωσιν τιμην λαμβάνειν. Ἐλευσινίων δε συνοικείν οθς αν αυτοί βούλωνται, την δ' απογραφην 4 είναι τοις βουλομένοις έξοικειν, τοις μεν έπιδ[ημ]ουσιν άφ' ής αν 15 ομόσωσιν τους δρκους δ[έκ]α ήμερων, την δ' έξοίκησιν είκοσι, τοις δ' ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐπειδὰν ἐπιδημήσωσιν κατὰ ταὐτά. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ 5 άρχειν μηδεμίαν άρχην των έν τῷ ἄστει τὸν Ἐλευσινι κατοικούντα πρίν αν ἀπογράψηται πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατοικείν. τὰς δὲ || δίκας [Col

12 εκατερων (Β): ἐκάτερον Bury, Richards, Hude, Papabasilius (κ-w, H-L, K²). τάξωσι H-L. 13 ΟΥΤΟΙ (K, K-W, H-L): αὐτοί Richards, Herwerden, B qui etiam οἱ ἐν αὐτοὶ scribendum suspicatur. 15 ὀμόσωσι H-L. δ[έκ]α K-W, H-L, K^3 , B: $\delta\iota$ ' [$\xi\pi\tau$] α K^1 . **16** ἀποδημοῦσι<>> K, H-L. 18 апограчн чнта : —γράψηται K-W, H-L, B; —γράφηται K.

πολιτών τον βουλόμενον γνώμην αποφαίreeθαι (Kühner, § 475, 2 c, Anm. 1). ἐκα-τέρους is possibly preferred to avoid the ambiguity arising from ἐκατέροις, which would naturally agree with μυστηρίοιs and has actually been proposed in this sense.

ourreles Dem. Lept. 28, ourre-

λοῦσιν είς τὸν πόλεμον

το συμμαχικον] elsewhere of 'the allied forces' (Thuc. iv 77), or of a 'treaty of alliance' (iii 91, v 6): here 'the fund for the common defence.'

§ 3. **erun ellen**] not 'shall first obtain the assent of the owner' (Poste), but 'the people would help them to obtain the consent of the owner' (Kenyon).

συνοικείν] 'of the inhabitants of Eleusis, those whom the secessionists desired should live in the same community.' Thuc. ii 68, 3, άπο τῶν ᾿Αμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων. In Thuc. vi 64, 3 (the Syracusan horsemen tauntingly ask the Athenians) εἰ ξυνοική-σωντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἤκοιεν ἐν τῆ άλλοτρία ή Λεοντίνους ές την οίκείαν κατοκιούντες, ib. ii 68, 3. The proceedings have an arbitrary air as against the ordinary inhabitants of Eleusis, but it would appear that Eleusis was, subject to certain conditions, handed over to the secessionists.

§ 4. την απογραφήν είναι] Those who proposed to secede were required to enter proposed to secode were required to enter their names in a list (cf. 40 § 1). dπογραφή, in Attic law, is generally applied to a register of land, property, moneys, rather than of persons. Lys. 25 § 9, eloi δὲ οἴτινες τῶν Ἐλευσίναδε ἀπογραψαμένων, ἐξελθόντες μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐπολιορκοῦντο μετ' αὐτῶν (Westermann, Cobet; μεθ' αύτῶν MS; ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν

Scheibe, Frohberger).

7003 6pxovs] 'the oath of pacification'
(Poste). Xen. Hell. ii 4, 43 (of a slightly later time, after the commanding officers of the party at Eleusis had been put to death and a reconciliation effected with the re-

mainder), δμόσαντες δρκους ή μήν μή μνησικακήσειν. δέκα ήμερών, 11, 5 δέκα έτών.

§ 5. πρίν—ἀπογράψηται] 'until he shall again register himself in the list with a view to residence in the city.' Lys. 25 § 9 quoted above. ἀπογράφεσθαι, mid. to register oneself (e.g. as a citizen : Pol. vi (iv) 13, 1297 a 24, ένιαχοῦ δ' εξεστι μὲν πάσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενοι σιαξείν και οικαξείν, εαν σε απογραφαμένοι μήτι εκκλησιάζωσι μήτε δικάζωσι», επίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τούτοις). Χεπ. Hell. ii 4 § 8, vi 5 § 29. The passive is found in Plat. Leg. 914 C, αν άπογεγραμμένον ἢ παρά τοῖς άρχουσι τὸ κτῆμα. τὰς δὶ δίκας τοῦ φόνου—] This passage does not help us to decide the question whather the Areopenes was suspended on

whether the Areopagus was suspended or not by the Thirty. Lys. 1 § 30 (delivered after the year of Eucleides) says of this tribunal, ψ καὶ πάτριον ἐστι καὶ ἐφ΄ ἡμῶν (ὑμῶν MSS) ἀποδίδοται (ἀποδέδοται the reading of an inferior MS) τοῦ φόνου τὰς δίκας δικάζειν. Grote, Rauchenstein (Philol. x 604 ff.) and Curtius (iv 16 note) hold that it was suspended; Schömann (Ant. p. 549 E. T.) that it was not. Practically, how ever, its authority was obviously superseded by the Reign of Terror. See also Philippi, Areop. p. 265, 266, and Frohberger's Lysias vol. ii 180.

τοῦ φόνου είναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, εἴ τίς τινα αὐτόχειρ ἀπέκτεινεν, 6 ή έτρωσεν. των δε παρεληλυθότων μηδενί προς μηδένα μνησικακείν 20 έξειναι, πλήν πρός τούς τριάκοντα και τούς δέκα και τούς ξυδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τούτους, ἐὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας. εὐθύνας δὲ δοῦναι τοὺς μὲν ἐν Πειραιεί ἄρξαντας ἐν τοῖς έν Πειραιεί, τους δ' έν τῷ ἄστει έν τοῖς τὰ τιμήματα παρεγομένοις. είθ' ούτως έξοικείν τοὺς έθέλοντας. τὰ δὲ χρήματα α έδανείσαντο 25 είς τὸν πόλεμον έκατέρους ἀποδοῦναι χωρίς.

γενομένων δε τοιούτων των διαλύσεων, και φοβουμένων

19 αγτοχιρά εκτισι (CI 'ita ut paene n legi possit' Β) εμρωσάστων ante ρω deletis EH (B), vel OT, i.e. δ τρώσας (K), vel OIC (K-W), vel CH (H-L): $a\dot{\sigma}$ τοχειρί $< \dot{\sigma}$ τ έκτονεν > ἐκτίσει lερώσας K^1 , \dagger αὐτόχειρα ἐκτίσει lερώσας \dagger K^2 ; $a\dot{\sigma}$ τοχειρία ἔκτεινε τρώσας Wyse; αὐτοχειρία έκτεινεν ή έτρωσεν K-W, H-L; αὐτόχειρ (van Leeuwen) ἀπέκτεινεν

ή έτρωσεν Β. 22 ΠΙΡΑΙως: Πειραιώς Η-L. 23 ΠΙΡΑΙΙ. 24 ΠΙΡΑΙΙ. Praestaret έν τοις < έν τῷ ἄστει κ et Gertz> τιμήματα (= ἀποτιμήματα) παρεχομένους, 23 TTIPAII. 24 TIPAII-

aut τά <αύτά Gertz> τιμήματα παρεχομένοις. Cf. c. 2, 12. 25 τογς εθελοητας: τους άλόντας Β, qui in archetypo litteras θε deletas, et a (non Δ) scriptum fuisse putat.

TESTIMONIA. XXXIX 21—23 Bekk. An. 235—6 (cf. Testim. ad xxxv 5—6).

αὐτόχειρ dπέκταινεν] Hdt. i 140 etc. αὐτοχειρία κτείνειν. αὐτόχειρ έκτεινεν would be a poetic form of expression, but αὐτόχειρ itself is used in prose, as in Dem. 321, 18; 549, 5; 552, 18. τρώσας,
 by wounding, gives less good sense than
 ἐτρωσεν, but might be defended by ἐἀν
 τις φάρμακον δοὺς ἀποκτείνη et similia. 'Unlawful wounding' comes under the cognisance of the courts that try cases of homicide, c. 57 § 3 fin. κτείναι η τρώσαι TUVA.

§ 6. uvnorkakely] Xen. Hell. ii 4 ult., όμόσαντες όρκους ή μήν μή μνησικακήσειν, έτι και νῦν όμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται και τοῖς δρκοις έμμένει ὁ δήμος. Aristoph. Plut. ορκοις εμμενει ο σημος. ΑΠΕΟΙΟΙΙ. Γιμε.

1146, μη μυησικακήσης, εί σύ Φυλήν κατέλαβες, άλλα ξύνοικον πρός θεών δέξασθέ
με, with Schol. Andoc. de Myst. 90, καὶ
ού μυησικακήσω των πολιτών οὐδεν ότην
των τριάκοντα καὶ των ένδεκα, οὐδε τούτους

1. Επικρικά και διάκος διάκος οὐδε τούτους

1. Επικρικά διάκος διάκος οῦδε διάκος οῦδε τούτους

1. Επικρικά διάκος διάκος οῦδε διάκος δε δυ έθελοι εύθύναε διδόναι τῆς άρχῆς ἡε ἡρξεν and iδ. 81, 91. Aeschin. F. L. 176, (Archinus and Thrasybulus) τὸ μἡ μνησικακείν πρός άλλήλους ένορκον ήμιν καταστησάντων. Justin v 10 § 11. Cf. Luebbert, De Amnestia, Kiel, 1881.

και τους δέκα] Neither in Xenophon (Hell. ii 4, 38) nor in Andocides is this body of Ten described as excluded from the amnesty. Xenophon mentions the 'Ten who ruled in Peiraeus' (c. 35 § 1); Andocides does not mention even these. ev rois ev Hespasei] not 'for all matters coming within the limits of Peiraeus' (Kenyon), but 'before the courts held in the Peiraeus.' 'To the residents in Peiraieus' is Mr Poste's rendering; but such a rendering of an account would be very informal. Some lawfully constituted

body is clearly meant.

*ν τοις τὰ τιμήματα παρεχομένοις]

before a court consisting of those who can produce rateable property' i.e. who have property on which they pay taxes. This limitation excludes all paupers or citizens of the lowest class. παρέχεσθαι, is 'to have as one's own, to produce as one's own,' 'to bring forward' (L and S); τοις όπλα παρεχομένοις occurs in c. 4, but I can find no instance of παρέχεσθαι being coupled with τιμήματα.

τιμήματα is here understood of penalties, by Poland, Kaibel and Kiessling, and Haussoullier (evovras came under the and fraussounter (ευσυναι came under the class of δίκαι τιμηταί, Att. Proc. pp. 226, 264 Lips.). Reinach makes τίμημα synonymous with ἀποτίμημα, 'a security,' comparing CIA ii 570, 21, [τιμή]ματι ἡ ἐγγυητῆ, and Lys. ap. Harp. s.v. τίμημα. οῦτως] after satisfying all these legal

requirements.

ἀποδούναι χωρίς] *inf*. c. 40 § 4.

όσοι μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα συνεπολέμησαν, καὶ πολλῶν ἐπινοούντων μὲν ἐξοικεῖν ἀναβαλλομένων δὲ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἡμέρας, ὅπερ εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν ἄπαντες, ᾿Αρχῖνος συνιδῶν τὸ πλῆθος τκὶ βουλόμενος κατασχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑφεῖλε τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἡμέρας τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, ὥστε συναναγκασθῆναι μένειν πολλοὺς ἄκοντας ἔως ἐθάρρησαν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτό τε πολιτεύσασθαι καλῶς ᾿Αρχῖνος, 2 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γραψάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ Θρασυβούλου παρα-

XL 2 ΜεΝΕΠΙΝΟΟΥΝΤωΝ (Κ, < ℓ ξοικεῖν> μὲν ἐπινοούντων ? Κ-W): ἐπινοούντων μὲν Blass (H-L). 3 αναΓραφην (Κ): ἀπογραφην Jackson, Wyse, Bury, Blass, K-W, H-L, B; ἀνα-γραφην fortasse casu ex ἀνα-βαλλομένων ortum. 4 εἰώθασι H-L, B.

XL § 1. 'Apxivos] mentioned (with Dion) as an orator in Plat. Menex. 234 B, and with Cephalus in Dinarchus, 1 § 76. He was the proposer of a law to prevent συκοφαντία after the amnesty (Isocr. c. Callim. 18 § 2, αν τις δικάζηται παρά τους δρκους, έξειναι τῷ φεύγοντι παραγράψασθαι κτλ.). It was on his motion that the Ionic alphabet was adopted in public documents from the archonship of Eucleides onwards (Suidas s. v.). The action recorded in the text is not mentioned elsewhere. He is described as cooperating with Thrasybulus in the restoration of the democracy, Αρχίνου και Θρασυβούλου προστάντων τοῦ δήμου, Aeschin. F. L. 176. It was Archinus who moved the decree on that occasion: c. Ctes. 187, δ τδ ψήφισμα γράψας και νικήσας Αρχίνος δ έκ Κοίλης, els των καταγαγόντων τον δήμον. On his opposition to a proposal of Thrasybulus, see below.

συνιδών το πλήθος] 'observing their numbers.'

rds imoloimous imploas] the remainder of the term of days allowed for the purposes of registration.

§ 2. γραψάμενος το ψήφισμα το Θρασυβούλου] This fact is well known owing to its having affected the position of Lysias. who fully deserved promotion from the position of a μέτοκος to that of a citizen for his great services towards the restoration of the democracy, and for the losses he had incurred at the hands of the Thirty, who had even put to death his brother Polemarchus (Or. 12).

Aeschines, c. Cles. § 195, describes Archinus as having resisted the proposal to confer the distinction of a crown on some of those who had done good service in the restoration of the democracy. The scholia give us further details: Θρασύ-βουλος ὁ Στειριεύς μετά τὸ κατελθεῦς τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔγραψε ψήφισμα δοθῆναι

πολιτείαν Δυσία τῷ Κεφάλου (Κεφάλφ MS, correxit Wyse) τῷ ἡήτορι πολλὰ εὐεργετήσαντι τοὺ ε εἰε (τὴν MS) Φυλὴν καταφυγόντας και τοῦτο άπροβούλευτον είσηνεγκεν els τὸν δημον. οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν καθεσταμένη βουλη μετά την των λ' κατάλυσιν' τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα έγράψατο παρανόμων 'Αρχίνος ὁ έκ Κοίλης και είλε και έτιμησαν τῷ Θρασυ-βούλω οι δικασται δραχμής μιας. "Αλλως: βούλψ οἱ δικασταὶ δραχμής μιᾶς. έπίστευον τοις δοκούσων άμύνεων τοις νόμοις. Αρχίνος γάρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων ότε κατηλθεν ὁ δημος... Αυσίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου πεντακοσίας μέν άσπίδας δόντος τοίς μαχεσαμένοις έν Φυλή, τριακοσίους δέ (Συρακοσίοις MS, correxit Blass) στρατιώτας μισθωσαμένου έξ Αίγίνης, έγραψε ψήφισμα πολίτην αὐτὸν γενέσθαι Θρασύβουλος. παρανόμων δὲ αὐτὸν Αρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης έγράψατο, ότι ούπω γενόμενης βουλής ψήφισμα έγραψεν καί < οί > δικασταί κατήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους όλιγώρως πρό τοῦ νεγλαν αυτο τως ψηφους σκεγωρώς προ του βουλήν ύπάρξαι (δλιγώρως - υπάρξαι placed after εγραψεν by Schultz). δ δε εν τη τιμήσει παρελθών, θανάτου, έφη, τιμώμαι ότι άχαρίστους 'Αθηναίους όντας εὐ έποίησα. οί δε δικασταί αίδεσθέντες τῷ μεν ετίμησαν την καταδίκην δραχμής, του δε Δυσίαν οὐδ' οῦτως εποιήσαντο πολίτην. Maximus Planudes, Scholia on the ordoes of Hermogenes in Walz, Rh. Gr. v 343, παραπλήσιον και το περί Θρασυβούλου ιστορούμενον, δε μετά την τών τριάκωντα κατάλυσω έγραψε τῷ Λυσία ψήφισμα περί τοῦ δεῖν αυτόν γενέσθαι πολίτην καὶ κατη-γορηθεὶς ὡς ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα... γορηθείς ως απροβούλευτον ψηφωσμα... εἰσενεγκών, οὐ γὰρ ῆν πω καταστάσα ... ή βουλή, κατεδικάσθη χρημάτων ὁ δὲ, οὐ μὰ Δία, ξφη, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τὶ γὰρ τοιούτους ἔσωζον; Cf. [Plut.] 846 A. The proposal was made μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον ἐπ' ἀναρχίας τῆς πρὸ Εὐκλείδου (iδ. 835 ΕΓ), i.e. between the return from exile and the restoration of the democracy. that time the $\beta o \nu \lambda \eta$ had not yet been constituted. See Blass Att. Ber. i 340¹,

νόμων, έν & μετεδίδου της πολιτείας πασι τοις έκ Πειραιέως συγκατελθούσι, δυ ένιοι φανερώς ήσαν δούλοι, καὶ τρίτον, έπεί τις 10 ήρξατο των κατεληλυθότων μυησικακείν, απαγαγών τοῦτον ἐπὶ την βουλην και πείσας ακριτον αποκτείναι, λέγων δτι νθν δείξουσιν εί βούλονται την δημοκρατίαν σφίζειν και τοις δρκοις έμμένειν άφέντας μέν γάρ τοῦτον προτρέψειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐάν δ' ανέλωσιν παράδειγμα ποιήσειν απασιν. όπερ και συνέπεσεν 15 3 αποθανόντος γαρ ούδεις πώποτε υστερον εμνησικάκησεν. αλλά δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δή καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἀπάντων καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινή χρήσασθαι ταις προγεγενημέναις συμφοραις ου γάρ μόνον τας περί των προτέρων αίτίας εξήλειψαν άλλα και τα χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίοις, α οί τριάκοντα προς τον πόλεμον έλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν 20 κοινή, κελευουσών τών συνθηκών έκατέρους αποδιδόναι χωρίς, τούς τ' έκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ τοὺς έκ τοῦ Πειραιέως, ἡγούμενοι τοῦτο πρώτον ἄρχειν δείν της όμονοίας εν δε ταίς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ούχ ότι προστιθέασιν των οίκείων οί δήμοι κρατήσαντες, άλλά καί

9 TIPAIOIC: Heipaids H-L.

18 CWZEIN.

17 δοκούσι Η-L, Β.

22 TIPAIWC: Heipaiws H-L. KAIAIA ante corr. 23 ΔεΝ correctum in ΔειΝ. 23-24 ΟΥΧ ΟΙΟΝ ΕΤΙ (vel ΕΤΙ): ούχ οδον έτι κ, Η-L, Β; ούχ οδον έπιπροστιθέσου Gennadios (K-W); ούχ ότι προστιθέασυ J B Mayor, ότι in έτι corruptum atque olor deinde per errorem insertum arbitratus. 24 ΟΙΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤ: οἱ δημοκρατήσωντες Κ et B cui 'est δημοκρατήσωντες ut μοναρχήσωντες': οἱ δῆμοι κρατήσωντες van Leeuwen, Hude (H-I., K-W), quod unice verum est,—'alibi cum vicerunt populares, spoliare solent divites, non propria etiam bona in publicum commodum absumere' (Herwerden).

349³, and Jebb, Att. Orators, i 151; cf. Wyse in Class. Rev. v 335.

πρέατο μνησικακάν] c. 39 § 6. The action of Archinus is the natural sequel of his law against συκοφαντία (Isocr. c. Callim. §§ 2, 3). Cf. Curtius, H. G. iv 59. But his method of procedure was arbitrary in the automatical articles. in the extreme. Nevertheless, the author passes no condemnation on it.

αγαγών] of summary arrest, 29 § 4.

τοις δρκοις έμμενειν] Χεπ. Hell. ii 4

εμίτ., τοις δρκοις έμμενει δ δήμος.

§ 3. κάλλιστα δή] According to Eucken

(De Aristotelis dicendi ratione; de particularum usu, p. 49), ôn is nowhere found in the writings of Aristotle after a super-

lative (Class. Rev. v 160 a).
altías efficadas Andoc. de Myst. 76, έξαλείψαι πάντα τὰ ψηφίσματα, Lys. 1 ξαλείψαι παντά τα ψηφοί ματά. Lys. 1 δε 48, τούς κειμένους νόμους έξαλείψαι, έτέρους δε θείναι, 30 § 5, τὰ μεν έγγραφεις τὰ δ' έξαλείφεις. Here probably metaphorical, as in Dem. Pant. 37 § 34, τὸ γυγνώσκευ καὶ συνιέναι τὰ δίκαια... έξαλείψαι. έξαhelpew is not found in the Index Ar.: dwahelpew occurs in c. 47 fin. and 48 init.

απαλειφείν occurs in c. 47 μπ. and 48 επίτ.
and προεξαλείφειν in c. 47 μlt.
τα χρήματα—δμονοίας! See note on
Dem. Lept. p. 460, esp. § 12, τοῦτο πρῶτον
ὑπάρξαι τῆς ὁμονοίας σημεῖον, κοινῆ διαλῦσαι τά χρήματα, and Isocr. Areop. §§ 67, 68 there quoted.

ούχ ότι] ούχ οίω is not found in Ar. ούχ ότι...άλλὰ και occurs in Pol. 1331 a 11, Poet. 4, 1448 b 35. ούχ δτι...άλλά in De Gen. Anim. iv 1, 765 b 19, De Anima ii 7, 419 a 21, Anal. i 41, 49 b 22. προστιθέασιν τών οἰκείων] 'pay addi-

tional sums out of their own property οι δήμοι κρατήσαντες] Pol. vi (iv) 8, 1294 α 13, έν δλιγαρχία και έν αριστοκρατία και έν δήμοις. viii (v) 10, 1310 δ 21, οι δήμοι (opp. to al δλιγαρχίαι). iii 11, 1282 α 28, åς (εὐθύνας και άρχλε) έν ένίαις πολιτείαις...τοις δήμοις αποδιδόασιν. vii (vi) 4, 1320 a 4, οί δε νῦν δημαγωγοί χαριζόμενοι τοις δήμοις πολλά δημεύουσι διά τῶν δικαотпрым. 7, 1321 a 19, тайту де етикра25 την || χώραν ἀνάδαστον ποιοῦσιν. διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 4 [Ca [[έν]] Έλευσινι [κατοι]κήσαντας έτει τρίτφ μετά την έξοίκησιν, έπί [Ξεναι]νέτου ἄρχοντος.

41. ταθτα μέν οθν έν τοις υστε[ρο]ν συνέβη γενέσθαι καιροίς, τότε δὲ κύριος ὁ δημος γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐνεστήσατο την [νῦν] οὐσαν πολιτείαν, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου μὲν ἄργοντος, [δ]οκοῦντος δὲ δικαίως τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν τὴν [ἐξουσί]αν, διὰ τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὴν 5 κάθοδον δι' αύτοῦ τὸν δημον. ην δὲ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐνδεκάτη τὸ[ν 2 άρι]θμον αύτη, πρώτη μέν γάρ έγένετο [κ]ατάστασις των έξ

26 EN supra scriptum melius alsesset (K, coll. Cobet, Var. Lat., pp. 30, 201); retinent K.W, B, delent H.L. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 1603. [Éta] khoarras K, K.W., H-L: [µeros] khoarras propter hiatum conicit J W Headlam; [κατοs] κήσαντας B, qui

εξοικ. 'et propter hiatum et propter patium vestigiaque' condemnat.

XII 3 Πυθοδώρου: Εὐκλείδου exspectaret B coll. c. 39, 1. Post ἄρχοντοι lacunam indicant K-w, 'hiat sententia; damnatae Pythodori memoriae facta erat mentio.'

4.5 δήμου-δήμου: απ Θρασυβούλου-δί αὐτὸν τὸν δήμου? Κ. [έξουσί]αν Κ, K-w, Β:

[*pootaol]ar ? K et Kontos (H-L). 5 ΔΙΑΥΤΟΝ ? δι' αὐτὸν Κ (an ἐφ' αὐτοῦ ? H-L) : δί αὐτοῦ B; idem, seclusis τὸν δῆμον, Κ-W. 6 . . ΑΤΑΤΑCΙC: ἡ κατάστασις Κ, Κ-W; κατάστασις Β. [τῶν κ]ατασ[τάσεων] 'dubitanter van Leeuwen' (H-L).

τοῦσω ἐν ταις διαστάσεσω οι δημοι των εὐπόρων. Thuc. iii 82, 1; viii 65, 1.

την χώραν ανάδαστον ποιούσι] Pol. viii (v) 5, 1305 a 2, ότε μεν γάρ, tra χαρίζωνται, άδικοθντες τούς γνωρίμους συνιστάσιν, ή τὰς οὐσίας ἀναδάστους ποιοῦντες η τας προσόδους ταις λειτουργίαις, ότε δε διαβάλλοντες, Ιν' έχωσι δημεύειν τα κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων. 7, 1307 a 1 (of the Lacedaemonians about the time of the second Messenian war), θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διά τον πόλεμον ήξίουν άναδαστον ποιεύν την χώραν. 8, 1309 α 14, δεί δ' έν μεν ταις δημοκρατίαις των εύπορων φείδεσθαι, μή μόνον τῷ τὰς κτήσεις μή ποιεύν ἀναδάστους, άλλα μηδέ τους καρπούς.

διελύθησαν] Xen. Hell. ii 4, 43, § 4. διελύθησαν] Xen. Hell. ii 4, 43, υστέρω δὲ χρόνω ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισ-θοῦσθαι τοὺς Ελευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεί έπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μέν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν els λόγους έλθωτας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲάλλοις είσπέμψαντες τούς φίλους και άναγκαίους έπεισαν συναλλαγήναι και όμοσαντες όρκους ή μην μη μνησικακήσειν, έτι και νυν όμου τε πολιτεύονται, και τοις δρκοις έμμένει ό

eret tolty—emi [evalverou] B.C. 401/0. The final reconciliation is thus placed later than has generally been inferred from Xenophon's phrase ὑστέρω χρόνω (corresponding to ἐν τοῖς ὑστέρω καιροῖς of c. 41 § 1). Grote c. 65 end, v 598—9. XLI.: Recapitulation.
§ 1. ἐνωστήσαντο] Probl. 951 a 28, ἐν-

στήσασθαι τὸ πράγμα. Intrans. 5 § 2, ib. ull., 17 § 4, 27 § 2, 37 § 1. The intrans. parts are those generally used in Ar. On the other hand συνιστάναι (συστήσαι, συστήσασθαι) πόλω, πολιτείω, is found in Pol. 1266 a 23, 1284 b 18, 1288 a 40, 1319 b 33, also in Oecon. 1343 a 7. έπι Πυθοδώρου] B.C. 404/3. In c. 39 § 1 the formal convention for the restora-

tion of the democracy is placed in the archonship of Euclides (403/2). But the return of Thrasybulus and the other exiles of the democratical party, and the occupation of the Peiraeus, took place about January 403, in the archonship of Pythodorus.

The text implies 'that the subsequent extension of the democracy...was justified by the fact of its having secured its own re-establishment, without the open help of any other nation, and in the face of the opposition of a powerful party at Sparta' (Kenyon). But it is difficult to resist Mr Kenyon's suggestion that the passage is corrupt, and that the position of Thrasybulus as leader of the restored democracy was recognised in the latter part of this sentence.

§ 2. κατάστασις τῶν & dρχῆς "Iωνος]
The constitution under Ion (which is, of course, prehistoric) was doubtless described in the early chapters of the treatise. Cf. fragm. $343^2 = 381^3$.

ἀρχῆς Ἰωνος καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνοικησάντων τότε γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέτταρας συνενεμήθησαν φυλὰς καὶ τοὺς φυλοβασιλεῖς κατέστησαν. δευτέρα δὲ καὶ πρώτη μετὰ ταύτη[ν] ἔχουσα πολιτείας τάξιν ἡ ἐπὶ Θησέως γενομένη, μικρὸν παρεγκλίνουσα τῆς το βασιλικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἡ ἐπὶ Δράκοντος, ἐν ἢ καὶ νόμους ἀνέγραψαν πρῶτον. τρίτη δ' ἡ μετὰ τὴν στάσιν, ἡ ἐπὶ Σόλωνος, ἀφ' ἦς ἀρχὴ δημοκρατίας ἐγένετο. τετάρτη δ' ἡ ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου τυραννίς. πέμπτη δ' ἡ μετὰ <τὴν > τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν, ἡ Κλεισθένους, δημοτικωτέρα τῆς Σόλωνος. ἔκτη δ' ἡ μετὰ τὰ τς Μηδικά, τῆς ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς ἐπιστατούσης. ἑβδόμη δ' ἡ μετὰ ταύτην, ἡν ᾿Αριστείδης μὲν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἐφιάλτης δ' ἐπετέ-

7 συνοικησάντων Blass coll. frag. 3812, K-W, H-L: συνοικισάντων defendit K2 coll.

συνοικησάντων] Heraclides init., συνοικήσαντος δε Ίωνος αθτοίς.

els τds τέτταραs φυλάs] c. 8 § 3. συνενεμήθησαν] cf. 21 § 2, συνένειμε (al. διένειμε).

διένειμε).

φιλοβασιλείε] c. 8 § 3; c. 57 uli.

δευτέρα...καλ πρώτη] i.e. the constitution of Theseus was second to that of Ion and was the first of the eleven μεταβολαί.

πολιτείας τάξεν] c. 3 § 1, ἡ τάξει τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας.

μικρόν παρεγκλίνουσα τῆς βαστλικῆς]
The prehistoric 'constitution of Theseus' was treated in an early chapter that is now lost. The lost passage is referred to in Plut. Thes. 25, δτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν δχλον, ὡς ᾿Αριστοτέλης φησί, καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν καὶ "Ομηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγω μόνους καὶ "Ομηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγω μόνους καὶ "Ομηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγω μόνους καὶ "Αθηναίους δῆμον προσαγορεόσας. παρεγκλίνευ intt. is found in Hist. Amim. 498 a 16, σκέλη μικρόν εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρεγκλίνοντα. ἐγκλίνειν intr. in Pol. 1307 a 21, ἐφ' ὁπότερον ἄν ἐγκλίνη πολιτεία, από 1266 a 7, ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία μᾶλλον ἐγκλίνειν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν ὁλιγαρχίαν. ἐκκλίνειν intr. in Pol. ii 11, 1273 a 5, τὰ μὲν εἰς δῆμον ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον τὰ δ' εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν. ἐν ῆ καὶ νόμονς ἀνέγραψαν πρῶτον] The summary does not strictly correspond

ty fi και νόμους dνέγραψαν πρώτον]
The summary does not strictly correspond to the original account in c. 4. Nothing was there stated on the important fact that under Dracon the laws were first

reduced to a written code, though it was partly implied in the words: τοὺς θεσμούς εθηκεν. On the other hand, the remarkable 'Draconian constitution,' which has justly aroused considerable suspicion, finds no recognition in the summary. This supports the view that the description of that constitution is an interpolation.

Σόλωνος] 5-12. ἀρχή δημοκρατίας] 9 § 1. Πεισιστράτου] 14-10.
Κλεισθένους] 22. δημοτικωτέρα] 22 init. τῆς & 'Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς]

23.

"Aptore6878] Aristides is here described as having traced the outline which was completed by his successor Ephialtes. The former admitted the lower classes to a larger share in public life. Though he did not actually throw the archonship open to all the citizens of Athens (as asserted in Plut. Arist. 22), he encouraged the rural population to resort to Athens (c. 24 § 1) and thus prompted them to take an interest in political affairs. Ephialtes carried this democratical movement still further by abolishing the supremacy of the Areopagus.

There is no justification for the criticism of Rühl (*Rhein. Mus.* 46, 432) that Aristides is hererepresented as cooperating with Ephialtes. The absence of the name of Themistocles is, however, worthy of note. As a constitutional reformer he is eclipsed by Aristides. It may even be

λεσεν καταλύσας τὴν 'Αρεοπαγίτιν βουλήν' ἐν ἢ πλεῖστα συνέβη τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν — — διὰ τὴν τῆς 20 θαλάττης ἀρχήν. ὀγδόη δ' [ή] τῶν τετρακοσίων κατάστασις, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἐνάτη [δὲ] [δ]ημοκρατία πάλιν. δεκάτη δ' ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ἡ τῶν δέκα τυραννίς. ἐνδεκάτη δ' ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καὶ ἐκ Πειραιέως κάθοδον, ἀφ' ἢς διαγεγένηται μέχρι τῆς νῦν, ἀεὶ προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἀπάντων 25 γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πεποίηκεν ὁ δῆμος κύριον καὶ πάντα διοικεῖται ψηφίσμασιν καὶ δικαστηρίοις, ἐν οἶς ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ κρατῶν. καὶ γὰρ α[ί τ]ῆς βουλῆς κρίσεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐληλύθασιν. καὶ τοῦτο

19 διά (K, K-W, B): < καὶ > διὰ H-L; — 'deest fere θαρρήσασαν' K-W coll.

Pol. 1274 α 12. 20 ΟΓΔΟΗΝΑ ΚΑΤΑCΤΑCΤΑCΙΝ. 21 δὲ secl. J B Mayor

(K-W, H-L), retinent K, B. 22 καὶ [ή] K-W. 23 ΠΕΙΡΑΙωC (H-L).

THC: τοῦ H-L. 24 Locus corruptus, K-W. 26 ψηφίσμασι H-L.

doubted whether he really has any claim to have acted with Ephialtes in overthrowing the Areopagus, as narrated in C. 25 § 3.

17. ****Role *** with ***poros* in ***Rhet.* iii 2, 1404 b 25, and ***Poet.* 4, 1448 b 37. Cf. Hdt. i 189, Xen. **Oecon.* xi 18. The metaphor is probably derived 'from the tracing of lines **underneath** by a writing-master, for the pupil to follow or write over,' **Protag.* 326 D (Cope's **Introd.* to Ar. **Rhet.* p. 284).

Educkrys From the tenour of the earlier part of the work we are prepared

Epidarys] From the tenour of the earlier part of the work we are prepared to find a prominent place assigned in the summary to Ephialtes, as compared with Pericles. The reforms in the Areopagus due to the latter were of minor importance. But it is singular that so notable a name should find no mention in the present passage. He is here regarded as one of the demagogues whose influence was detrimental to Athens. The slight notice of his policy in 28 § 1 is indeed not unfavourable; but it is certainly far from enthusiastic.

διά την της θαλάττης άρχην] Isocr. de Pace, 79.

των τετρακοσίων] 29—32. δημοκρατία] 34.

ή τῶν τριάκοντα—τυραννὶs] more accurately described as an oligarchy in 53 init.

τῶν δίκαι 38 § 1.
προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ πλήθα την ξουσίαν] Schömann, Ant. p. 386 E.T.:
'The demagogues found it their interest to extend the activity of the popular assemblies as far as possible, and to

establish the principle that the people was, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, lord over everything, and could do what it pleased (in Neaer. p. 1375; Xen. Hell. i 7, 12). On the other hand, men of keener insight complained that the State was administered by Psephismata—that is, according to the pleasure at any moment of the sovereign people—rather than according to the laws, and that there was only too often a contradiction between the laws and these Psephismata.' Pol. vi (iv) 4, 1292 a 4—37, ετερον είδοι δημοκρατίας τάλλα μέν είναι ταὐτά, κύριον δ' είναι τὰ πλήθοι και μὴ τὸν κύριον. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταντὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ἢ ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁ νόμοι. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς κτλ. Dem. Lept. § 92.

«ἐς τὸν δήμον ληλύθαστ»] In the de-

ds row square Analogarw] In the department of judicature indictments or informations concerning breaches of the law, which could not be dealt with in the ordinary course, were in the first instance brought before the Council. If the offence were too important for the competency of that body, they passed to the popular assembly. The Council could not inflict any fine beyond 500 drachmae. Schömann, Ant. 394—5 E. T. Cf. 45 and 49 § 3; Pol. 1399 b 38 ff.

Kal 70070 KT.] This is understood by

Ral τούτο κτλ.] This is understood by Cauer (p. 48 f.) as a general eulogy of the fully developed democracy and as inconsistent with the views expressed in the Politics. But the eulogy is really limited to one particular point, the transfer of judicial functions from the βουλή to the ἐκκλησία, and both of these bodies are

δοκούσι ποιείν ὀρθώς· εὐδιαφθορώτεροι γὰρ <οί> ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν 🤅 3 είσιν κ[ai] κέρδει κ[ai] χάρισιν. μισθοφόρον δ' έκκλησίαν το μέν πρώτον ἀπέγνωσαν ποιείν. οὐ συλλεγομένων δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 30 άλλα πολλα σοφιζομένων των πρυτάνεων, όπως προσιστήται τὸ vl. 21.] πλήθος πρός την ἐπιμκύρωσιν της χειροτονίας, πρώτον μὲν Αγύρριος όβολον ἐπόρισεν, μετά δὲ τοῦτον Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος διώβολον, πάλιν δ' Αγύρριος τριώβολον.

42. Εχει δ' ή νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας τόνδε τὸν

28 Ολίγοι : δλίγοι κ : < οl > δλίγοι Gennadios, Kontos, κ-w, H-L, Β. H-I. δ': δὲ < τὴν > K-W, δὲ B. 31 CO(?)φιzομενων Blass, Gomperz, K-W, K^3 : $\psi\eta\phi\iota \zeta \iota\mu\ell\nu\omega\nu$ K^1 , $\psi\eta\phi\iota \zeta \iota\mu\ell\nu\omega\nu < \mu\ell\nu\omega\nu > H-L$.

TESTIMONIA. XII 33-34 Hesych. Κλαζομένιος οὐτος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος τε καὶ ὁ βαθε (ex hoc loco βασιλεθε scripsit Houtsma) καλούμενος.

distinctly democratic. The text is in fact in perfect accord with a passage in the in perfect accord with a passage in the Politics, iii 15, 1286 a 30, διά τοῦτο κακρίνει αμεινον όχλος πολλά ή εἶς δστισοῦν. Ετι μαλλον άδιάφθορον τὸ πολύ, καθάπερ δδωρ τὸ πλεῖον, οῦτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δλίγων άδιαφθορώτερον. Cf. O. Crusius, Philol. l, p. 175.
§ 3. τὸ μὰν πρῶτον] on the restoration of the demonstration

of the democracy.
'Αγύρρισε] a statesman belonging to the deme of Collytus, prominent as a financier in the early part of the fourth century. In 400 B.C. he had a dispute with Andocides about the lease of a tax (Andoc. De Myst. 133, with Marchant's note).

Αγύτ. 133, with Marchant's note].

Schol. on Arist. Eccl. (B.C. 392) 102—5
('Αγύρρισ:...πράττει τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τῷ πόλει):
δ. 'Α. στρατηγός θηλυδριώδης, ἄρξας ἐν
Λέσβω. καὶ τὸν μισθὸν δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν
συνέτεμε (cf. Schol. on Ran. 367 and
Plat. Com. frag. 133 Kock) καὶ πρῶτος
ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δέδωκε. In Eccl. 300— 310 the poet refers to the time when only one obol was allowed instead of three: whereas now τριώβολου γητούσι λαβείν, ib. 380, 392, Plut. (ed. 2, B.C. 389) 329 and 171 with the Schol. where, however, the μισθός έκκλησιαστικός is confounded with the μ. δικαστικός. The text shews that the Schol. on Eccl. 102 was right in making Agyrrhius the originator of the fee. Boeckh (II xiv p. 316 Lamb) inferred from the mention of Myronides in Eccl. 305 that the fee was introduced some time after the beginning of the influence of Pericles. He was further led

to ascribe its origin to one Callistratus, Append. Vatic. Proverb. iii, δβολον ευρε Παρνύτης. Καλλίστρατος 'Αθήνησι πολιτευσάμενος, έπικαλούμενος δε Παρνύτης, reviaμενος, ετικαλουμενος δε Παρνότης, μισθόν έταξε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐκκλησισταῖς. Possibly Callicrates, who added an obol to the διώβολον of the θεωρικόν is really meant (28 § 3). The text also proves that for a short time the fee for the public assembly was two obols, though this was denied by Boselby. this was denied by Boeckh, I. c.

Agyrrhius also restored the θεωρικόν (Philochorus ap. Harpocr. s.v.). On the death of Thrasybulus (early in 389) he was elected στρατηγός (Xen. Hell. iv 8, 31; Diod. xiv 99). Plat. Com. frag. 185 Κοck, λαβοῦ λαβοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ὡς τάχιστά μου μέλλω στρατηγόν χειροτονείν Αγύρ-ριον. It was probably after 387 that he was long in prison as a debtor to the

was long in prison as a debtor to the State (Dem. 24 § 134).

"Ηρακλεθης ὁ Κλαζομίνιος] mentioned in Plat. Ιοπ, 541 D (with Phanosthenes of Andros), οθς ήδε ἡ πόλις ξένους δυτας, ἐνδειξαμένους δτι ἀξιοι λόγου εἰσί, καὶ εἰς στρατηγίας καὶ εἰς τὰς άλλας ἀρχὰς ἀγει. Εκνοτίριις ap. Athen. 566 A: Aelian. στρατηγίας και els τὰς άλλας ἀρχὰς ἀγει. Favorinus ap. Athen. 506 A; Aelian, Var. Hist. xiv 5. The name βασιλεύς is perhaps due to his belonging to some royal family in Asia Minor (cf. Strabo, p. 632; CiG 2881, 2069, 2157, 2189). Peisistratus was called βασιλεύς in the Δήμος of Eupolis (frag. 123 p. 291 Kock). O. Crusius in Philol. 1, p. 177. Heracleides is identified by Köhler (Hermes, xxvii 68 ff.) with the person of that name xxvii 68 ff.) with the person of that name mentioned in an inscr. in Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888, p. 163.

τρόπον. μετέχουσιν μέν της πολιτείας οι έξ άμφοτέρων γεγονότες άστων. έγγράφον[ται] δ' είς τους δημότας οκτωκαίδεκα έτη γεγονότες δταν δ' εγγράφωνται, διαψηφίζονται περί αὐτῶν ὀμόσαντες 5 οί δημόται, πρώτον μέν εί δοκοῦσι γεγονέναι την ήλικίαν την έκ τοῦ νόμου, κὰν μη δόξωσι, ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς παίδα[ς, δ]εύτερον δ' εί έλεύθερος έστι καὶ γέγονε κατά [το] νς νόμους. Επειτ' αν μέν άποψηφίσωνται μή είναι έλεύθερον, ό μεν εφίησιν είς το δικαστή-

ΧΙΙΙ 2 μετέχουσι Η-L. **3** ΟΚΤωκαιλεκαετεις ante ο δ' ἐγγράφ. Wyse, Blass, Herwerden, Naber (Κ-W, Η-L, κ³). 3 OKTWKAIDEKAETEIC ante corr. 6 865wow H-L. 8 επιψηφ (κ): ἀποψηφ. Wyse, Blass, κ-w, η-L; cf. Phot. /.c.

ΤΕSΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. ΧΙΙΙ 3—4 *Schol. Arist. Vesp. 578 παίδων τοίνυν δοκιμαζομένων προς το έθος. 'Αρ. δέ φησω δτι ψήφω οι έγγραφόμενοι δοκιμάζονται, μη νεώτεροι (νεώτεροι μή codd., coitex. K-W) τη έτων είεν (Frag. 427³, 467³). Ισως δ' ἄν περί των μή κρινομένων παίδων είς τούς γυμνικούς άγωνας λέγει (sc. δ' Αριστοφάνης) * ούχ ώς έν δικαστηρίω κρινομένων άλλ' ὑπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.
3 Phot. (et Etym. M.) ἐφεσις: ... ἐγένετο δὲ 'Αθήνησω ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἀποψηφισθέντων, ἐφεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐθις ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς είς δικαστήριον περί τῆς πολιτείας καὶ εί μὲν ἐάλωσαν, ἐπωλοῦντο ὡς ξένοι εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπανήσσαν είς τοὺς ἐξ ῶν ἀπεψηφίσθησαν δήμους.

Part II, c. XLII-LXIII. The Exist-

ing Constitution.
XLII § 1. Enrolment on the list of citizens.

§ 1. μετέχουσιν τής πολιτείας] Pol.

§ 1. μετέχουσιν τῆς πολιτείας] Pol.
1268 α 24, 27; 1275 ὁ 31; 1290 α 4.

ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων—ἀστῶν] Pol. 1278 α 34,
τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῦν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιοῦσιν. 1275 ὁ 21, ὁρίζονται δὲ πρὸς
τὰν χρῆσιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οἶον πατρὸς ῆ
μητρὸς. See note on 26 § 4.

ἐγγράφονται] Pol. iii 1, 1275 α 14,
παίδας τοὺς μήπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμένους. Dem. Ευδυί. 57 § 61, ἡνίκ ἐνεγράφην ἐγὼ καὶ ὁμόσαντες οὶ δημόται

ψηφον ηνεγκεν. Ισμείας 7 χ 20, ομούμετες καθ' Ιερών ένεγραψάν με (sc. els τὸ ληξιαρχικόν γραμματείον). Lycurg. Leocr. 76, έπειδάν els τὸ ληξιαρχικόν γραμματείον έγγραφώσι και έφηβοι γένωνται. The earliest ephebic inscr. (B.C. 334-3) mentions of έφηβα of έπι τοῦ Κτησικλέους άρχοντος έγγραφέντες. By this registration the youthful citizen entered on the duties of civil life at the same time as he was enrolled on the list of ephebi. This was the only list of ephebi kept by the demes, and such a phrase as εγγράφεσθαι els εφή-βουτ (Pseudo-Plat. Απίοκλ. 366 E) is an inaccurate equivalent for εγγ. els τους δημότας (P. Girard, in Daremberg and

οημοταν (1. οπαια, π. οπαιαστικός στο διαστοκαίδεκα έτη] Schol. Aeschin. c. Cies. 122, dπὸ ὁκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐνεγράφοντο εἰs τὸ ληξιαρχικόν, and 1 § 19. ἐπὶ

διετές ήβησαι (Aeschin. l. c.) denoted the close of the two years intervening between the ages of 16 and 18 (A. Schäfer, Dem. iii 2, 19—38; Lipsius in N. Jahrb, f. Philol., no. 117, p. 299 ff.; Gilbert, Gr. St. i 186).

In Aristoph. Vesp. 578 it is regarded as a privilege of the disastral to

take part in ascertaining the physical maturity of Athenian youths on the occasion of the δοκιμασία. In the present passage the preliminary enrolling belongs to the δημόται, while the subsequent δοκιμασία is now for the first time assigned to the βουλή, to which it was perhaps transferred after the time of Aristophanes. According to the text, the disagral are only concerned in the event of an appeal on the question whether the person en-rolled was of free birth or not. (Cf. Meier and Schömann, Att. Process, p. 253-4 Lipsius. The doubt there suggested as to the accuracy of the Schol. on Vesp. 578 is now withdrawn by Lipsius, in the Verhandlungen der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Leipzig, 1891, p. 63.) Possibly, in the event of a dispute on the question of age, the matter was similarly referred to a court, but this is not stated in the text.

διαψηφίζονται] The ordinary διαψή-φισιs here described might be followed by an appeal to a δικαστήρισ. The procedure was the same as in the special διαψήφισιε described in Dem. 57 \$ 60, έπεισε διαψηφίσασθαι τους 'Αλιμουσίους περί αὐτῶν και κατηγορών δέκα τῶν δημοτων έξέβαλεν, οθε απαντας πλην ένος κατε-

δέξατο τὸ δικαστήριον.

ριον, οί δὲ δημόται κατηγόρους αίροῦνται πέντε [ἄν]δρας ἐξ αὐτῶν, κᾶν μὲν μὴ δόξη δι[καί]ως ἐγγράφ[εσ]θαι, πωλεῖ τοῦτον ἡ πόλις· 10 2 ἐἀν δὲ νικήση, τοῖς [δη]μόταις ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δοκιμάζει τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας ἡ βουλή, κᾶν τις δόξ[η ν]εώτερος ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν εἰναι, ζημιοῖ [τοὺ]ς δημότας τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας. ἐπὰν δὲ δοκιμα[σθ]ῶσιν οἱ ἔφηβοι, συλλεγέντες οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κατὰ φυλάς, ὀμόσαντες αἰροῦνται τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν 15 ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οῦς ᾶν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων, ἐκ δὲ τούτων

11 Versus in fine εκγραφεί έγγράφειν (sc. ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἐγγράφειν) recte δι
van Leeuwen (H-L, B): εκγράφει ἐγγράφεια Κ, Κ-W; constructio quidem utraque recte se habet; ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν defendunt c. 29, 21, Pol. 1266 a 10, 17, 18 et 1301 δ 23; ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφεια Pol. 1266 a 15; sed manus tertia nunquam aut τδι contrahit aut δι supra verbi finem scribit, κ autem septies eodem in loco ponit, c. 41, 30 εκκλησια, c. 42, 34 λαμβανουσι, c. 43, 4 χειροτονουσι, 7 πρυτανευεί, 15 βουλη, 17 χειροτονεί, 29 κελευουσι; quorum exemplorum sex in fine versus inventa sunt.

18 δκτωκαίδεκ' Κ-W, Β.

14 επαν: ἐπειδὰν Η-L.

αποψηφίσωνται] used absolutely in Dem. 57 §§ 11, 56, 58, 59, 62; followed by μη in F. L. 174, απεψηφίσωντο μη πέμπευ. ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι is found c. acc. in Dion. H., Ant. vi 71, and Diod. xix 61; but these passages do not justify the retention of ἐπιψηφίσωνται.

but these passages do not justify the retention of ἐπιψηφίσωνται. ἐψίησων κτλ.] Dem. 57 § 6, ἀξιῶ...μη-δέπω τὴν τῶν δημοτῶν ἀποψήφισιν ποι-εῦσθαι τεκμήριον ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἀρ' οὐχὶ προσήκει μοι τῆς πόλεως. εὶ γὰρ ἐνομίζετε τὰ δίκαια δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς δημότας διακρῦται, οὐκ ἀν ἐδώκατε τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔφεσιν. Cf. Etym. Μ. and Photins. ε. η ἐνομες in Tection.

and Photius, s. v. ξφεσις, quoted in Testim.
πόντε ἄνδραε] We find a similar procedure in the decree of the φράτερες recorded in the Decelean inscr., CIA ii 2, p. 534—6, no. 841 b, ll. 30—34, ἐἀν δέτις βούληται ἐφεῖναι εἰς Δημοτιωνίδας, ὧν ἀν ἀν ο ψηφίσωνται, ἐξεῦναι αὐτῷ, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς συνηγόρους τὸν Δεκελεικῶν οἰκον πέντε ἀνδρας ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας. Cf. Class. Rev. v 221 a.
πωλεί] Dionys. on Isaeus, 16 p. 617, ἐγράφη δή τις ὑπὸ τῶν Δθηναίων νόμος: ἐξέσεις καθείσων κάρθην κάρ

πωλεί] Dionys. on Isaeus, 16 p. 617, ἐγράφη δή τις ὑπό τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων νόμος: ἐξέτασω γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ δήμους, τὸν δὲ ἀποψηφωθέντα ὑπό τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς πολιτείας μή μετέχειν, τοῦς δὲ ἀδίκως ἀποψηφωθεῖσων ἔφεσων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἶναι, προσκαλεσαμένοις τοὺς δημότας, καὶ ἐὰν τὸ δεύτερον ἔξελεγχθῶσι, πεν ρῶσ θα καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἶναι δημόσια. Bekker, Απετά. (and Suidas) s. υ. ἀποψηφωσθέντα· εί τις ξένος έδοξεν είναι και ου πολίτης, τοῦτον έν ταῖς διαψηφίσεοι τῶν δήμων ἀπεψηφίζωτο οι δημόται, και έλέγετο ἀπεψηφισμένος. είτα εἰσήγετο εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον και ἐκρίνετο ξενίας, και εἰ μὲν ἐάλω, ἐπιπράσκετο ως ξένος εἰ δὲ ἐκράτει, ἀνελαμβάνετο εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. οῦτω Δημοσθένης (de Cor. 132). Cf. Meier and Schömann, p. 440 Lips., n. 705.

§§ 2—5. On the military training of the

§§ 2—5. On the military training of the Ephebi. On the Ephebi, see Dittenberger, De Ephebis Atticis, 1863; Dumont, Essai sur l'Ephèbie Atticis, 1863; Dumont, Essai sur l'Ephèbie Attique, 1875-6; Grasberger, Ersiehung und Unterricht im Klass. Alterthum, iii, 1881. Also Capes, University Life in Ancient Athens, 1877; Wayte on Ephebus in Smith, Dict. Ant.; P. Girard, l'ducation Athénienne, 1889, pp. 271—327; and esp. the same scholar's article in Daremberg and Saglio, 1891, iii 621—636 (the only account of the subject written since the discovery of this treatise).

§ 2. Sortuates] This dortuarda (like that of adopted sons) probably took place at the time of the apxaipedia (Isaeus 7 § 28; Dem. c. Leoch. 44 § 39) at the beginning of the official year (Lys. 21 § 1). Cf. Gilbert, i 187.

**The Terraphico of the Similarly any Similarly any

χορηγός who had boys under his superintendence had to have attained the age of 40 (56 § 3).

ό δημος ένα τη[ς φ]υλης έκάστης χειροτονεί σωφρονιστήν, καὶ [κοσ]μητήν έκ των άλλων 'Αθηναίων έπὶ πάντας. συλλαβόντες δ' 3 20 ούτοι τούς έφήβους, πρώτον μέν τὰ ίερὰ περιήλθον, εἶτ' εἰς

19 ... MHTHN?: κοσμητήν Paton, van Leeuwen (H-L), K-W, K⁸, Β; [έπιμ]ελητήν Κ¹. ΠαΝΤΑ vel ΠαΝΤΑC ante CYAA: πάντα. συλλ. Κ; πάντας. συλλ. Κ-W, Β; πάντας. παραλ. Η-L.

18-25 Bekk. Anecd. 301 (infra exscriptum).

xesporoves] one of the few exceptions to the general rule by which appoint-

ments at Athens were made by lot. Cf.
43 § 1 and Headlam, On the Lot, p. 104.
σωφρονιστήν] [Plat.] Axioch. 367 A,
πῶς ὁ τοῦ μειρακίσκου χρόνος (υ. l. πόνος)
ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονιστάς. Dinarchus, adv. Philocl. 15, & µèv δημος ἄπας οῦτ' ἀσφαλès ούτε δίκαιον νομίζων είναι παρακαταθέσθαι τούς έαυτοῦ παίδας, ἀπεχειροτόνησεν αὐτόν άπο της των εφήβων έπιμελείας. Philocles, the στρατηγόs here referred to, was a σωφρονιστής, not a κοσμητής (Gilbert, i 297; Dumont, Essai sur l'Éphébie Attique, 1876, p. 169 f.). In Bekker Anecd. 301 the σωφρονισταί are defined as doxortes (similarly in Photius and Etym. M. s. v.).

They are mentioned in the earliest ephebic inscr. now extant, B.C. 334—3 (Bull. Corr. Hell. xiii 253); also in B.C. 320/19(CIA ii 581); and in B.C. 305/4. This last inscr., as restored, includes the words: [τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τ]ῶν σωφρο[νιστῶν καὶ τῶν δι]δασκάλων. The κοσμητής also apτων οι βοασκαλών. Τhe κοσμητής also appears to be named near the beginning: [ἐπειδη οι ἔφηβοι... ἐπ]μμελοῦνται εί... καὶ ... φιλοτ]ιμοῦν[ται...] ιτωσι εὐτάκτως... τε κοσμηίτ.... τ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ τή[ν... τοις διδα]σκάλοις κτλ. In the same inscr. τοις διδα]σκάλοις κτλ. In the same inscr. the έφηβοι are described as έγγραφέντει (Köhler, Mittheilungen, 1879, iv 324—7). The latest inscr. belongs to B.C. 303/2... σωφρονιστης ύπο τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθείς [τῶν] ἐφήβων τῶν ἐγγραφέντων [τῆς] Πανδιονίδος φυλής ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἀρχοντος (Β.C. 303) καλῶς καὶ σωφρώνως καὶ ͼὐτάκτως ἐ[πιμε]μέληται αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποφ[αίν]ουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν φυλὴν [οΙ π]ατέρες τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμεμ[κλ]ῆσθαι κατὰ τοὐς νόμους τῶν ἐφήβων κτλ. (Βυίι. Corr. Heil. 1888, xii 140). Α reκτλ. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888, xii 149). A relief published in Rev. Arch. 1876, ii 185, copied in Daremberg and Saglio, iii 628, represents three σωφρονωταί in their robes holding their wands of office in the presence of a divinity who cannot be identified. The office was apparently suppressed early in the third century B.C. to be re-stored in imperial times. See Dittenberger, De Ephebis Atticis, pp. 29, 44; Dumont, Sur l'Ephebie, p. 200; Smith, Dict. Ant. i 998 b; and esp. Girard in Daremberg and Saglio, iii 626. KOOPARTIVI Erotianus, Lex. Hipp. 5. v.

κόσμου κοσμηταί οι των εφήβων εύταξίας προνοούντες. The word is found in [Plat.] Axioch. 363 B (as quoted by Stobaeus), έπει-δαν δ' είς τους έφήβους έγγραφη, κοσμητής και φόβοι χείρων, and in a general sense in Plat. Leg. 372 A. The usual formula for the election of this officer is xelporory θείς κοσμητής έπι τούς έφήβους είς τον έπι (τοῦ δείνος) άρχοντος ένιαυτόν, CIA ii 465, 467, 469: in 471 l. 56 the people κοσμη-[τ]η καθίστησ[ω έκ] των άρωτα βε[βι]ωκό-των. Hardly any of the inscriptions in which this officer is mentioned are earlier than the second century. The earliest belongs to B.C. 305/4 (quoted in last n.); the next to about B.C. 282 (CIA ii 316, 10=Dittenberger, Inscr. no. 346). It is suggested by Dittenberger (De Ephebis, p. 31) that the office was created in the time of Alexander. The inscr. of B.C. 305 (already quoted) shews that for a short time the κοσμητής and the σωφρονισταί existed together. This is confirmed by the text, if the restoration is correct. Cf. Dumont, Ephibie Attique, p. 166 ff.; Gilbert, i 299; and Girard in Daremberg and Saglio, iii 626-7.

In literature, one of the earliest passages on the κοσμητήs is in Teles (fl. middle of 3rd cent.), ap. Stob. 98, 72, ξφηβος γέγονεν ξμπαλιν τον κοσμητήν φοβείται, τον παιδοτρίβην, τον δπλομάχον, τον γυμνασίαρχον, πάντων τούτων μαστιγούται, παρατηρείται, τραχηλίζεται. Εξ εφήβων έστὶ καὶ ήδη είκοσιν ετών ετι φοβείται καὶ

πω ηση ακουν ετων ετι φορειται και παρατηρεί και ταξιαρχον και στρατηγόν.

και πάντας Γον έπι, of persons set over others, cf. Xen. Cyr. iv 5, 58, έπι τους πεξούς καθιστάναι άρχοντα, and Hell.

iii 4, 20. In this sense it is more common

11 4, 20. In this sense it is more common c. gen. or dat.
§ 3. τα lepa περιῆλθον] It was probably at this stage that the ξόμηβοι took the oath in the cave of Aglauros (Dem. F. L. 303; Lycurgus, Leocr. 76; Stobaeus, Flor. 43, 48; Pollux viii 105; another clause is quoted in Plut. Alc. 15).

Πειραιέα πορεύονται, καὶ φρουροῦσιν οί μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν οἱ δὲ την 'Ακτήν. χειρο[τονεί] δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοίς δύο καὶ διδασκάλους, [οί]τινες όπλομαχείν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν κ[al] καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν. δίδωσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τρο[φὴν] 24

21 **П**еграга H-L. 23 [οί]τινες Κ, H-L, Β: τ[έτ]τ[α]ρας MOYNYXIAN. Cf. c. 19, 5. ΔΙΤΕΧΤΗΝ

<ot> K-w. 24 KATHN καταπέλτην $(K^1, K-W^2)$: —πάλτην $K-W^1, H-L, K^3, B$, cf. Meisterhans, p. 128 (καταπαλτών annis A.C. 330—323). διδάξουσι» Rutherford (H-L).

Cobet, N. L. 223, regards the formula in Stobaeus and Pollux as a figment of the grammarians; but it can hardly be doubted that some such oath was taken, although it is not mentioned in the text. (Cf. Schömann, Ant. p. 359 E. T.; Gilbert, i 296 n.) The taking of the oath is exhibited on a vase in the Hermitage Museum, which shews us an ξφηβος, armed with shield and spear, holding his right hand over an altar; the oath is being administered by an aged man (probably representing the βουλή) beyond it: behind the εφηβος we have a Νίκη holding a helmet (Daremberg and Saglio, iii 624).

Mountslav] 19 § 2. Even in Roman times, B.C. 100, the ephebi περιέπλευσαν ...els Mountslav (CIA ii 467, 22).

ARTIN the name given to the southern peninsula of the Peiraeus, the highest point of which is about 180 feet above the sea. Harpocr. s. v. ἐπιθαλαττίδιδε τις μοῦρα τῆς 'Αττικῆς. Lycurg. Leocr. §§ 17, 55; Diod. xx 45; inf. 61 § 1. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 46.

wausorp(sas] officials employed to train the ephesi in gymnastic exercises. In B.C. 305/4 their number was reduced to one (Köhler, Mittheilungen, iv 327, cf. Teles ap. Stob. Flor. 98, 72). In the Teles ap. Stob. Flor. 98, 72). In the inscriptions this officer generally takes precedence over the other instructors. Dumont, pp. 177—185; Daremberg and Saglio, iii 627 b.

8.88.6.66.8.136

this term is regularly applied to the instructors of the *ephebi*, including the raidorpigns, the dandayos and the rest (CIA ii 341, 465, 467, 469): after that date they are usually called **auðevral.* Dumont, p. 176; Daremberg and Saglio, iii 627; Grasberger, iii 167.

The four following verbs describe the functions of the several instructors. The

corresponding official titles have hitherto been known to us from the ephebic in-scriptions of the 3rd century. The literary evidence of the text is earlier than the earliest inscriptions mentioning these instructors.

όπλομαχείν] Xen. Anab. ii ι, 7; Plat. Gorg. 456 Ε, τούς παιδοτρίβας και τούς έν δπλοις διδάσκοντας μάχεσθαι, Επίλη ... 271 D, Laches 179 E, 182 B, Leg. 804 D, 813 D, 833 E; Teles ap. Stob. Flor. 98, 72; Theophr. περι μικροφιλοτιμίαs (with Jebb's note on p. 203). In the ephebic inscriptions the δπλομάχος, or 'drill-serranks next to the KOO HATTHS and the παιδοτρίβης (Dumont, pp. 185—9).
CIA ii 467 (= Ditt. no. 347) l. 52, B.C. 100, επαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους, τόν τε παιδοτρίβην-και τον οπλομάχονακοντιστήν-και τὸν αφέτην. In an inscr. of Teos, the ὁπλομάχος precedes τὸν δι-δάξοντα τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν and receives a stipend of 300 dr., as against 250 (Ditt. no. 349, 22—27). In the Attic inscriptions the usual order of precedence is δπλομάχος, άκουτιστής, τοξότης, καταπαλταφέτης, and after these the γραμματεύς and ornperus (CIA ii 316, 465, 467, 469—471, 482). The drill was held in the Lyceum (Grasberger, iii 139).

τοξεύειν] On the τοξότης, see Dumont, 152; Daremberg and Saglio, iii 628. He was not necessarily an Athenian (CIA ii 316, ll. 29, 72). Cf. Plat. Leg. 813 D. dkovr([six] On the dkovr(orths, see Dumont, p. 190; Daremberg and Saglio, I.c. The same person is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions as holding this

office for several years (CIA ii 465, 471). καταπάλτην άφωναι] Είλ. iii 2, 17, p. 1111 a 11, δ δε πράττει αγνοήσειεν αν τις, οδον...δείξαι βουλόμενος αφείναι, ώς δ τον καταπέλτην. The instructor in charge of this department was called the doerns or the καταπαλταφέτης (le maître de balis-The former title is found in B.C. 100; the latter in B.C. 282, CIA ii 316 (= Ditt. 346), 28, έπαινέσαι δέ και τὸν παιδοτρίβην—και τὸν ἀκοντιστήν—[και τὸν καταπ]αλ[τα]φέτην—και τὸν γραμματέα—και τὸν τοξότην (mentioned last in this case because he was not an Athanian had case because he was not an Athenian, but a Cretan). καταπαλταφέτης, καταπαλταφεσία and καταπάλτης occur in an inscr. of Ceos, Ditt. no. 348, 25, 30, 27. Cf. CIA ii 413 (= Ditt. 196), 15 (after B.C. 200),

25 τοις μέν σωφρονισταις δραχμήν μίαν έκάστφ, τοις δ' έφήβοις τέτταρας οβολούς έκάστων τὰ δὲ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν αύτοῦ λαμβάνων ὁ σωφρονιστής εκαστος αγοράζει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πασιν είς τὸ κοινόν (συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι τὸν δ 4 30 ύστερου, έκκλησίας εν τῷ θεάτρω γενομένης, ἀποδειξάμενοι τῷ

25 δραχμήν μίαν per compendium scriptum < Δ. 28 συσσιτοῦσιν Β. 29 οῦτω H-L. 29-30 ΔΥCΤΕΡΟΝ; δ' δστερον Κ, H-L, B: δεύτερον Κ-W, coll. Harpoct. τον δεύτερον ένιαυτόν. 30 ΓEN? γενομένης Blass (K-W, H-L, K3). AΠΟΔΕΙΣ K, K-W, B; ėmideig. H-L.

. § 4 ° Harp. περίπολος:...'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. περί τῶν ἐφήβων λέγων φησίν οθτως τὸν δεύτερον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρω γενομένης (γιν. CD) ἀποδεξάμενοι (ἀποδειξάμενοι Dittenberger) τῷ δήμω περί τὰς τάξεις και λαβόντες ἀσπίδα και δόρυ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν και διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις (Frag. 428°, 468°). Schol. Aeschin. 2, 167.

els τούς καταπάλτας νευράς έπέδωκεν. The engine used in this exercise is termed in the inscriptions καταπάλτης, δργανον or λιθοβόλος. καταπαλτών is the spelling found in B.C. 330 (CIA ii 807 b 129, 131, 132); in B.C. 325 (ib. 809 e 10, 12, 13); and in B.C. 323 (ib. 811 b 196, 200). Cf. Dumont, p. 191; Daremberg and Saglio, iii 628 a; Grasberger, iii 166. δραχμήν μίαν κτλ.] Bekker, Anecd. 301,

οραχμην μιαν κπ.] Βεκκετ, Απετα. 301, quoted on σωφρονιστήν p. 152 a. Boeckh, II χνί p. 332 Lamb.

§ 4. τόν μλν πρώτον ένιαντόν κπλ.] Aeschines says of himself, F. L., 2 § 167, περίπολοι τῆς χώραι ταύτης έγενόμην δύ έτη. Hence it has been supposed that the έπηθα served as πεσίπολαι for two the Εφηβοι served as περίπολοι for two years (Schömann, Ant. p. 360 E. T.; Philippi in Rhein. Mus. 34, 613). The Philippi in *Khein. Mus.* 34, 013). Ine text describes the first year as spent in military exercises, and the second as devoted to the duties of $\pi e \rho l \pi o \lambda o$ (this was the view already held by Dittenberger, *De Ephebis*, and Gilbert, i 296). The discrepancy is noticed in Harpoer. s. v. περίπολοι... παρατηρητέον οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν Αριστοτέλης ἔνα φησὶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις γίγνεσθαι τους έφήβους, ὁ δὲ Αίσχίνης δύο (cf. Dumont, p. 28 ff.). The purport of the text is quoted by the Schol. on Aeschin. l. c., ol γαρ έφηβοι τον δεύτερον ένιαυτόν, έκκλησίας έν τῷ θεάτρω γενομένης, λαβόντες άσπίδα και δόρυ παρά του δήμου, περιεπόλουν τουτέστι περιήρ-χοντο την χώραν και διέτριβον έν τοις φυλακτηρίοις ή έν τοις φρουρίοις ένίστε έτος μόνον, ένίστε δύο. The context of the present passage shews that they acted as $\phi \rho o u \rho o l$ for both years (§ 5), while it is implied that they served as περίπολοι for the second year alone. Girard endeavours to remove the discrepancy by observing that the author 'ne dit pas expressément, en effet, que les éphèbes n'étaient astreints au service de #epi#olos que la seconde année. Il se borne à constater que la première année était remplie par une sorte d'apprentissage du métier de soldat, mais cet apprentissage, qui se faisait au Pirée et à Munychie, avait déjà le caractère de ce que devait être, l'année suivante, la vie éphébique' (Daremberg and Saglio, iii 629, note 174). It seems simpler to suppose that Aeschines was using a popular and only approximately accurate phrase in describing himself as

#eρίπολοs for two years.

#κκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ] Cf. A. Müller,

Bühnenalterthümer, p. 74; and Jebb in
Smith's Dict. Ant. ii 820 a. 'Juv. x 128; Plut. Timol. 34, 3; 38, 3; Nepos, Timol. 4, 2. Athenian decree in Joseph. Ant. xiv 8, 5. The inscriptions bearing on this point are collected by Adam Reusch, de diebus contionum ordinariis ap. Athenieuses, diss. phil. Argentor. sel. iii 4

(Mayor).

dποδαξάμενοι κτλ.] i.s. 'having given
public proof of proficiency in military exercises.' Harpocr. has dwodefdueros, corrected by Dittenberger, De Ephebis, p. 12, n. 10. The εφηβοι of B.C. 100 similarly appeared in public, at the end of their period of service, έποιήσαν . δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδφ τῆς ἐφηβείας τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆ βουλῆ, CIA ii 467 (= Ditt. 347, 43); cf. ii 468, 26.

1. 22.] δήμφ || τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις, καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς 5 φυλακτηρίοις. φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη, χλαμύδας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσὶ πάντων καὶ δί[κη]ν οὔτ[ε] διδόασιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἴνα μὴ π[ρ]ό[φ]ασις ἢ τ[ο]ῦ ἀπιέναι, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου καὶ ἐπικλή- 35 [ρου], κἄν τινι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἰερεωσύνη γένηται. διεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν δυεῖν ἐτῶν, ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγγραφὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

43. τας δ' άρχας τας περί την εγκύκλιον διοίκησιν απάσας

31 tà om. Harp. 32 the solution τ to dhave Harp. et Schol. Aeschin. 35 $\pi[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is our analysis at $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is our analysis at $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is our solution. The solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is our solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ is $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]a\sigma$ in the solution $\tau[\rho]\delta[\phi]$

dowles κal δόρυ] These are exhibited on the vase representing the *ephebus* taking the oath, mentioned in note on \$ 2, τὸ keoù πεοιδιλόου.

3, τὰ lepὰ περιβλθον.

§ 5. φρουρούσι] The Schol. on Aeschin.

F. L. 167 quotes the two following lines from Eupolis, οὖτοι ἐν τοῖι φρουροίοι κοιτάξεται, and τοὺι περιπόλους ἀνιέναι εἰς τὰ φρούρια. Τhe ἐψηβοι of Β.C. 100 (CIA ii 467, 22 and 87) ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ ὁρια τῆι ᾿Αττικῆι πλεοσάκις ἐν ὅπλοις. Among the φρούρια were Anaphlytus, Thoricus, Sunium, Rhamnus, Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna (Gilbert, i 297).

Phyle, Aphidna (Gilbert, i 297).

χλαμύδας] 'short gowns or mantles.'

Pollux, x 164, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα
πέτασος καὶ χλαμύς Φιλήμων ἐν Θυρωρῷ

έγω γαρ ές την χλαμύδα κατεθέμην ποτέ και τον πέτασον.

Cf. Antidotus, ap. Athen. 240 Β, έγγραφηνα και λαβεῦν τὸ χλαμόδιον. Meleager, in Anth. P. vii 468, has an epitaph on a youth whom his mother ὁπτωκαιδεκέταν ἐστόλισεν χλαμόδι. ἐκ χλαμόδιε ἐξ ἐφήβου in Plut. ii 752 Ε, cf. 754 F. It appears on vases as the characteristic dress of young men (L and S), e.g. Tischbein, Vases, i 14; Hamilton, Vases, i 2 (in Smith, Dict. Ant. i 416); and esp. on a lecythus from Eretria (Studniczka, Yahrb. des Kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. ii 163; Daremberg and Saglio, iii 630, fig. 2680). The garb of the ἐφηβοι is sometimes supposed to have been 'yellow or saffron-coloured' (Dict. Ant. L.), but it was black according to Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii 1, 5, μελαίνας χλαμύδας ἐνημμένοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας περεκάθηντο καὶ τὰς πομπάς ἔνεμπον.

Herodes Atticus altered it into white and himself defrayed the cost of the change (CIA iii 1132; Capes, *Univ. Life*, p. 9).

(CIA iii 1132; Capes, Univ. Life, p. 9).

dτελείε - πάντων] This general exemption did not include the τριηραρχία, which was incumbent on all Athenians of a certain census from the time of their enolment on the ληξιαρχικόν γραμματεΐον (Dem. Mid. 154). Even this λητουργία was remitted for one year in the case of orphans, Lys. 32 § 24, οδε ή πόλιε ού μόνον παίδαι δυται άτελεῖε ἐποίησεν, ἀλλά καὶ ἐπειδάν δοκιμασθώσιν ἐνιαυτόν ἀφῆκεν ἀπασῶν τῶν λητουργίων.

περὶ κλήρου] Thus Demosthenes sued

mapl κλήρου] Thus Demosthenes sued his guardians as soon as he came of age, Onet. i 15,17; Mid. 78. &mkλήρου] At the age of 18, the young Athenian became κύριος τῆς ἐπικλήρου, Isaeus 8 § 31, 10 § 12, frag. 90, Hyperid. frag. 223 = 194; Suidas, s. υ. ληξιαρχικόν γραμματεΐον, Β; Α. Schäfer, Dem. III 2, D. 24 f.

fer, Dem. III 2, p. 24 f.

The list of lawsuits in the text is possibly not exhaustive. In Lys. 10 § 4 the speaker, who was 13 at the time when his father was put to death by the Thirty, instituted a prosecution against them before the Areopagus as soon as he came of age, #πειδή τάχιστα εδοκιμάσθην (§ 31, in B.C. 399). The other alternative is to assume that the statement applies only to the time of the writer (Hager in Smith, Dict. Ant. ii 1066 a).

XLIII § 1. On officials elected by show of hands.

§ 1. την έγκύκλιον διοίκησιν] Pol. 1255 δ 25, έγκύκλια διακονήματα, 1263 α 21, έγκύκλιοι διακονίαι (every-day duties). 1269

ποιούσι κληρωτάς, πλην ταμίου στρατιωτικών και τών έπι το θεωρικον και τού τών κρηνών έπιμελητού. ταύτας δε χειροτονούσιν, και οι χειροτονηθέντες άρχουσιν εκ Παναθηναίων εις Παναθή-5 ναια. χειροτονούσι δε και τός πρός τον πόλεμον άπάσας.

XLIII 2 πληρωτας (6 πληρογται). <τοῦ > ταμίου <τῶν > στρατιωτικῶν Richards. 8 κρηνων: κοινῶν J W Headlam (H-L).

b 35 (of courage), χρήσιμος πρός οὐδέν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἀλλ εἴπερεἰς τὸν πόλεμον. Oecon.
 2, 1346 a 8, πρόσοδος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

ταμίου σ'ρατιστικών] The war-fund included the income from the property-tax and the surplus of the yearly revenue, [Dem.] Neaer. 4, τὰ περώντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως. The fund was administered by the ταμίας τῶν στρ. This official provided pay for the troops and defrayed all other military expenses (Smith, Dict. Ant. ii 761 b). He is first mentioned in B.C. 338, [Plut.] Lycurg. 27. In 334 (CIA ii 739) he makes payments to the treasurers of Athene and to the commissioners for restoring the figures of Nicη and the articles of plate used in processions (see further in Hartel, Studien über att. Staatsrecht, pp. 135-6; Gilbert, i 237; Dürrbach, l'orateur Lycurgue, pp. 32—33). For some of his other duties cf. inf. C. 47 § 2. 49 § 3.

3. 47 § 2. 49 § 3.

τῶν ἐπὶ το δεωρικον] probably instituted under the administration of Eubulus (between B.C. 354 and 339). It has been a moot point whether there was only one official ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν or more (Gilbert i 229). The text implies that there were several. In B.C. 343/2, CIA ii 114 C 5, a single individual is mentioned ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν, immediately after the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείων and ἐπὶ τὸ ψηφίσματα, and immediately before the βουλῆς ταμίαι; thus he is possibly only a βουλευτὴς charged with looking after that department of business and is not necessarily to be identified with the management of the fund. Aeschines, c. Ctes. § 24, mentions the archon of the year in which Dem. was elected treasurer of the θεωρικόν; hence it was inferred by Boeckh (II vii p. 248 Lamb) that the office was annual. The text shews that it was held for four years, from one Panathenaic festival to the next. Cf. 47 § 2.

for four years, from one Panathenaic festival to the next. Cf. 47 § 2.

κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητοῦ] κρηνῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ are mentioned in Pol. 1321 b 26, where Athens is doubtless in Aristotle's mind, though not expressly named. Plato, Leg. 758 E, refers to κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητάι. An inscr. published in the Ἐφημερὶs 'Αρχαιο-

λογική, 1889, pp. 13—16, no. 28, describes the work done by one Pytheas as έπιμελητής τῶν κρηνῶν in B.C. 333. ἐπειδή Πυθέας αἰρεθείς ἐπὶ τὰς κρήνας τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ ἀρχῷ ἐπιμελεῖται καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως κτλ ἐπαινέσαι Πυθέαν...ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρηνῶν, ὅπως ἀν οἱ ἀλλοι οἱ ἀεὶ χειροτονούμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς κρήνας φιλοτιμῶνται κτλ.

Cf. Hesych. s. v. κρηνάγγη (sic): ἀρχὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας δδατος, and Pollux viii 113, ἐπιμελείας δδατος, and Pollux viii 113, ἐπιμελητης δὲ τις... ἐγίνετο, δι καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐφ' δδωρ, ἡν...καὶ κρηνοφυλάκιον ἀρχή: also Photius, κρηνοφυλάς ἡν δὲ καὶ ἀρχή τις 'Αθήνησω. It is uncertain whether κρηνοφύλαξ was another name for this officer or the title of a subordinate official. The importance of this officer is indicated by his being elected and not appointed by lot. The office of ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης was held by Themistocles (Plut. Them. 31 § 1). Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Epimeletes, ii p. 668 b.

As two of the officials mentioned in the test are connected with finance com-

As two of the officials mentioned in the text are connected with finance, some surprise has been felt that no notice is taken of the important financial officer called the raulas ris kouris rposódou or d énl ris doubles. (The latter title is supposed by Fellner to have been introduced about 300 B.C., but the supposition is not approved by Gilbert, i 233. Cf. Dürrbach, Lycurgue, pp. 21—38.)

This official, like those in the text, held

This official, like those in the text, held office for one term of four years only, [Plut.] vit. Lycurg. 3. Lycurgus, whose financial activity began in 338, is described as ταχθείς έπὶ τῆ διοικήσει (Hyper. frag. 121 Blass); he probably ceased to hold this office in 334, and this treatise was written about ten years later. Hence, it is suggested by Mr J. W. Headlam to alter κρηνῶν into κουῶν. It would be safer, however, to suppose that καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει had dropped out, than to accept this suggestion. The fact that the κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητής was elected at the Panathenaea (about 23—28 Hecatombaeon, before the middle of August) is confirmed by the above decree in honour of Pytheas, which is dated 9 Metageitnion,

βουλή δὲ κληροῦται πεντακόσιοι, πεντήκοντα ἀπὸ <τῆς> Φυλῆς έκάστης. πρυτανεύει δ' έν μέρει τῶν φυλῶν ἐκάστη καθ' ὅ τι ἂν λάχωσιν, αι μεν πρώται πέπταρες εξ και τριάκοντα ήμέρας εκάστη, 8

6 ф N (K, H-W, B); жертаковою, жертокорта H-L. < τῆς> φυλῆς Β.

TESTIMONIA. XIII § 2 "Harp, πρυτανείας:...έστι δέ άριθμός ήμερων ή πρυτανεία ήτοι λε ή λε, ας έκαστη φυλή πρυτανεύει. διείλεκται δέ περι τούτων 'Αρ. έν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. Harp. (= Bekk. Απ. 291, 4, Lex. Dem. Patm., Schol. Plat. p. 459) πρυτάνεις:...έπρυτάνευν δέ...έκ διαδοχής άλλήλαις αι δέκα φυλαι κλήρω λαχούσαι. Schol. Plat. Leg. p. 459: πρυτανεία δέ έστιν άριθμός τις ήμερων ήτοι λε ή λε, ας έκάστη φυλή πρυτανεύειν λέγεταί...και διήρηνται els ταύτας αι ήμεραι τοῦ ένιαυτοῦ κατά γάρ σελήνην άγουσι τοῦτον, ώς έκαστη φυλή των δέκα έπιβάλλειν λε ήμέρας, πλεονάζειν δε όλίγας. διό και τάς λοιπάς άπεδωκαν οι 'Δθηναίοι ταις πρώταις λαχούσαις τέσσαρσι φυλαις, Iva έκεινων μέν έκάστη τάς λε ήμέρας πρυτανεύη, al δέ λοιπαί έξ drà λε. Fere eadem Photius, πρυτανεία, inter τας λε ημερας πρότωντη, αι δε λοικαί ες ανα λε. Το το Cauchi Holius, πρότωντα, πιοι alia ένιαυτόν δέ οι 'Αθηναίοι τόν σεληνιακόν ήγον (Frag. 393', 433'). Schol. Maximi Planudis ad Hermog. in Rhet. Gr. v p. 509, 20 Walz: ώρκημέναι ήσαν έκκλησίαι κατά πρόταν έκάστην τέσσαρες: δέκα δε ούσων 'Αθήνησι φυλών έπρυτάνευσν αι μέν πρώται λαχούσαι φυλαί τέσσαρες ανά τριάκοντα ξε ήμέρας, αι δε λοιπαί ξε ανά τριάκοντα TEPTE KTA.

eleven days after the close of the Pana-

in Havabavalor de Havabavala] i.e. for four years. The phrase (with es for els) occurs in CIA i 32 A 28, B 27 (Hicks, no. 37); 117, 3; 121; 125; 129; 133; 141, &c; 170; 273 (Hicks, no. 46). The greater Panathenaea were held in every third Olympic year, in the same year as the Pythian games. The loci classici are collected in Michaelis, Par-

thenon, Anhang II, 318—333.
ταις πρός τον πόλεμον] The offices of στρατηγοί and their subordinates, the Ιππαρχος, φύλαρχος and ταξίαρχος.

Gilbert i 220 ff., and Headlam, On the Lot, p. 102; inf. 61 § 1.

§§ 2, 3. The Council. On the subject in general, see Hermann, Staatsalt. §§ 125—127; Schömann, Ant., p. 371—9, E. T.; Gilbert, i 251—264; Smith, Dict.

Ant. i 300.
§ 2. κληροθται] It was appointment
by lot that made the Council consistent with the democratical constitution of Athens and prevented its becoming an oligarchical body of higher authority than the public assembly. The power of the old aristocracy had centred in a Council, and this power was broken down by the introduction of the lot. The Council of 400 under the 'Draconian constitution is described as appointed by lot (4 § 3). The earliest documentary evidence bearing on this subject is an inscr. of Erythrae, the constitution of which was modelled on that of Athens in B.C. 455-450. It is there ordained for Erythrae (as for Athens) από κυάμων βουλήν είναι (CIA i 9 = Hicks, no. 23). Cf. Headlam, On the

Lot, pp. 41—56, 86.

**mportave6a] 'presides,' i.e. sits as a superintending sub-committee of the Council. Cf. Harpocr. s. v. mpurdress, Schol. Aeschin. 3 § 3; also Schömann, p. 376, and Gilbert, i 255. Even the order in which the *portages held office is determined. mined by lot (cf. Headlam, l. c., p. 51). This fact had already been ascertained by

Clinton, Fasti, ii 344—6=415—8.
al phe mperas ard.] The normal Attic year consisting of 354 days, the tenth part would be 35 days, and 4 over. It has been supposed by Gilbert, i 255, that these four days were assigned to the several prytanies by lot. The text states that they were assigned to the first four prytanies, which thus lasted for 36 days, the remaining six lasting for 35 only. This fact was already known to us through Photius, Suidas and the Schol. in Hermogenem, v p. 509; but their authority was set aside on the evidence of the Choiseul Marble, CIA i 188 (Ditt. no. 44), ll. 25—40, B.C. 410/9, where we have express mention of the 36th day of the 8th, 9th, and 10th prytanies. Hence it was inferred by Clinton, Fasti, ii 346—418, that the four supernumerary days were assigned to the last tribes and not to the first. While this was clearly the case in B.C. 410, the text shews that, in the writer's time, the latter plan was adopted instead.

The duration of the *poraveau is discussed by Unger, Philol. 38 p. 425 ff., Usener, Rhein. Mus. 34 p. 392 ff., and A. Schmidt, Gr. Chronologie, pp. 241, 423

αί δὲ ἐξ αί ὕστεραι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ήμέρας ἐκάστη κατὰ το σελήνην γάρ ἄγουσιν τον ένιαυτόν, οί δε πρυτανεύοντες αὐτών 3 πρώτον μέν συσσιτούσιν έν τη θόλφ, λαμβάνοντες άργύριον παρά της πόλεως, έπειτα συνάγουσιν καὶ την βουλην καὶ τον δημον, την μέν [ουν] βουλην όσαι ημέραι, πλην έάν τις άφέσιμος ή, τον δέ δημον τετράκις της πρυτανείας έκάστης. καὶ ὅσ[α] δεῖ χρηματί-

9—10 κατά σελήνην ένιαυτόν del. Lipsius, Herwerden. 10 άγουσι Η-L. 12 συνάγουσι Η-L. και (vel ει ?): και την Κ², Κ-W, Β: είς την Κ¹, την Η-L. 18 ΟΥΝ om. Harp. (K-W, H-L, Β): retinet κ coll. Ar. Poet. 1458 a 25 etc (Ind. Ar. p. 540 δ). TIAHNENAN COTT. K. 14 XPHMATIZEI COTT. K.

\$8.\$4.6 Pollux viii 95, πρυτάνεις: οὖτοι τὴν βουλὴν συνάγουσιν ὁσημέραι, πλὴν ἄν τις ἢ ἀφετος, "τὸν δὲ δῆμον τετράκις" ἐκάστης πρυτανείας καὶ προγράφουσι πρό τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὲρ ὧν "δεῖ χρηματίζειν" τῶν δὶ ἐκκλησίων ἡ μὲν κυρία, ἐν ἢ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιχειροτονοῦσιν, ἐκκρ καλῶς ἀρχουσιν, ἢ ἀποχειροτονοῦσιν ἐν ἢ καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσαγγέλλει, "καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν δημευομένων" ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν οἱ πρὸς ταῖς δίκαις, "καὶ τὰς λήξεις τῶν κήρων." 96, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἐκκλησία ἀνεῖται τοῖς βουλομένως ἰκετηρίαν θεμένοις λέγειν ἀδεῶς περί τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἡ δὲ τρίτη "κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις" ἀξιοῖ χρηματίζειν, οθς δεῖ πρότερον τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη περί ἰερῶν καὶ ὀσίων (Frag. 394², 434³). Cf. Schol. in Aeschin. I § 104. §§ 3, 4. "Harp, κυρία ἐκκλησία:...τίνες δὲ αὶ κύριαι ἐκκλησίαι 'Αρ. δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. λέγων τοὺς πρυτάνεις συνάγειν "τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ' ὀσημέραι, "πλὴν—ἐκάστης." προγράφουσι δὲ φησι καὶ πρὶ ψιλακῆς δὲ τῆς χώρας. "καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας—ποιεῦσθαί" φησι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (Frag. 395², 435²).

κατά σελήνην ένιαντόν] This explanation is introduced quite as naturally as that in the corresponding passage of Schömann's Ant., p. 376 E. T., where, immediately after defining the duration of a prytany, the writer continues: 'The Athenians, it may be explained, had a Athenians, it may be explained, had a legal lunar year consisting of 12 months of 29 and 30 days alternately, and therefore of 354 days altogether. The phrase reminds one of Arist. Nub. 626, κατά σελήρην ώς άγειν χρή τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡμέρας, and Diog. Laert. i 59 (of Solon), ἡξίωσέ τε 'Αθηναίων τὰς ἡμέρας κατά σελήρην άγειν. The explanation (like many others in this treatise) would not be needed by Athenian readers: but it does not necessariants. Athenian readers; but it does not necessarily follow that it is an interpolation, as suggested by Lipsius, Leipzig Verhandl.,

1891, p. 47 n. § 3. συσσιτοθσιν έν τῆ θόλφ] Dem. F. L. § 190, οἱ πρυτάνεις θύουσω ἐκάστοτε κοινή και συνδειπνούσιν άλληλοις και συσπένδουσιν. Ammonius ap. Harpocr. s. v. πένδουσι». Ammonius ap. Harpoct. s. v. θόλος,—δ δὲ τόπος δπου ἐστιῶνται οἰ πρυτάνεις καλεῖται θόλος. Cf. Pollux viii 155; Bekker, Anecd. 264. On a special emergency the βουλή even passed the night there, Andoc. de Myst. 45. It was also called the σκιάς (Gilbert, i 256, n. 4). It was near the βουλευτήριον (Paus. i 5,

1), to the north of the east end of the Areopagus (Curtius, Stadtgeschichte, p. xciii and 171). Thus the *portarest could readily leave the θόλος to attend the meetings of the whole body of the Council in the neighbouring βουλευτήρων. Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadl Athen, ii 315.

συνάγουσιν κτλ.] CIA ii 417, 459 and elsewhere (of the πρυτάνεις), ἐπεμελήθησαν δε και της συλλογής της τε βουλης και τοῦ δήμου και των άλλων ων αυτοίς προσέταττον οί νόμοι.

δσαι ήμέραι] The manuscript reading has been retained, 'as it facilitates the following 715' (J. B. Mayor). Hitherto our earliest authority for this equivalent to δσημέραι has been Themistius (A.D. 355), who also has δσαι ώραι in p. 192 D. δσοι μῆνες occurs in Dem. 744, 25 (L and S).

dφίσιμος] Aristides i 344 Jebb. The large number of such holidays is noticed in [Xen.] de Rep. Ath. 3, 2. Among them were the Apaturia (Athen. 171 g), the Thesmophoria (Arist. Thesm. 79), the Kronia (Dem. 24 § 26), and the dποφράδες ημέροι (Plut. Alc. 34). Gilbert, i 258,

Terpakus] Elsewhere (Photius, s. v. κυρία έκκλησία, Schol. Arist. Ach. 19 and Schol. Dem. 24 § 20) we are told of three ζειν τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ ὅ τι] ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὅπου καθίζειν, 15
4 οὖτοι προγράφουσι. προγράφουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας οὖτοι,
μίαν μὲν κυρίαν, ἐν ῇ δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιχειροτονεῖν εἰ δοκοῦσι
καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ περὶ σίτου καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας χρηματίζειν, καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς βουλομένους
ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν δημευομένων ἀναγιγνώσκειν, καὶ 20
τὰς λήξεις τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων [[ἀναγιγνώσκειν]], [ὅπω]ς

15 καιότι (corr. e καιτογ) secl. Β. Οτιογκαθ..ει: ὅ τι οὐ καθήκει? Κ; Οτιογκαθείζει? ὅπου καθίζει egregie Κ-W (Β); etiam Herwerden verbum καθίζει hic latere suspicabatur.

20, 21 ἀναγιγρώσκειν (bis) κ³, H-L (Meisterhans, n. 1238³): ΑΝΑΓΙΝ (Κ, Κ-W); verbum in v. 21 secl. K-W, Β.

§ 4 *Lex. rhet. Cantab. κυρία έκκλησία:...άμεινον οὖν 'Αριστοτέλει <πείθεσθαι>' τὰς γὰρ ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς κυρίαις ἐκκλησίαις φησίν ἐπιχειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας <τὸν βουλόμενον εἰσαγγέλλειν addidit Meier> καὶ τὰ άλλα τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρηματίζεω "καὶ περὶ σίτου <καὶ> φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς...κλήρων."

meetings in each month, all of them termed κυρίαι ἐκκλησίαι. But the text shews that there was only one κυρία ἐκκλησία in each month (§ 4), as already held by Gilbert, i 260, n. 1.

held by Gilbert, i 269, n. 1.

δπου καθζαν] The sessions of the βουλάν, though ordinarily held in the βουλευτήριον, were occasionally transferred to the Eleusinion, the Theseum or the Panathenaic Stadium, or even to the Acropolis (Gilbert, i 259 n. 1). δ τι οὐ καθήκει could only mean 'what is not suitable'; and such a sense is out of place here. I was once inclined to suggest δταν καθήκη, 'at the proper time,' lit. 'whenever the time arrives.' Dem. p. 399, 6, ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι, δταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη. Ar. Hist. An. viii 2, 23, ὁ χρόνος καθήκει.

προγράφουτι] CIA ii 61, ἐπειδὰν δὲ

προγράφουστι] CIA 11 01, έπειδάν δε ταθτα παρασκευασθή, τούς πρυτάνεις προγράψαι περί τούτων έν βουλευτηρίφ δταν οδόν τε ή.

88 4-6. The Public Assembly.
8 4. προγράφουσι-έκκλησίαs] Five days notice was given; Bekker, Anecd.
296, 8, πρόπεμπτα (Gilbert, i 270 n. 1).
μίαν μέν κυρίαν] see note on τετράκις,
8 3. The agenda for the κυρία έκκλησία

κυρίαν] see note on τετράκις, § 3. The agenda for the κυρία ἐκκλησία were already known through citations of this passage in Harpocr. (Gilbert, i 282).

ἐκτχειροτονέν] confirm the election

Επιχαιροτουάν] 'confirm the election of.' Harpoct. s. v. καταχειροτονία έθος δτι 'Αθτησις κατά τῶν φρχώττων καὶ κατά τῶν συκοφαυτῶν προβολὰς ἐν τῷ δήμω τίθεσθαι: el δὲ τις καταχειροτονηθείη, οῦτος εἰσήγετο els τὸ δικαστήριον. For this καταχειροτονία he refers to Theophrastus, ἐν δ΄ Νόμων. Cf. Schömann, De Comitiis, p. 231; Ant. 391 E. T. The term προ-

βολή is inaccurately applied to the επιχειροτονία (Meier and Schömann, note 389 Lips.; and Smith, Dict. Ant. ii 492 b).

περί σίτου] Χειι. Μεπ. iii 6, 13, πόσον χρόνον Ικανός έστιν ὁ έκ τῆς χώρας γιγνόμενος σῖτος διατρέφειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πόσου εἰς τὸν ένιαυτὸν ποραδείται.

μενος σίτος διατρέφειν την πόλιν, και πόσου είς τον ένιαυτον προσδείται.

περί φυλακης iδ. § 10, περί γε φυλακής τής χώρας οίδ' ότι ήδη σοι μεμέληκε, και οίσθα, όπόσαι τε φυλακαί έπίκαιροί είσι και όπόσαι μή, και όπόσοι τε φρουροί ίκαυροί είσι κτλ. This topic of deliberation is mentioned in Ar. Rhet. i 4 § 10, περί φυλακής τής χώρας μή λανθάνειν πῶς φυλάττεται κτλ.: in Pol. 1298 a 3 it is omitted. Cf. CIA ii 225 and 334, els φυλακήν τής χώρας (Gilbert i 282 n. 2).

ταξε είστηγελίας Such information might either be brought before the βουλή through the παιτάνεις το (as here) before

rds elσαγγελίαs] Such information might either be brought before the βουλή, through the πρυτάνεις; or (as here) before the ἐκκλησία, through the θεσμοθέται (c. 59). Cf. Hager in Smith, Dict. Ant. i 709, ii 1067.

τας απογραφάς τῶν δημευομένων] 'inventories of confiscated property.' Pol. 1298 a 3, περί...δημεύσεως. On ἀπογραφή see Meier and Schömann, pp. 304—6 Lins. and Dict. Ant. s. v.

-6 Lips., and Dict. Ant. s. v.

τds λήξεις τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων] s.e. the legal claims (or 'lists of suits') for the right of succession to inheritances, and for that of marrying the daughter of a citizen who has left no son to inherit his estate (56 § 6, κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων ἐπιδικασίαι). Meier and Schömann, pp. 791—4, 606—8, 616 Lips.; Dict. Ant. s.v. Heres, i 947 a and Epiclerus, p. 747 a.

clerus, p. 747 a.

δπως Ερημον γενόμενον] 'that all may have cognisance of any vacancy in an

μηδένα λάθη μηδέν ἔρημον γενόμενον. ἐπὶ [δὲ] τῆς ἔκτης πρυτα- ζ νείας πρός τοις είρημένοις και περί της οστρακοφορίας έπιχειροτονίαν διδόασιν, εί δοκεί ποιείν ή μή, καὶ συκοφαντών προβολάς τών 25 Άθηναίων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων μέχρι τριῶν ἐκατέρ[ων, κἄν τι]ς ύποσχόμενός τι μή ποιήση τῷ δήμφ. ἐτέραν δὲ ταῖς ἰκετηρίαις, 6

23 HPHMENOIC. ἐπιχειροτονίαν; idem habet lexici rhet. Cantabrig. codex a Dobreo exscriptus (K, H-L, B): προχειροτονίαν K-W quod ibidem a Meiero scriptum est. καν τις Blass, Frankel (H-L, K3); έαν τις K1; και έαν τις K-W. 25 EKATEPAN ? 26 ἐτέραν δὲ Κ, K-W, Β; ἐτέρα δ' ἐστί H-L, quod 'spatium non capit' (K3).

§ 5 ib. "έπὶ δὲ τῆς ἔκτης—ἐπιχειροτονίαν" (προχειροτονίαν edd.) δίδοσθαι εἰ δοκεῖ ἢ μή (Frag. 396², 436²). Hesych. κυρία ἐκκλ.: μία κυρία ἐκκλησία ἡγετο Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ἢ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιχειροτονεῦν ἔδει.

estate.' This clause refers only to the suits concerning κλήροι and ἐπίκληροι. Ερημος is a specially appropriate epithet for an estate deprived of its owner, or for children bereft of their father: Plat. Leg. 927, els opparà nal tonua uspliousir. The object of this public recital was partly to draw attention to any claims on the estate; partly to give due notice to all who were interested in establishing a right of succession.

§ 5. έκτης πρυτανείας] In B.C. 410/9, when the Attic year began on July 14, the sixth mouraveia began on Jan. 5, B.C.

400 (Clinton, Fasti, ii 347 = 418).

σστρακοφορίαs] On this occasion the point to be determined was whether there was a case for having recourse to ostracism; if so, a day was fixed for the final voting in the eighth *porarela (Lex. Cant. s. v. δστρακισμός; Schol. Arist. Eq. 851, and fragm. Lex. Dem. Aristocr.; cf.

Blass in *Hermes*, 1882, p. 152).

"A. Schmidt, *Gr. Chronologie*, p. 259, seeks to reconcile Aristotle and Philochorus. The date of the δστρακοφορία is explained by the desire to settle a dangerous political struggle before the opening of ous pontical struggle before the opening of spring, i.e. before the end of Anthesterion. The 6th prytany in an ordinary year is equivalent in general to Gamelion 1—Anthesterion 5. But Philochorus wished to embrace the case of an intercalary year in which the 7th prytany is equivalent in general to Gamelion 22—end of Anthesterion: 'before the eight prytany' means either in the 6th or 7th, for if the principle was that the ostracism was to be proposed in Gamelion or Anthesterion, it might fall in the 7th prytany of an intercalary year. The hypothesis is absurd, for absolutely no reason is suggested why the Athenians should have ostracised men later in the year if it chanced to be intercalary,-to say nothing of other obvious

objections" (Wyse).
συκοφαντών προβολάς] Α προβολή was a preliminary criminal information brought before the public assembly; if the people approved, a trial before an ordinary lawcourt ensued. This procedure was applied in the case of those who had accused the generals concerned in the battle of Arginusae (Xen. Hell. i 7 § 34). The case against Midias began with a προβολή. Cf. Schömann, De Comitiis, p. 231 ff., Meier and Schömann, p. 335 Lips., Dict. Ant.

ιί 402 a, 732 a.

For its application in the case of συκοφάνται, cf. Isocr. Antid. 314, κατά δὲ τούτων (κ. τῶν συκοφαντῶν ἐποίησαν) γραφαι μέν προς τους θεσμοθέτας, είσαγγελίας δ' είς την βουλήν, προβολάς δ' εν τῷ δήμω, and Aeschin. F. L. 145, τῶν συκοφαντῶν ώς κακούργων δημοσία προβολάς ποιούμεθα, also Pollux viii 46, προβολαί δὲ ήσαν καί

al τῆς συκοφαντίας γραφαί.
των μετοίκων] This implies that a μέτοικος could be charged with συκοφαν-Hence it follows that he was entitled to give information against public offenders. Ordinarily this right was confined to citizens (Plut. Sol. 18, εξήν τῷ δυναμένω καὶ βουλομένω κτλ.). A foreigner, who desired to accuse a person of any offence against the people, was required to obtain special permission for that purpose, £ôeta, Andoc. De Myst. § 15. Cf. Meier and Schömann, p. 330 Lips.

κάν τις ύποσχόμενος κτλ.] Dem. Lept. 100, έστι δὲ δήπου νόμος ὑμῶν, ἐάν τις ὑποσχόμενὸς τι τὸν δῆμον ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δικαστήριον έξαπατήση, τὰ έσχατα πάσχειν, and ib. 135 (where it is called a κόμος άρχαῖος and death is named as the penalty). The procedure began either with a προβολή (as in Xen. Hell. i 7 § 35) or an elσαγγελία, [Dem.] c. Timoth. 49 § 67. § 6. [κετηρίαιε] 'supplications,' formal ol. 23.] ἐν ἢ θεὶς ὁ βουλόμενος ἰκετηρίαν, [ὑπὲρ] ὧν ᾶν βούληται || καὶ ἰδίων καὶ δημοσίων διαλέξεται πρὸς τὸν δημον. αἱ δὲ δύο περὶ τῶν ἄλλων είσίν, εν αίς κελεύουσιν οι νόμοι τρία μεν ίερων χρηματίζειν, τρία δὲ κήρυξιν καὶ πρεσβείαις, τρία δ' όσίων. γρηματίζουσιν δ' ἐνίοτε 30

27 ΟΥΒΟΥΛΟ corr. κ. ωΝ κ: περί ων Kontos, Lipsius, Gertz, κ-w, sed spatium vix duarum litterarum capax vacuum relictum; ὑπὲρ (γ) ὧν H-L (B). ΔΕΞΕΤΔΙ: διαλέξεται Κ (K-W, B); διαλέγεται H-L. **30** κήρυξι Η-L. TPIA-ΔΟCΙωΝ suprascripto CYPAKOCIωΝ 'corruptumne ex Capa Δ ΟCΙωΝ ut Ar. τέτταρα δ' δοίων scripserit?' κ-w. χρηματίζουσι Η-L.

petitions.' For bels...ikernplay cf. Dem. de Cor. 107, ούχ Ικετηρίαν έθηκε τριήραρχος ούδεις πώποθ' ώς άδικούμενος παρ' ύμω, c. Timocr. 12, έθεσαν την Ικ. ων ήσαν τὰ χρήματα άνθρωποι, ib. 53; Aeschin. F. L. 15, Ικ. θέντες οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐδέοντο ὑμῶν. The lκετηρία (ράβδος) was an olive-branch bound with wool (Aesch. Suppl. 22, 192), which the 'suppliant,' or petitioner, held in his hand before depositing it on the altar in the place of public assembly. Such an application for the right of petition might also be laid before the βουλή, Aeschin. c. Timarch. 104. In Andoc. De Myst. 110-116, it is laid before the βουλή on the occasion of its session in the Έλευσίνιον, although presenting a petition in that place was forbidden, ib. 116. Such petitions might include applications for the recovery of civil rights, or for the remission of sentences; and, in general, for exemption from legal penalties. Cf. Dem. c. Timocr. 46, της άδεlas δοθείσης, and see Schömann, Ant. p. 397 E.T.; Gilbert, i 294; Dict. Ant. i 24 b,

al δλ δύο κτλ.] Pollux, who gives in viii 96 a paraphrase of the present passage and its context, describes the hearing of heralds and embassies as the business of the third exxlyola, while that of the fourth is repl lepwr kal dolwr. distinction is not in accordance with the text. The latter is confirmed by Aeschines Ι § 23, πως δέ κελεύει τους προέδρους χρηματίζει»; - προχειροτονείν - περί Ιερώ πατρίων καὶ κήρυξι καὶ προσβοίαις καὶ ὀσίων. The statement in Pollux may have originated in some confused and fragmentary reminiscence of the constitution in c. 30 § 5, where, in the order of business before the βουλή, the third place is assigned πρεσβείαι, after which they deliberate

 π ερί τ ών άλλων $(= \delta \sigma l \omega \nu)$. τ ρία] This implies that only three questions under each of the several headings were allowed to be discussed in each πρυτανεία. Similarly in § 5 only three συκοφαντών προβολαί could be brought against Athenians, and three against resident aliens. These limitations have been hitherto unknown.

Hartel, Studien über Urkundenwesen cites, as examples of business connected with ritual etc., being brought before the people έν leροῖs, CIA ii 325, 352 b, 373 b, and (a decree of the Κήρυκες and Εύμολπίδαι) 605. On p. 173 ff., he cites the following inscriptions: Αθήναιον vi 152 = Ditt. no. 101, Hicks no. 111) l. 55 (B.C. 347/6 on the *péσβes from the sons of Leucon), χρηματίσαι τους προέδρους οί ἀν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμιῳ τῷ ὀγδόŋ ἐπὶ δέκα πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ lερά. The privilege of access to the βουλή (and in most cases to the δημος) μετά τὰ lepá was granted to Aretus of Colophon (CIA i 36), to the Neowohiras (ib. 51 Suppl. p. 17), to the communities of Mytilene, Colophon to the communities of Mytherne, Computer and Cythnus (CIA ii 52 c, 164, 233), and to certain individuals named in 1 b, 34, 206, 209, 289, 316. Cf. Dem. 24 § 25 ff. lapar...orlar] 'things sacred and profane.' Gra, when contrasted with lapa, includes all that is untouched by divine concerts last would

law. Thus, in things concrete, lepà would include temples and their treasures; δσια, civic buildings and money belonging to the state. Dem. 24 § 9, των δερών μέν χρημάτων τους θεούς, των όσιων δε την πόλιν άποστερεί. The same terms are used to contrast religious and civil privileges, Dem. 23 § 65; 39 § 35; as well as the corresponding legal enactments, as in Lys. 30 § 25, των δοίων και των leρων αντιγραφείν (see Frohberger's Lysias, iii p. 172, and Ruhnken, Timaeus, s.v. δσια τὰ Ιδιωτικά, καὶ μὴ ἰερά).

κήρυξιν και πρεσβείαις] The construction changes from gen. to dat., as in Aeschin. 1 § 23, where the order in which the four kinds of business are mentioned is the same as in the text. Foreign envoys were usually introduced to the ἐκκλησία by the βουλή (Aeschin. F. L. § 58). Dem. 24 § 150, καὶ κήρυκος καί πρεσβείας. Cf. c. 30 § 5.
χρηματίζουστν-άνευ προχειροτονίας]

καὶ ἄνευ προχειροτονίας. προσέρχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοις πρυτάνεσιν πρώτον, και οι τας επιστολάς φέροντες 33 τούτοις ἀποδιδόασι.

44. "Εστι δ' επιστάτης των πρυτάνεων είς ο λαγών

32 πουτάνεσι Η-L. Β. 33 ἀποδιδόασιν Η-L.

ΤΕSΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. **ΧΙΙ**V §§ 1, 2 * Harp. ἐπιστάτης:...δύο elσl» οἱ καθιστάμενοι ἐπιστάται, ων ὁ μὲν ἐκ πρυτάνεων κληρούμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προέδρων, ων ἐκάτερος τίνα διοίκησιν διοικεῖ δεδήλωκεν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 13 Sakkelion, ἐπιστάτης: οῦτος ἐκ τῶν πρυτάνεων ἐκληροῦτο καὶ ἐπεστάτει "νύκτα καὶ ἡμέρα»" μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν δεύτερον τὸν αὐτὸν γίνεσθαι. τὰς δὲ κλεῖς τῶν "Ιερῶν ἐν οἶς" ἀπέκειτο τὰ χρήματα δεύτερον τὸν αὐτὸν γίνεσθαι. τὰς δὲ κλεῖς τῶν "lερῶν ἐν οἰς" ἀπέκειτο τὰ χρήματα και τὰ γράμματα τῆς πόλεως... Suidas (ε lexico Photiano) ἐπιστάτης: "τῶν πρωτάνεων εἶς ὁ λαχῶν" ἐπιστάτης ἐλέγετο. δἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστατῆσαι οὐκ ἔξῆν. φυλάσσει δὲ τοῦ ἰεροῦ τὰς κλεῖς ἐν ῷ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, ἔτι μὴν και τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγίδα (φυλάσσει—σφραγίδα Είγη. Μ. p. 364, 41). ἐπειδὰν δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις "συναγάγωσι τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμων," ὁ ἐπιστάτης "κληροῖ προέδρους ἐντέα," ἀπὸ "φυλῆς ἐκάστης" ἔνα "πλὴν τῆς πρυτανευούσης. και πάλιν" ἐκ τῶν ἐννέα τούτων ἐπιστάτην ἔνα και τὸ πρᾶγμα (sic) παραδίδωσιν. Τelephus ap. Eustath. in Od. p 455...γίνεται γάρ φησω 'λθήνησιν ἐκ τῶν πρυτάνεων εἰς δς "ἐπιστατεῖ νύκτα και ἡμέραν" μίαν, και πλείω Αθήνησιν ἐκ τῶν πρυτάνεων εἰς δς "ἐπιστατεῖ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν" μίαν, καὶ πλείω χρόνον οἰκ ἔξετατιν οὐδὲ "δις τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τάς τε κλεῖς «τῶν Ιερῶν» ἐν οῖς τὰ χρήματά εἰσι φυλάττει καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγῖδα. κληροῖ δὲ καὶ προέδρους ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλής ἔνα "πλὴν τῆς πρυτανευούσης καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἐπιστάτην ἔνα" (Frag. 397³, 437³). Pollux viii 96: ἐπιστάτης δ' ἐστὶν εῖς τῶν πρυτάνεων, ὁ κλήρω λαχών, δἰς δ' οὐκ ἔξεστι τον αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην. ἔχει δὲ οῦτος τῶν Ιερῶν τὰς κλεῖς ἐν οῖς τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ γράμματα. καὶ δταν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν δῆμων ἢ τὴν βουλὴν συνάγωσι», οὐτος ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς πρόεδρον ἔνα κληροῖ, μόνην τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν ἀφιείς (Frag. 394³, 434³).

'Sometimes the members of the exknyola take the initiative in bringing forward public business, without a preliminary vote (on the question whether it will discuss a proposal on the part of the βουλή, or accept it without discussion). Cf. Harpocr. s.v. προχειροτονία ... οπόταν της βουλης προβουλευσάσης είσφέρηται είς τον δήμον ή γνώμη πρότερον γίνεται χει-ροτονία έν τἢ έκκλησία πότερον δοκεί περί τών προβουλευθέντων σκέψασθαι τον δήμον, ή άρκει το προβούλευμα. In Dem. 24 § 12 (after a προβούλευμα) γενομένης έκκλησίας προυχειροτόνησεν ὁ δήμος. Cf. Aeschin. 1 § 23, and see Gilbert, i 276 n. 3.

The course described in the text would

The course described in the text would involve a departure from the principle laid down by Solon, μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι (Plut. Sol. 19). This principle was also virtually set aside when the βουλή, without arriving at any conclusion on its own part, referred a question to the ἐκκλησία direct. Thus, on the memorable evening when the messenger arrived with news of Philip's capture of Elateia, the ἐκκλησία had already begun to assemble before the βουλή had had time to draw up a preliminary decree; and, the business being urgent, the *puraress brought it immediately before the assembly (Dem. de

Cor. 170). It was also open to any member of the ἐκκλησία to take the in-It was also open to any itiative by moving to refer any question to the βουλή with a view to a προβού-λευμα being drawn up by the latter

(Gilbert, i 278 n. 3).

προσέρχονται τοις πρυτάνεστο πρώτου] Aeschin. F. L. 58, (the βουλή)
ταις ξενικαίς προσβείαις τὰς είς τὸν δημον
προσόδους προβουλεύει. On the capture of Elateia, the messenger brought the news ων τουν πρυτάνεις (de Cor. 169). Cf. Arist. Thesm. 654, ταῦτα τοῦς πρυτάνεσιν άγγελω. XLIV. The Public Assembly; con-

tinued.

ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων] In § 1. the fifth century the έπιστάτης των πρυ-Tarear actually presided at the meetings of the βουλή and ἐκκλησία, and took the sense of the meeting. Thus, in 415 B.C., we find Nicias addressing the President at the Assembly in the words rai où, & πρύτανι, ταθτα...έπιψήφιζε (Thuc. vi 14). Again, in 406, on the memorable occasion when Socrates refused to put the illegal proposal that the generals con-cerned with the battle of Arginusae should have judgment passed upon them collectively, his own tribe was the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα (Plat. Apol. 32 B), and he

οὖτος δ' ἐπιστατεῖ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε πλείω χρόνον οὔτε δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι. τηρεῖ δ' οὖτος τάς τε κλεῖς τὰς τῶν ἰερῶν ἐν οῖς τὰ χρήματ' ἐστὶν καὶ <τὰ> γράμματα τῆ πόλει, καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγίδα, καὶ μένειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῆ 5 θόλφ τοῦτόν <τ'> ἐστιν καὶ τριττὺν τῶν πρυτάνεων ῆν ἄν οὖτος 2 κελεύῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὰν συναγάγωσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ῆ τὸν δῆμον, οὖτος κληροῖ προέδρους ἐννέα, ἔνα ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης

ΧLIV 3 οὐκ ἔστι τλείω H-L. 8 κλεις (K-W, K³, B; cf. Meisterhans, p. 28²): κλη̂ς K^1 , H-L. 4 γράμματα $K: \langle \tau d \rangle$ γράμματα e gramm. K-W, H-L, B. 6 τοῦτόν $\langle \tau^2 \rangle$ K-W.

§§ 2, 3 * Harp. πρόεδροι έκληροῦντο τῶν πρυτάνεων καθ' ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν εἶς ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς πλὴν τῆς πρυτανευούσης, οἶτινες τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας διώκουν.... ὅτι δ' ὁ καλούμενος ἐπιστάτης κληροῖ αὐτούς, εἰρηκεν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. (= Suid. s. v.). Photius (Bekk. Am. 290) πρόεδροι: οἱ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας 'Αθήνησι διοικοῦντες <καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπιμελούμενοι add. Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 12>. εἶς ἐκληροῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτάνεων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ ἐκάστης ψυλῆς.

was επωτάτης for the day (Xen. Mem. i 1, 18, ἐπωτάτης ἐν τῷ δήμω γενόμενος). Cf. Gilbert, i 257 n. 3.

In the fourth century, on the institution of πρόεδροι with an ἐπιστάτης of their own, the duty of presiding in public was transferred to the ἐπ. τῶν προέδρων (Gilbert, ib. n. 5), while the ἐπ. τῶν πρυτάνεων discharged the duties stated in the text. As the latter remained in the θόλος for the day and night during which he was in office, he was necessarily precluded from presiding over the ἐπκλησία or the βουλή. On the institution of the πρόεδροι, see § 2.

πρόεδροι, see § 2.

τάς τα κλαϊς κτλ.] The keys of the public treasure kept in the δπισθόδομος on the Acropolis (Boeckh, 111 xx). The custody of the keys did not involve any responsibility for the actual management of the fund. The Arg. to Dem. Androt.

500 applies to the ἐπιστάτης language of less precision than that in the text: αὐτὸς τὰς κλεῖς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπιστεύετο καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα τῆς πόλεως. Ιτ adds: τὸ' οὖν μὴ ἐρασθῆ τυρανείδος, διὰ τοῦτο μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπισίουν αὐτὸν ἄρξαι.

τῶν ἰερῶν does not necessarily imply

that the public treasure was kept in more than one temple. Hence the pl. throws no light on the obscure question whether the δπισθόδομος of the 'old temple' of Athene between the Erechtheum and Parthenon was at this time still in use, as well as the Parthenon (see Miss Harrison's Mythology &c of Athens, p. 505—8). The 'old temple' was burnt in 406 B.C. (Xen. Hell. i 6), and the burning of the δπισθόδομος mentioned in Dem. 24

§ 136 may refer to the same event. In B.C. 353 the priestess transferred to the έπιστάται (probably the έπ. δημοσίων έργων) in the archonship of Thudemus certain 'gold ornaments' which were removed from the 'old temple' to the Parthenon (CIA ii 758 II 7). The public records (γράμματα) were preserved in the Μητρώον near the βουλευτήρων (Aeschin. 3 § 187; Paus. i 3, 5; Lycurg. Leocr. 66). Cf. Curtius, das Metroon, Gotha, 1868. δημοσίαν σφραγίδα] [Xen.] de Vect. 4, 21, dνδράποδα σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίω

δημοσίαν σφραγέδα] [Xen.] de Vect. 4, 21, dνδράποδα σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίω σημάπτρω. The seal probably represented an owl or a Gorgon's head. Cf. Curtius, Abh. d. Berlin Akad. 1874, p. 88 (Gilbert, i p. 256 n. 2). Both the badges above mentioned may be seen on the extant examples of δικαστών πυάκια (c. 63 § 4).

mentioned may be seen on the extanse examples of δικαστών πυάκια (c. 63 § 4).
§ 2. προέδρουκ] In the fifth century it was the πρυτάνεις who presided over the βουλή and ἐκκλησία in the person of one of their own body who was the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων and was necessarily a member of the πρυτανεύουσα φυλή. Thus, in CIA ii 1 δ, we have two decrees of the year of Eucleides, B.C. 403—2. (1) was passed in the prytany of the tribe Pandionis, and the ἐπιστάτης was of the deme of τῶα, which belonged to that tribe; (2) in the prytany of the tribe Erechtheis, and the ἐπιστάτης was of the deme of Κηδαί belonging to that tribe. As a general rule the deme of the ἐπ. τῶν πρυτάνεων is not specified; it necessarily belongs to the presiding tribe.

In the fourth century the wpbedpot came into existence. The emoratrys rûn mpu-rdneum was deprived of his preeminence

πλην της πρυτανευούσης, και πάλιν έκ τούτων έπιστάτην ένα, και 10 παραδίδωσι τὸ πρόγραμμα αὐτοῖς οι δὲ παραλαβόντες της τ' 3

10 πρόγραμμα corrupte mutatum in πράγμα habet Suidas s. v. ἐπιστάτης. K-W, B; ol K, H-L.

and obtained in its place the privilege of appointing by lot nine *poeopoi, one from each of the tribes except his own, and of drawing lots among those nine for one of them to act as the ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων. Under this system, the έπ. των προέδρων was necessarily a member of some other than the πρυτανεύουσα φυλή. In CIA ii 17 b (Ditt. no. 64), in the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 378/7, though the \(\pi\rho\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\rho\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsi the ἐπιστάτης is uncertain; but in CIA ii 17 (Ditt. no. 63), in the same year, in the prytany of the tribe Hippothontis, the ἐπωτάτης is of the deme "Αθμονον which belongs to a different tribe, Cecropis. In ii 50 (Ditt. 75), B.C. 368/7, in the prytany of the tribe Aeantis, the the pytany of the tribe Pandionis, the function in the prytany of the tribe Pandionis, the the prystany of the tribe I antonia, the function is belongs to another tribe. Between the years 378 and 320 we have in all 24 decrees giving the name of the prytany and the president, and in no case does the deme of the president belong to the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα. For the years between Eucleides and Nausinicus (403-378) there is at present no evidence; but it is probable that the change came into force in the latter year, a date of special importance in the financial history of Athens. The aim of the change was clearly to give all the tribes a concurrent share in the superintendence of the Boult and ἐκκλησία, instead of each tribe having in turn the sole superintendence for the duration of its own prytany. (See esp. Prof. W. W. Goodwin's paper in Trans. of the American Philol. Association, 1885, vol. xvi 165—175.)

In the fifth century the formula for

describing the president was o deira eneστάτει. From 378 to 347 the same formula is used to denote the ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων, side by side with a new formula, των προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν ὁ δεῖνα. From 347 onwards the last alone is found (Gilbert, i 257 n. 5).

It was once supposed that the 50 πρυ raren were divided into five groups of ten πρόεδροι holding office for one-fifth of a prytany (generally for seven days) and appointing one of their number to serve as emiorarys for each day. This supposition rested on the Scholia to Aeschin.

c. Ctes. 39 and Dem. p. 594, 5, and on the 2nd Arg. to Dem. Androt. p. 590. It was accepted in an early work of Schömann (De Comities Ath., 1819), where, in the endeavour to reconcile the conflict of evidence, it was suggested that there were two sets of $\pi \rho \phi e \delta \rho \phi$ in existence at the same time, (1) the *proedri contribules*, belonging to the same tribe as the $\pi \rho \nu$ ráress, and forming a subdivision of that body; and (2) the proedri non-contribules, belonging to a different tribe to that of the πρυτάνεις.

Nearly three centuries earlier it was held by Sigonius (1529—1584) in his De Atheniensium Republica, that wherever the mpheopos were mentioned, they were the nine who were not of the same This opinion was accepted by tribe. K. F. Hermann (1843), who noticed further that the πρόεδροι are never mentioned until after the time when one of the mourtoess used to preside in the Assembly. Hence the mpheopol (non-contribules) were a later institution, and the proedri contribules were a merely ima-ginary body. Schömann's earlier view survived in Grote, c. 31, iii 118, but it had meanwhile been abandoned by Schömann himself, in favour of Hermann's view which is conclusively confirmed by the text. See Schömann, Ant. p. 377 E.T.

Some confusion has arisen from the fact that Harpocration, s. v. πρόεδροι, implies that the \(\pi \rho \epsilon \rho \ text, which he professes to follow, really describes them as appointed by lot for each meeting of the βουλή or ἐκκλησία. The most accurate citation of the text is that preserved by Telephus ap. Eustath. on Od. 17, 455, and by Suidas, s. v. επιστάτης, art. 2. On the general question see Goodwin l. c., and Gilbert i 257 (with the authorities there quoted); also Caillemer on Boule in Daremberg and Saglio, i 740—1, and Chavannes on Epistates, ib.iii 700; and Wayte in Smith's Dict. Ant. i 320—1, and on Dem. Timorr. § 21. The most accurate citation of the text is

Timocr. § 21.

ἐπιστάτην] sc. των προέδρων. He is mentioned as presiding (1) at the βουλή in Aeschin. c. Timarch. 104, βουλευτής de και προεδρεύων, and in CIA ii 168 (B.C. 333) των προέδρων έπεψήφιζεν, and similarly in ii 179 (B.C. 325) about the time εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ χρηματίζειν προτιθέασιν, καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας κρίνουσιν, καὶ τά $<\tau$ '> ἄλλα πάντα διοικοῦσιν, καὶ τοῦ $[\tau']$ ἀφεῖναι κύριοί εἰσιν. καὶ ἐπιστατῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστιν πλέον ἡ ἄπαξ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, προεδρεύειν δ' ἔξεστιν ἄπαξ ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανείας ἑκάστης.

ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀρχαιρεσίας στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχῶν ἐν τἢ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καθ' ὅ τι ἂν τῶ δήμω δοκῆ· ποιοῦσι δ' οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἔκτην πρυτανεύοντες ἐφ' ὧν

. DEIK(AI).

11 Δειχρηματίζει»: δεί χρηματίζει» κ, Η-L, Β: χρηματίζει» δεί κ-W.

13 τ' delent Richards, Blass, κ-W, Β; in δ' mutat Hude;
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Rutherford (Η-L).

14 ἔξεστι Η-L.

πλέον Η-L, κ³, Meisterhans, p. 120³.

16 Δεκ(Δι)ΔεκΑρχ: delevi Δεκ e Δεκ(Δι)
male iterato exortum, idem fecerunt Blass, Fränkel, κ-W, Η-L, κ³; ewiam in versu
propinquo (18) dittographiae vitium denuo apparet μετατημη (μετά τὴν).

when this treatise was written; (2) at the εκκλησία, id. c. Cles. 39, τον δ' επιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμω, F. L.82, (Demosthenes) λαγχάνει προεδρείειν and (84) άναστὰς ἐκ τῶν προέδρων οὐκ ἔφη τὸ ψήφισμ' ἐπιψηφιεῖν, cf. ib. 68.

το πρόγραμμα] 43 § 3, προγράφουσι. § 3. εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμελοῦνται] In the previous century the same duties had been performed by the πρυτάνεις with the aid of the τοξόται: Arist. Thesm. 923, 920—946, and esp. 854, el μη κοσμίας ἔξεις ἔως ἀν τῶν πρυτάνεών τις φανῆ. The πρόεδροι as well as the πρυτάνεις are named in Aeschin. c. Cles. 4, τῆς τῶν ἡητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκότι κρατάν οἰθ' οἰ πρυτάνεις οὐθ' οἰ προέδροι οὐθ' η προεδρεύουσα ψιλή. The phrase ἐπιμελεῖσθαι εὐκοσμίας is

The phrase έπιμελεῖσθαι εὐκοσμίας is found in Pol. 1299 b 16 and 19 (cf. 1231 b 14 and 20); also in Isocr. Areap. 37.

ποστιθίαστν] 48 § 2; Xen. Mem. iv

προτιθίωτως] 48 § 2; Xen. Mem. iv 2, 3, της πόλεως λόγον προτιθείσης. In Aeschin. F. L. 65 we have the exceptional proposal that, at the first of two έκκλησίαι, there should be a debate; and that, at the second, the πρόεδροι should put the question to the vote, λόγον δὲ μη προτιθέναι. In the fifth century this was the duty of the πρυτάνεις. Thuc. vi 14, ω πρότανι...γνώμας προτίθει αὖθις, iii 36, 4; 42, I.

iii 36, 4; 42, 1.
χειροτονίαξι Aeschin. c. Ctes. 3, &ν
κτις τῶν άλλων βουλευτῶν όντων λαχῷ
κληρούμενος προεδρεύειν και τὰς υμετέρας
χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύη κτλ.

αφείναι] Arist. Ach. 173, οι γάρ πρυτάνεις λύουσι την έκκλησίαν. Dem. Timocr. § 26 (during the Κρόνια), αφειμένης της βουλής.

έπιστατήσαι] sc. των προέδρων. In

Dittenberger, Inser. nos. 98 and 101, we have two decrees in the same prytany of B.C. 347-6, in both of which θεδφιλος 'Αλιμοδσιος έπεστάτει. It was rightly inferred by A. Schaefer that both were passed at the same meeting of the ἐκκλησία. The text shews that no one could be ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων more than once in each year.

των προεορών more than once in each year.

§ 4. στρατηγών] 61 § 1. ἱππάρχων, 61 § 4. τῶν ἀλλων, 61 §§ 3, 5. Cf. Aeschin. c. Ctcs. 13, (ἀρχὰs) ἀs ὁ δῆμος εἰωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἰππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούσων ἀρχάς, also Xen. Μεπ. iii 4, 1; Dem. 23

§ 171; Plut. Phoc. 8.

of μετα την ξικτην πρυτανεύοντες]
The author of the 2nd Arg. to Dem.
Androt. p. 590 erroneously states that
the dρχαιρεσίαι fell on the last four days
of the Attic lunar year of 354 days.
But, as observed by Schömann, Ant.
390 E. T., they could not possibly have
been held so late in the year: they must
necessarily have taken place much earlier,
so as to allow time for the δοκιμασία.
It has been inferred by Köhler (Monatsb.
d. Akad. d. W., Berlin, 1866, p. 343),
that they were held in the first ἐκκλησία
of the ninth prytany. This inference is
drawn from an inscription of the time of
the 12 tribes (after B.C. 307), CIA ii
416, in which the dρχαιρεσίαι are fixed
κατά την μαντείαν for the 22nd day of
Munichion (early in May), corresponding
(in the time of the 10 tribes) to the beginning of the ninth prytany (see also
Gilbert's Beiträge, pp. 5—13, and Busolt
in Müller's Handbuch, IV i 152). The
text shews that the election was held in
the seventh prytany. This would begin

αν εύσημία γένηται. δεί δὲ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ 20 τούτων.

45. ή δε βουλή πρότερον μεν ήν κυρία και χρήμασιν ζημιώσαι καὶ δήσαι καὶ ἀποκτείναι. — καὶ Λυσίμαχον αὐτής ἀγαγούσης

> 19 ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ Κ, Η-L, Β: γίνεσθαι Κ-W. **ΧLV** 1 χρήμασι Η-L. 2 post άποκτ 2 post dworreiras lacunam indicant K-W.

three days before the end of Gamelion (the first six prytanies containing 214 and the first seven months 217 days), and would mainly correspond to the month Anthesterion (middle of February to middle of March).

This statement has a direct bearing on the story of Sophocles being appointed στρατηγόι against Samos & c owing to the success of his Antigone (on the authorities for the story, see Jebb's Introd. p. xliii). If the play was produced at the Great Dionysia (10—15 Elaphebolion = March-April), i.e. late in March, B.C. 441, the ordinary election of στρατηγοί for the ensuing official year had already taken place a month before. We must therefore either infer that the story is false; or that the date of the election was exceptionally delayed in that year owing to inauspicious weather; or that, at that time, the dρχαιρεσίαι fell later than was the case in B.C. 325. If the election of Sophocles took place a month before the Sophocles took place a month before the Great Dionysia, and was prompted by the success of the Antigone, the play must have been performed at the Great Dionysia of the previous year, in which case eleven months must have elapsed before the election. But by that time the impression produced by the play would have become appreciably weaker, and the have become appreciably weaker, and the story would have lost its point. On the bearing of the date of election on the 'de-position of Pericles,' see Mr Marchant in Class. Rev. v 165.

everyμα] 'on whatsoever days there are signs of fair weather.' εύσημία is found in Hippocr. 1170; εύσημος in Meteor. p. 363 a 27, γέγραπται τοῦ μᾶλ-λον εὐσήμως έχειν ὁ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος κύκλος.

The proviso is one of practical importance in the case of a large meeting on an open hill-side like that of the Pnyx. Even when the ordinary ἐκκληolas came to be held in the theatre of Dionysus (e.g. in 290 B.C.), the Pnyx continued to be the scene of the dpxapeolai (Pollux viii 133).

When the δημος was desiring to elect Cleon as στρατηγός, there was thunder and lightning, an eclipse of the moon and afterwards one of the sun, Arist. Nub. 581 6 (and Schol.). Presumably amid all these portents the election was deferred. In Thuc. v 45 ult. an exxlyola is adjourned because of an earthquake. Even a drop of rain was sufficient to be regarded as a 'sign from heaven,' διοσημία 'στι και barls βέβληκέ με (Ach. 171). Cf. Suidas, s.v. προβούλευμα κτλ.] In accordance with

the general principle ordained by Solon, Plut. Sol. 19, μηδέν έᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον els έκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι.

XLV-XLIX. The functions of the Council.

ΧΙΥ § 1. κυρία-ζημιώσαι] βουλη was not competent to inflict a higher fine than 500 dr., Dem. c. Energ. p. 1152 § 43, (after an eloayyella) έν τῷ διαχειροτονεῦ ἢν ἡ βουλὴ πότερα δικαστηρίω παραδοίη ἢ ζημιώσειε ταις πεντακοσίαις, όσου ήν κυρία κατά τον νόμον. In a decree drawn up about 446 B.C. any encroachment on the Πελαργικόν is punished by a fine of 500 dr., to be inflicted after an elσαγγελία has been brought before the βουλή by the archon βασιλεύς (Ditt. no.

13, 59). ອີກິດໝ Arist. Thesm. 943, toote To βουλŷ σε δεῦν. A limitation to this right is mentioned in the oath taken by the Council in Dem. c. Timocr. 144, ovoè δήσω 'Αθηναίων οὐδένα, δε αν έγγυητάς τρείς οιρο Μοηραίων σουτένο, οι ων τρουριστάς τρεις τις έπι προδοσία της πόλεως ή έπι καταλύσει του δήμου συνιών άλφ ή τέλος τι πράμενος ή έγγυησάμενος ή έκλέγων μη καταβάλλη. It is there stated that this oath was in the interest of untried persons to give them every opportunity for preparing for their defence. In § 148 we are told that 'Solon' made the Council aupor rol differ, i.e. did not grant them an absolute right of im-prisonment, but a limited right subject to proper bail being found. In certain prisonment, but a limited right subject to proper bail being found. In certain cases, however, bail was not allowed, and in these the Council's right was not barred. See also 22 § 2 and 48 § 1.

Cleophon was imprisoned by the Council and then handed over to the directory (I was a first the council and then and the council and then the council and then the council and the council and then the council and the cou

dicastery (Lys. 30 § 10); he was con-demned to death by a court consisting of

ώς τον δήμιον *καὶ αὐθημερον* ἤδη μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν Εὐμηλίδης ὁ ᾿Αλωπεκῆθεν ἀφείλετο, οὐ φάσκων δεῖν ἄνευ δικαστηρίου
γνώσεως οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθυήσκειν καὶ κρίσεως ἐν δικα- 5
στηρίφ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Λυσίμαχος ἀπέφυγεν καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν
ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου, ὁ δὲ δήμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλής τὸ θανατοῦν
καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦν, καὶ νόμον ἔθετο, ἄν τινος ἀδικεῖν
ἡ βουλὴ καταγνῷ ἢ ζημιώση, τὰς καταγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιζημιώσεις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἀν οἱ 10
δικασταὶ ψηφίσωνται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

24.]2 κρίνει δὲ || τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ βουλὴ τὰς πλείστας, μάλισθ' ὅσαι· χρήματα διαχειρίζουσιν· οὐ κυρία δ' ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμος εἰς

8 καθήμενον ήδη μέλλοντα dποθν. K, K-W, H-L; καθήμενον ήδη < καl> μέλλοντα dποθν.] B Mayor: legendum fortasse και αθθημερον ήδη μέλλοντα άποθν. cf. Aeschin. 1 § 16 (lex) παραδοθείς τοις ένδεκα τεθνάτω αύθημερόν. 3, 5 ATTOONHCKEIN: ἀποθνήσκειν K-W, H-L, K3, B, cf. Meisterhans, p. 1412, n. 1234. 3 EYMHXEIAHC (B coll. Φιλομηλείδης Od. ρ 134): Εύμηλίδης K-W, H-L, K3. 4 αλωπεθηκέν corr. K. $\delta < \tau \psi > \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota \psi$ K-W, idem in c. 46, 10 et c. 55, $\gamma \tau \psi$ non inserunt. φυγε H-L. εccen: έσχε Β, είχεν Κ. δ έάν H-L. 6 dré-9 ἐπιζημιώσεις ECKEN: EEXE B, elker K. φυγε H·L (nusquam alibi inventum) K, K-W, B: ζημώσεις Wyse, H-L. 18 ECTOECIMOC?; ἐφέσιμος Κ, Κ-W, Β; έτ' ἐφέσιμος H-L.

the Council and a dicastery, ib. 11, and 13 § 12 (Newman).

Αυσίμαχον] possibly the person of that name mentioned in Xen. Hell. ii 4, 8, (the Thirty) Αυσίμαχον τὸν ἴππαρχον ἐκέ-λευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῦς ἔνδεκα. On the restoration of the democracy his services to the Thirty may well have been remembered against him.

have been remembered against him.

και αύθημερον - αποθηίσκειν] Hist.

An. 603 a 15, 4ποθηήσκουσι αύθημερον,
398 a 35, 568 b 21.

One Sosias had a similarly narrow

One Sosias had a similarly narrow escape: Antiphon 5 § 70, ο ἀνὴρ ἀπήχθη (ΜSS, ἀνήχθη Dobree, ἀπελύθη Καγεετ, ἀπηλλάχθη Baiter; ἀφείλετο, in the text, suggests ἀφηρέθη) ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παραδεδομένος ήδη τοῖς ἔνδεκα.
Εὐμηλίδης] The only passage where the name is found, as that of an Athenian,

Εύμηλίδης] The only passage where the name is found, as that of an Athenian, is [Dem.] 40 § 11, τω παιδί τοῦ Εύμηλίδου. The date of the speech is B.C. 362.

αφείλετο] here 'rescued him.' It is

dφελετο] here 'rescued him.' It is used below in another sense: 'deprived of the power of.'

δ άπο του τυπάνου] 'the man who escaped the bastinado.' Schol. Arist. Plut. 476, τύμπανα...ξύλα, δι' ὧν τοὺς καταδίκους έτυπτον, and Photius, s. υτύμπανον. Cf. Lys. 13 § 56, ὧν ἀνδροφόνον δντα—τῷ δημίω παρέδοτε καὶ ἀπετυμπανίσθη, ib. 67, 68; and Dem. 9 § 61. This form of punishment was inflicted on

κακούργοι, including ἀνδροφόνοι. This confirms the conjecture that Lysimachus was arraigned for taking part in causing citizens to be put to death under the Thirty (Xen. l. c.). The restriction in the powers of the βουλή mentioned in this chapter has already been noticed in more general terms in c. 41, al τῆτ βουλῆτ κρίσειε εἰν τὸν δημον ἐληλόθασιν, a passage referring to the time subsequent to the archonship of Eucleides. Even before that time the βουλή did not necessarily enforce its right of inflicting penalties, but sometimes exercised the option of referring the case to a law-court, cf. CIA i 59, (τὴν βουλήν) κολάζειν τῶν δωροδοκησάντων καταψηφιζομένην, καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον αὐτοὺς εἰσάγειν, καθότι ἐν δοκῆ αὐτῆ.

èπιζημιώστες] not found elsewhere. τὰ ἐπιζημιά is used of 'penalties' in Dem. and Plato; ἐπιζημιοῦν, in Xen. Hell. v 2 § 22; ἐπιζημίωμα, in Pollux viii 149.

and Plato; επιζημιουν, in Aen. 1911.

ν 2 § 22; ἐπιζημίομα, in Pollux viii 149.
Θεσμοθέτας] 59.
§ 2. κρίνει τὰς ἀρχάς] Antiphon, 6
§ 49, πυθόμενος αὐτοὺς (the πορισταί,
πωληταί, πρακτόρες and ὑπογραμματεῖς)
δεικά καὶ σχέτλια ἐργάζεσθαι, εἰσῆγον εἰς
τὴν Βουλήν.

την βουλήν.

ἐφέσιμος] [Dem.] 7 § 9, ταῦτα δὲ κύρια ἔσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν κυρωθβ...ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ὡς ἐαυτὸν ἐπανενεχθῆ, ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν γενομένην γνῶσιν ὡς ἐαυτὸν ποιούμενος. Lucian,

τὸ δικαστήριον. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἰσαγγέλλειν ἡν αν 15 βούλωνται των άρχων μη χρησθαι τοις νόμοις. ἔφεσις δὲ καὶ ι τούτοις έστλυ είς τὸ δικαστήριου, έὰν αὐτῶν ή βουλή καταγνώ.

δοκιμάζει δε και τους βουλευτάς τους τον υστερον ενιαυτον 3 βουλεύσοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἢν άποδοκιμάσαι κυρία, νῦν δὲ <καί> τούτοις ἔφεσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὸ 20 δικαστήριον.

τούτων μεν οὐν ἄκυρός ἐστιν ἡ βουλή. προβουλεύει δ' εἰς τὸν 4 δημον, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδὲν ἀπροβούλευτον οὐδ' ὅ τι ἄν μὴ προγράψωσιν οί πρυτάνεις ψηφίσασθαι τῷ δήμω κατ' αὐτὰ γὰρ ταθτα ένοχός έστιν ο νίκησας γραφή παρανόμων.

έπιμελείται δὲ καὶ τῶν πεποιημένων τριήρων καὶ τῶν σκευών και τών νεωσοίκων, και ποιείται καινάς [δέ] τριήρεις ή

19 < καί> τούτοις K-W, Β. XLVI 2 8è secl. K (edd.).

23 κατά γάρ ταῦτα Kontos, H-L; v. Dem. 20 § 96.

Imaginibus 15, ἐφέσιμον ... δίκην.

Pollux viii 125, (κρίσιν) ἐφέσιμον.
ἐσαγγέλλειν] probably here used in
the general sense of bringing to the knowledge of the Council, without reference to the special process called είσαγγελία. The procedure in the latter case is described by Dr Hager in Dict. Ant. s. v.,

i 709 a. § 3. δοκιμάζει—βουλευτάς] Dem. Mid. 111, βουλεύειν μου λαχόντος δοκιμαζομένου III, βουλεύευ μου Λαχοντος συκτιαι υμετοικατηγύρει, Nraer. 3, λαγχάνει βουλεύειν Απολλόδωρος δοκιμασθείς δὲ και όμόσας τὸν νόμιμον δρκον κτλ. Two of the speeches of Lysias are concerned with the δοκιμασία of a βουλευτής: Or. 31, κατά Φίλωνος, is a speech for the prosecution; Or. 16, ὑπέρ Μαντιθέου, for the defence. § 9 of the latter speech shews the wide scope of the scrutiny in such cases: èv dè rais donimadiais dinaion elvai παντός τοῦ βίου λόγον διδόναι.

άρχοντας] Lys. Or. 26, κατ' Εὐάνδρου, is a speech in accusation of one who was appointed by lot to be First Archon in The case was heard on the last day but one of the preceding official year (midsummer, B.C. 382). The next day was a public holiday, and, in the event of his rejection, an appeal was impossible: § 6, δικαστήριον...ού δυνατόν πληρωθήνωι. Dem. Lept. 90 asserts that the invitor exchange water went a double the junior archons underwent a double δοκιμασία:--τούς θεσμοθέτας δίς δοκιμασθέντας άρχειν έν τε τἢ βουλῆ καὶ παρ ὑμῖν έν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. The δοκιμασία before the βουλὴ is called an ἀνάκρισις in Dem. Eubul. 66; it is described as affecting all

the archons (ib. 70). Cf. c. 55 § 2. § 4. ούδὶν ἀπροβούλευτον] Plut. Sol.

19, quoted on c. 44 ult.
προγράψωσιν] 43 § 3 ult.
γραφή παρανόμων] Here the illegality turns on a point of form. Among cases in point are the motion of Androtion to award a crown to the outgoing βουλή (Dem. Androt. 5); and that of Thrasybulus to grant Lysias the citizenship of

Athens (note on 40 § 2).

XLVI § 1. των τριήρων] Gilbert, i 261 n. 4.

τῶν σκευῶν] esp. of 'naval stores and engines,' and 'the tackling of ships.' engines, and the tacking of snips.

[Dem.] 47, c. Euerg. § 19, σκεύη τριηρικά.

Χen. Oec. viii 12, δια πολλών... ξυλίνων σκευών ('oars,' 'rudders,' 'masts,' σκευών ('oars, 'rudders,' 'masts,' 'yards') καὶ πλεκτῶν ('cables') ὁρμίζεται ναῦς καὶ ἀνάγεται, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ τῶν κρεμαστῶν ('sails' and 'rigging') καλουμένων πλεῖ. The specifications of the famous σκευοθήκη in the Peiraeus, designed by the architect Philon under the administration of Lycurgus, are still extant (CIA ii 1054 = Ditt. no. 352). This σκευοθήκη was intended τοις κρεμαστοίς σκεύεσιν, and (though not finished) was probably already in use in B.C. 329, a few years before the text was written. Cf. Dürrbach, Lycurgue, pp. 64—73.

τῶν νεωσοίκων] Strictly speaking the νεωσοίκων are the sheds in which the

ships are laid up, and νεώρια the dockyards; but the terms are sometimes interchanged (cf. Dict. Ant. ii 206 a, and Dürrbach, l.c. p. 65, n. 3). In [Xen.] de Rep. Ath. iii 2, among the duties of

τετρήρεις, όποτέρας αν ό δημος χειροτονήση, και σκεύη ταύταις καλ νεωσοίκους. γειροτονεί δ' αρχιτέκτονας ὁ δήμος ἐπλ τὰς ναθς αν δε μή παραδώσιν εξειργασμένα ταῦτα τη νέα βουλή, την 5 δωρεάν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν. ἐπὶ γὰρ της ὕστερον βουλης 1. 25.] λαμβάνουσιν. || ποιείται δὲ τὰς τριήρεις, δέκα ἄνδρας ἐξ ά[πάντων] 2 έλομένη τριηροποιούς. Εξετάζει δε καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ δημόσια πάντα, κάν τις άδικειν αὐτη δόξη τώ τε δήμω τοῦτον [ἀπ]οφαίνει καλ καταγνόντος παραδίδωσι δικαστηρίφ.

7 ἀ[πάντων] Κ, H-L: ἐαυτῆς Wayte, α[ὑτῶν] K-W, B coll. 48, 13. 5 éàs H-I_ Naber (H-L, idem τψ non addunt in c. 45, 5 et c. 55, 7).

the βουλή we find νεωρίων έπιμεληθήναι. the βουλή we find νεωρίων επιμελήθημαι. From B.C. 347 to 323 an annual property tax amounting to ten talents was raised for the building τῶν νεωσοίκων καὶ τῆς σκευσθήκης (CIA ii 270).

καινώς τριήρεως Twenty, according to Diod. xi 43. In B.C. 356/5 the Council failed to build the requisite number of

Diod. xi 43. In B.C. 356/5 the Council failed to build the requisite number of new triremes; Androtion nevertheless moved that they should receive the customary compliment of a golden crown; and for this he was attacked under a

γραφή παρανόμων (Dem. Androt. 8).

ή τετρήρεω] In the list of the fleet for B.C. 330/29 eighteen quadriremes are mentioned: CIA ii 807 δ 76—79, τετρήρεις δ' έμ μὲν τοῖς νεωρίοις παρέδομεν ΓΙΙΙ, έμ πλῷ δὲ Δ. For the three years between B.C. 334/3 (ib. 804) and the above date the lists are missing. The earliest notice of quinqueremes is in B.C. 325/4, when seven are mentioned, ib. 800 d 90, the list for the previous year (ib. 808 d 36) giving quadriremes, as well as triremes, but no quinqueremes is mentioned in c. 54 § 7. Hence the date of the treatise falls after B.C. 328, and before 325, the year in which quinqueremes appear for the first time (C. Torr in Athenaeum, Feb. 7, 1891; and Lipsius in Leipzig Verhandlungen, 1891,

p. 45).

dpxvfkrovas] 'naval architects,' or 'marker ship-builders.' These are not mentioned elsewhere, but the names of 35 such persons are known to us from inscriptions (Boeckh, Seeurkunden, pp. 93—100). The dρχιτέκτων of Dem. de Cor. § 28 is a different kind of official,—

the manager of the Theatre of Dionysus.

παραδώσιν] οἱ βουλευταί.

Τὴν δωρεάν]

Dem. Androt. § 8, (νόμου) οὐκ ἐῶντος ἐξ-

είναι μή ποιησαμένη τη βουλή τας τριήρεις αιτήσαι την δωρεάν (=τον στέφανον, ib.

rpuporosois] In Dem. Androt. 17 the treasurer of this body is mentioned: ούχ ή βουλή γέγονεν αίτία τοῦ μή πε-ποιήσθαι τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν τριηροποιῶν ταμίας ἀποδράς ὥχετο ἔχων πένθ' ἡμιτά-The reference to the τριηροποιοί λαντα. in Aeschin. c. Ctes. 30 implies that they were an άρχη αίρετη: ους αί φυλαί και αί τριττύες και οι δήμοι έξ έαυτών αίρουνται τὰ δημόσια χρηματα διαχειρίζειν. This last passage suggests that they were chosen by the tribes out of candidates nominated by the demes: the text implies that the choice rested with the βουλή. Probably the latter ratified, as a matter of course, the selection made by the tribes. Among similar commissioners elected by the tribes, may be mentioned the responsed and the rappones of; the dποστολείς were certainly elected eξ 'Αθηναίων ἀπάντων (Gilbert, i 250).

§ 2. οἰκοδομήματα] The inspection of public by buildings has not hitherto bean

public buildings has not hitherto been known to be one of the functions of the Bould. But it is naturally connected with their duty of letting Tepern Kal lepa

και οίκίας, [Xen.] de Vect. iv 19.

αποφαίνει] 'formally denounces,'
'reports.' Ant. de Chor. 9, αποφήνασι
και εξελέγξασιν, Lys. 20 § 7 (οί κατήγοροι) άδικοῦντας ἀποφαίνουσι, and Dinarch. c. Dem. 48, κάμοῦ κατέγνω πρότερον ή βουλή (the Areopagus), and ib. 49, ἀπέφηνεν ή βουλή.

παραδίδωσι δικαστηρίω] CIA i 59, (Β.C. 410), [τὴν βουλὴν βουλεῦσ]αι ἐν τῷ πρώτη ἔδ[ρα ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρί]ω καὶ κο-λάξειν τῶν δωρο[δοκησάντων καταψ]ηφιζομένην, και els δικασ[τήριον αύτους είσα-γει]ν, καθότι δυ δοκ η αύτη: τ[ων δε δικαστων τούς] παρόντας ἀποφαίνειν, κτλ.

47. συνδιοικεί δε και ταις άλλαις άρχαις τὰ πλείστα. πρώτον μεν γαρ οι ταμίαι της 'Αθηνας είσι μεν δέκα, κλ[ηροῦται] δ' είς έκ της φυλής, έκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων κατά τον Σόλωνος νόμ[ον (ἔτι γὰρ ὁ ν]όμος κύριός ἐστιν), ἄρχει δ' ὁ λαχών κᾶν πάνυ πένης 5 η. παραλαμβάνου[σι δὲ τ]ό τε ἄγαλμα τῆς `Αθηνᾶς καὶ τὰς Νίκας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ χρ[ήματ]α ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς.

XLVII 2 κληρούται δ' Gertz (edd.): κληρωτοί K^1 . 2, φυλῆς Wyse coll. 61, 2;—ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς <ἐκάστης > Bury. δημόσια Phot. et Bekk. An.' κ-w. 2, 7 κληρούνται δ els et eκάστης 6 'χρήματα lερά τε και

ΤΕSTIM. § 1 " Harp. ταμίαι :... ἀρχή τις παρ' Αθηναίοις ήν οἱ ταμίαι δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν. παραλαμβάνουσι δ' οὐτοι "τό τε ἄγαλμα—βουλής," ως φησιν 'Αρ. έν 'Αθ. πολ. Phot. (Bekk. Απ. 306, 7): ἄρχοντές εἰσιν 'Αθήνησι κληρωτοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμεων, οἱ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰερῷ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χρήματα ἰερὰ τε καὶ δημόσια φυλάττουσιν, ἀλλά καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς < καὶ τὸν κόσμον add. Bekk. Απ. l. c. >. Pollux viii 97: ταμίαι της θεοῦ κληρωτοί μεν εκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων ήσαν, τὰ δε χρήματα παρελάμβανον της βουλής παρούσης.

XLVII § 1. οἱ ταμίαι τῆς 'Αθηνάς]
The full title is ταμίαι τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων
τῆς 'Αθηναίας. This is found in the inτης 'Αθηναίας. ventories of the treasures in the Parthenon, the Hecatompedos and the Pronaos (CIA i 117—175), and in the records of payments from the treasure of records of payments from the treasure of Athena for public purposes (ib. 179, 186, 188). Cf. Hicks, Hist. Inscr. nos. 50, 51, 53, 54. The short title, ταμίας τῶν τῆς θεοῦ, is found in inscr. of 325 (Boeckh, Sceurkunden, p. 465). See Boeckh II v; Schömann, p. 418; Gilbert, i 234; and cf. note on 30 § 2, ταμίας τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων κτλ.; also Panske, de Magistratibus Atticis. 1800, i np. 12—46. tratibus Atticis, 1890, i pp. 13—46.
Σόλωνος νόμον] 8 § 1, κληροῦν τους

ταμίας έκ πεντακοσιομεδίμεων. ἄρχαι δ' ὁ λαχών κτλ.] Solon's law regulating the qualification was practically obsolete. Cf. c. 7 ult.

παραλαμβάνουσι κτλ.] The accounts of the treasures transferred in each year were annually audited; they were also inscribed on blocks of stone once in four years (ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια).
τὸ ἀγαλμα] The statue is not mentioned

in our inventories; but from B.C. 385 there is proof of the existence of a separate specification respecting it. This was kept in the temple and the treasurers certified in each year that the statue and its appurtenances were all safe κατά την στήλην (Köhler in Mittheilungen, 1879, p. 89, quoted by Hicks, p. 89). The άγαλμα is incidentally named in CIA ii 652, 42 (B.C. 398).
τάς Νίκας και τον άλλον κόσμον]

About 435/4 B.C. the treasures of the Parthenon included golden figures of Niκη, CIA i 32, B 2, τὰs Nijκαs τὰs

χρυ]σαs και τὰ π[ομπεία]. The number was probably ten. About 407/6 eight of these were melted down and made into gold coin, the xauror xprotor of Arist. Ran. 720 (see Schol.). Seven of the pedestals of these figures were still in existence between 377 and 367 (CIA ii 678, 47). In the earliest inventory after the archonship of Eucleides a xpvon Nikn is mentioned (CIA ii 642). This Nikn, which was nearly two talents (52 kilogr. = 115 lb.) in weight, was probably made out of the proceeds of the confiscated property of the Thirty (Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 301). The same Ning is entered in an inventory of the ταμίαι των Ιερών χρη-μάτων της Αθηναίας και των άλλων θεών, who existed as a joint body from about 403 to 389 B.C., to be separated again in 385.

It is also named in CIA ii 677, B.C. 367. Under the financial administration of Lycurgus (B.C. 338/7—326/5) part of the surplus of the public revenues was spent on preparing a number of golden Nîrau, which were set apart among the treasures which were set apart among the treasures on the Acropolis. The decree of Stratocles, preserved in [Plut.] ii 852, recites that Lycurgus αίρεθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρήματα πολλά συτήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ παρασκευάσας τῆ θεῷ κόσμον Τολιν και παρασκευασας την σεψ κου μου Νίκας τε όλοχρόσους πομπεία τε χρυσά και άργυρα και κόο μον χρυσούν εις έκατλο κανηφόρους (cf. ib. vit. Lycurg. § 5, πομ-πεία τε χρυσά και άργυρα τῆ πόλει κατεσκεύασε και Niκας χρυσάς, and Paus. i 20, 16, κατεσκεύασε δε πομπεία τῆ θεῷ και Niκας χρυσάς και παρθένοις κόσμον έκατώ»). It was in B.C. 334 that, according to the λόγοι ταμών τῆι θεοῦ and a special commission acting with them, part of the surplus handed over by the raplas ran

έπειθ' οί πωληταί δέκα μέν είσι, κληροῦται δ' είς έκ τῆς φ[υλής. μισ]θοῦσι δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα καὶ τὰ μέταλλα πωλοῦσι, καὶ τὰ τέλη [μετὰ τ]οῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν ήρημένων ἐναντίον τῆς [βουλῆς] κατακυροῦσιν 10 ότφ αν ή βουλή χειροτονήση· καὶ τὰ πραθέντα μέταλλα, [τά τ'] έργάσιμα τὰ εἰς τρία ἔτη πεπραμένα, καὶ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τὰ

11 μέταλλα [δσα] Κ;.....ει H-L (in papyro scriptum non €1, sed ap vel aΓ vel AI; μ. τά τ' K-W (B), Μεταλλα ταταρεργ deletis ap sec. K-W). In archetypo erat fortasse ta t appa k ta eppacima. 12 συγκεχωσμένα Poland, Busolt.

§§ 2, 3 * Harp. πωληταί: οί μέν πωληταί άρχή τίς έστιν Αθήνησι, δέκα τον άριθμον άνδρες, εξε έκ φυλής έκαστης. διοικούσι δὲ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πάντα, τέλη και μέταλλα και μισθώσεις και τὰ δημευόμενα... διείλεκται δὲ περί αὐτών και 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. Fere eadem in Bekk. Απ. 291, 17 et Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 14. Pollux viii 99: πωληταί τὰ τέλη πιπράσκουσι "μετὰ τῶν ἐπ τὸ θεωρικὸν ήρημένω»," καί τὰς "τῶν ἔξ 'Αρείου πάγου" μετά τον πρότερον λόγον φυγόντων ούσίας και τα δεδημευμένα (Frag. 4013, 4413).

στρατιωτικών was spent els τὰς Νίκ[ας καί] τὰ π[ομ]πεῖα (CIA ii 739). These may be identified with certainty as the Nikau of the text. to the κόσμος κανηφορικός (CIA ii 162, frag. c 10), including δίφροι, ὑποδερίδες (necklaces), dupidéai (bracelets), and στέφανοι (ii 741 B c 3—5). Cf. Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 292; Boeckh, note 719 Fränkel; Foucart, Les Victoires en or de l'Acropole, Bull. de corr. hellen. xii 283-;

and Dürrbach, Lycurgue, pp. 80—91.
§ 2. πωληπαί] Hermann, Staatsalt.
§ 151, 2; Schömann, p. 417; Gilbert,
i 227; Panske, de Magistratibus Atticis,

μισθούσι κτλ.] 'farm out the public ontracts.' Thus the contracts for contracts. setting up tablets inscribed with public documents (στήλαι) were let out by the πωληταί (Ditt. no. 13, 51; 43, 35; 45, 8).

The contract for building the walls of Athens in 334—326 is let out by the same body (CIA ii 167).

τα μεταλλα πωλούσι] By the 'sale of the right

the mines' is meant the sale of the right of working them. The 'purchaser,' who may be more correctly described as the lessee, paid a fixed price together with one twenty-fourth part of the net produce as a perpetual tax. The ordinary price of a share was one talent. See Boeckh, On the Silver Mines of Laurium, Appendix to Publ. Econ., ed. Lewis. In CIA ii 780-783, and 782 b (p. 513), we have fragments of διαγραφαί μετάλλων drawn up by the www mrail.

τολ τολη] Most of the tolls, customs and taxes were farmed by τελώναι (Boeckh, III viii; Gilbert, i 335; Dict. Ant. s.v.).

του ταμίου τών στρατιωτικών! The management of military finances, which, in the fifth century, had been entrusted to the ελληνοταμίαι, was entrusted in B.C. 338 to a new officer called the raplas Two στρατιωτικών. The first to hold this office ' was Callias, the brother-in-law of Lycurgus ([Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 27). It was supposed by Boeckh (II vii) that it was immediately after the archonship of Eucleides that the έλληνοταμίαι were superseded by the raulas rwo orp. and the superintendents of the theoric fund. But as late as 347 B.C. we find the έκ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων ('Αθήν. vi 152), which implies that the ταμίας τῶν στρ. was not yet in existence (A. Schaefer in Rhein. Mus. xxxiii 431, quoted by Gilbert i 237 n. 3, and Dem. u. s. Zeil, 11² 307 n. 2). In Boeckh, n. 317, Fränkel assigns 347 as the date when this office was instituted; but he is opposite the state of the posed by Hartel, Studien, p. 132 (Dürrbach, Lycurgue, p. 32). It is at present therefore impossible to assume any earlier date than 338 for its institution.—The same official took part in superintending

the Panthenaic games (49 § 3).

τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ διαρμιον These financial officers were apparently instituted under the administration of Eubulus, between 354 and 339. The plural here decides the question whether there was only one official of the name or more Bosch. official of the name, or more. Boeckh (11 vii, p. 249°) supposed that there were ten. The pl. in Aeschin. c. Ctes. 25, ol enl τὸ θ. κεχειροτονημένοι used to be understood of successive holders of the office. Cf. Gilbert, i 230.

τρία ἔτη] It has hitherto been supposed

είς <τρία> ἔ[τη] πεπραμένα. καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου φευγόντων καὶ τῶν [ὀφειλε]τῶν ἐν[αντίον τῆς] βουλῆς 15 πωλούσιν, κατακυρούσι δ' οί έννέα ἄργοντες καὶ τὰ τέλη τὰ είς ένιαυτ[ον] πεπραμένα, αναγράψαντες είς λελευκωμένα γραμματεία τόν τε πριάμενον καὶ [ὅσου] αν πρίηται, τῆ βουλῆ παραδιδόασιν. αναγράφουσιν δὲ χωρὶς μὲν οθς δεῖ κατὰ πρυ[τ]ανείαν ἐκάστην 3 καταβάλλειν είς δέκα γραμματεία, χωρίς δ' οθς τ[ρίς τοῦ] ένιαυτοῦ,

that the state never let the mines for a term of years, but only granted them on perpetual leases (Boeckh's Sitver Mines of

Laurium, § 7, p. 645).

We have already been told that the πωληται 'sell the mines.' We are now told that they lease for a term of three years, not only the mines that are still workable, but also those that are the subject of special concessions. It is observed by Boeckh, l. c. p. 646, that it could 'scarcely have been compulsory upon a tenant to pay to the state the purchase money of a new mine, if, after having expended his trouble and capital, he was unsuccessful in finding any ore.' It may therefore be here suggested that a term of three years was fixed for a provisional letting of the lease, and that the annual payment of $\frac{1}{44}$ was not due until the three years had elapsed. Possibly the original purchase money was in the first instance paid conditionally, and was re-covered in the event of no ore being found. In the other event, at the end of the three years the provisional lease would be 'confirmed' in the presence of the βουλή.

In connexion with the mines, a period of 'three years' is mentioned in Hyperides, Eux. col. xliv, and [Dinarchus] fragm. in Baiter and Sauppe, Oratores Attici, ii 325 b 4; but it seems to have no

bearing on the present passage.

τα συγκεχωρημένα] possibly mines 'let under a special agreement' without the previous payment of purchase money. It has been suggested, however, that some word contrasted with έργάσιμα is needed, such as συγκεχωσμένα, exhausted mines with heaps of scoriae accumulated near them. Such mines, if they had reverted in any way to the state, would

have to be 'sold' for a very much smaller sum. In CIA ii 782, shortly after the time of Lycurgus, we find mention of a (μέταλλον) παλαιδν ἀνασάξιμον, 'an old mine reopened and worked afresh,' which is sold in the second mouravela (ib. 780) for the small sum of 150 dr.

τῶν ξ 'Apelou πάγου φευγόντων] In trials before the Areopagus a person accused of wilful murder might (except actused of windin motter high (except in cases of particide) withdraw from Attica 'after delivering his first speech' (Dem. 23 § 69), and thus avoid the penalty of death (Pollux, viii 117). Such a person was never allowed to return; and, when any decree was passed to sanction the restoration of exiles, there was a special clause excluding of έξ 'Apelou πάγου φεύγοντες, Plat. Leg. 871 D. Their property was confiscated, Dem. 23 § 45, τῶν ἀνδροφόνων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων,

ພັກ τὰ χρήματα ἐπίτιμα.

τῶν ὀφειλετῶν] If a debt to the treasury remained unpaid at the ninth prytany, it was doubled and the debtor's property sold (Andoc. De Myst. 73; Dem. c. Nicostr. p. 1255 § 27; c. Neaer. p. 1347

§ 7).
 λελευκωμένα γρ.] [Dem.] 46 § 11, (γρ.) λελευκωμένον. Lys. 9 § 6, (of a fine) γράψαντες είς λεύκωμα τοῦς ταμίαις παρέδοσαν. Dem. 24 Timocr. 23, (of a new law) άναγράψας είς λεύκωμα. Bekker. Bekker, Anecd. p. 277, λεύκωμά έστι πίναξ γύψω άληλιμμένος, πρός γραφήν πολιτικών γραμμάτων έπιτήδειος.

§ 3. καταβάλλειν...καταβολήν] payment by instalments, as in [Dem.] c. Neaer. 27, έωνημένος την πεντηκοστην τοῦ σίτου...καὶ δέον αὐτὸν καταβάλλειν τὰς καταβολάς είς το βουλευτήριον κατά πρυ-τανείαν, c. Timocr. 98, αι των τελών καταβολαί.

γραμματείον κατά την καταβολην έκάστην ποιήσαντες, χωρίς δ' 20 οθς [έπλ] της ενάτης πρυτανείας. αναγράφουσι δέ καλ τα γωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας [τὰ ἀπογραφ]έντα καὶ πραθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω. καὶ γὰρ ταῦθ' οδτοι πωλ[οῦσιν. ἔστι] δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκιῶν ἐν πέντε έτεσιν ανάγκη την τιμην αποδούναι, των δε χωρίων εν δέκα. 4 καταβάλλουσιν δε ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας. εἰσ[φέ]ρει 25 δέ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν <τε>μενῶν ἀναγράψας ἐν γραμματε[ίοις λελευκ]ωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ή μὲν μίσθωσις

 [τὰ ἀπογραφ]ἐντα Wyse, K-W, H-L, K³; τἀπογρ. Β; τ[ὰ μισθωθ]ἐντα Κ¹.
 [ἐστι] δὲ Κ-W, K³, Β: καὶ H-L.
 καταβάλλουσι H-L. εἰσφέρει Κ-W, K3, Β: παραδίδωσι quondam Paton (H-L). 26 T(ωN) M(€N)ωN: τῶν τεμενῶν Wyse, Blass, (K-W, H-L, K3). 27 suppleverunt Jackson, van Leeuwen (edd.).

evarys upuravelas] The time when the purchase-money for the $\tau \epsilon \lambda \eta$ was

paid: Dem. Timocr. 93, 98. απογραφέντα] In CIA i 274have the accounts rendered by the πωληται for property (probably that of the Ερμοκοπίδαι) which had been confiscated and sold by the state. See also CIA ii 777, and 779 (τάδ' ἐπράθη ἐδάφη ἀΓμητα όντα); also 811 col. c 183—195, κατεβλήθη ἐξ ἀπογραφῆς, ἢς ἀπέγραψεν— τοῦτο κατεβλήθη πρὸς πωλητάς τοὺς ἐφ' Ηγησίου άρχοντος, B.C. 324/3; cf. Boeckh, Seeur-

kunden, p. 543.

wivre...8ika] These details have been hitherto unknown. The only definite statement about the rent of a house is in Isaeus 11 § 42, where a house in Melite worth 30 minas, and another at Eleusis worth 5, jointly produce an annual rent of 3 minas; so that in less than 12 years the occupant would have paid the value of the houses. In the same passage an estate at Thria, worth 150 minas, produces 12 minas per annum; so that in 12½ years the occupant

would have paid the value of the estate.
§ 4. ὁ βασιλεύε] The functions of this archon being mainly religious, he is here described as responsible for bringing the leases of sacred enclosures to the the leases of sacred enclosures to the knowledge of the Council. Cf. CIA iv fasc. 2, 53 a (quoted by Wyse, Class. Rev. v 275 a): (418/7 B.C.) v. 3 sqq. 'Αδούσιο[s ε][πε' ε[ρξαι τὸ [ερὸν τὸ Κόδρου καὶ τὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῆς Βασίλης (Plat. Charm. 153 A) κ[α]] μισθώσαι τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὰς συνγραφάς, οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ τὴν ε[οξ[ψ]] ἀποιμσθωσάντων. τὸ δὲ τέμενος ὁ ελοξ[ιν] απομισθωσάντων, το δε τέμενος ο εφείμε] απομεθουσώνως, το σε τεμενος βασιλεύς απομισθοσάνω κατά [τ]ας ξυν-γραφάς το δε αργύριον ες την είρξιν από τοῦ τεμένους είναι, πράξαι δε ταῦτα πρὶν ή εξιέναι τήνδε την βουλήν ή

εύθύνεσθαι χιλίαισι δραχμησι έκαστον κατά τὰ είρημένα. V. II sqq.: 'Αδούσιος είπε' τὰ εἰρημένα. V. II sqq.: ᾿Αδούσιος εἶπε·
τὰ μέν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆ βουλῆ · ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς μ[ι]σθωσάτω και οί πωληται το τέμενος το Νηλέως και της Βασίλης κα[τ]α τας ξυνγραφάς είκοσι έτη. τον δε μισθωσάμενον είρξαι το le[ρ]ον το Κόδρου και το Νηλέως και της Βασίλης τοις έαυτου τέλεσι». ὁπ[ό]σην δ' ἀν ἄλφη μίσ[θ]ωσιν το τέμενος κατὰ τὸν ένιαυτὸν Εκαστον, καταβαλλέτω τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας τοῖς ἀποδέκται[s], οἱ δὲ ἀποδέκται τοῖς ταμίαισι τών άλλων θεών παραδιδόντων κατά τόν νόμον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐὰν μὴ ποιήση τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ἢ ἄλλος τις οῖς προστέτακται περί τούτων, έπι της Αίγηίδος πρυτανείας, περί τούτων, έπί της Αίγηίδος πριτανείας, εδθυνέσθω μυρίησι δραχμήσων. τον δέ ξωριμένον την Ιλύν έκκομίσασθαι έκ της τάφρου έπι τήσδε της βουλής άποδόντα το άργύριον τῷ Νηλεῖ όσου έπρίατο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξαλει[ψ]άτω τὸν πριάμενον την Ιλύν ἐπειδὰν ἀποδῷ τημ μίσθωσιν, τὸν δὲ καιδιάνουν τὸν δικούν καιδιάνουν. μισθωσάμενον το τέμενος και οπόσου αν μισθώσηται άντενγραψάτω ὁ βασιλεύς ές τον τοίχον και τους έγγυητάς κατά τον νόμον δοπερ κείται (περί) των τεμενών. Cf. J. R. Wheeler in American Journal of Archaeology, iii, nos. 1 and 2

The Basileds is associated with other officials in an inser. of B.C. 329, Έφ. 'Αρχ. iii, 1883, p. 110 B 29, [των τεμενών] α εμίσθωσαν ο βασιλεύς και οι παρεδροι και

α εμισθώσει το βασίτεν και οι παρευροι και οι εξπι] στάτ[αι οι Έ]λε[υσινόθεν και οι έπι-μεληταί τῶν] μυστηρίων. τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν] [Dem.] 43 § 58, τοὺς μὴ ἀποδώντας τὰς μισθώσεις r τεμενών. Didymus ap. Harpocr. s.v. άπὸ μισθωμάτων (Isoct. Arcop. 11)... έκ τών τεμενικών προσοδων. [Xen.] de Vect. iv 19, μισθούνται γοῦν καὶ τεμένη καὶ lepà καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ τέλη ώνοῦνται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως. Plat. Leg. 759 E.

είς έτη δέκα, καταβάλλεται δ' έπὶ τῆς [ἐνάτης] πρυτανείας. διὸ καὶ πλείστα χρήματα ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρυ[τα]νείας. 30 εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματ[εῖα τὰ] τὰς κατα- 5 βολας αναγεγραμμένα, τηρεί δ' ο δημόσιος όταν δ' ή χρ[ημάτων καταβ]ολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθε[λων ἀπὸ των] επιστυλίων ών εν ταύτη τη ήμερα δεί τα χρήματα καταβλη- $[\theta \hat{\eta} \nu]$ αι $[\kappa a \lambda \hat{a}]$ παλειφθ $\hat{\eta} \nu a \hat{b}$ τα δ' άλλα ἀπόκειται χωρίς $[\nu a \mu \hat{\eta}]$ 35 $\pi \rho o \epsilon \xi a \lambda [\epsilon \iota \phi \theta \hat{\eta}].$

48. [εἰσὶ] δ' ἀποδέκται δέκα, κεκληρωμένοι κατὰ φυλάς.

30 κ? ΤΑC, και per errorem scriptum putat K : [τα] τὰς K-W, B; πάντων τὰς H-L sed tium non sinit. 32 καθε[λων] ἀπ[ὸ των] van Leeuwen (H-L, K³, B): καθελ[ων] spatium non sinit. έκ [τῶν] K-W sed λ incertum et έκ valde dubium putat K. 33 λει, ante τὰ χρήματα K³, K-W, B: Om. H-L. καταβληθήναι καὶ K-W, K³, B: καταβληθέντα δεῖ χρήματα K³, K-W, B: om. H-L. 34 ANEIOHNAI COTT. K. 35 προεξαλ[ειφθη] K^3 , K-W, B: προεξα[λεί-H-L фηтаι] H-L.

ΤΕ ΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. ΧΙΥΙΙΙ 88 1, 2 * Harp. ἀποδέκται :... 'Αρ. δ' ἐν τῷ 'Αθ. πολ. δεδήλωκεν ώς δέκα τε είησαν και ώς "παραλαβόντες—χρήματα" τῆς βουλῆς ἐναντίον "ἐν τῷ—δημοσίφ." και ἀπλῶς ἄ πράττουσι διασαφεί. Βεkk. Απ. 198, 1 (Etym. M. 124, 41;

iτη δίκα] CIA ii 1059 (= Inscr. Brit. Mus. p. 24 xiii), in B.C. 321, μωθούσι Πειραιείς Παραλίαν και 'Αλμυρίδα και τάλλα τεμένη άναντα for a term of ten years. The same term of years is reyears. The same term of years is recorded in a lease granted by a $\phi \rho a \tau \rho l a$ in B.C. 300 (ii). 600), and also in an Attic inscr. relating to some land in Delos and Rheneia belonging to the Delian temple, CIA i 283 (B.C. 434). Wyse (Class. Rev. v 275, b) quotes a Delian inscr. of B.C. 250: εμισθώσαμεν δε και τά τεμένη τά τοῦ 250: εμασωσιμεν σε και τα την lephy συγγραφήν (Homolle, Les Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Délos, p. 19 n. 1).

πλείστα πρυτανείαε] It may further

Theorem — approvedes I It may further be noticed that all who had not paid their debts to the treasury by this date (the penultimate prytany of the Attic year) had their property sold by the state (see note on δφειλετών, supra, § 2). § 5. δ δημόστος 'the public clerk'; slaves were employed as ἀντιγραφείς or 'checking-clerks.' Dict. Ant. s.v., and Gilbert' 1222 n.

Gilbert, i 323 n. 3.

ἀποδέκται 3 48 § 1. αὐτὰ ταῦτα,

κ. τὰ γραμματεία.

ἐπιστυλίων] It has been suggested that this term is metaphorically applied to the 'columns' in the list of accounts (Class. Rev. v 181 b); but obviously it cannot mean 'columns' at all, but something that rests upon them. In architecture the encountry is generally the 'architrave' (Plut. Per. 13 § 5; Vitruv. iv 3 § 4, 'supra epistylium conlocandi

sunt triglyphi cum suis metopis'; CIG 4608 (A.D. 151), παραστάδας και κιόνια και τὰ ἐπάνω αὐτῶν ἐπιστύλια και ψαλίδας): it is even said to be sometimes used of the whole of the entablature (Smith, Dict. Ant. s.v. ad fin.), but I know of no authority for this statement.

In the present passage I should under-stand it to mean a shelf supporting a series of 'pigeon-holes,' and itself supported by wooden pedestals, in the office of the public clerk. The entablature in Doric architecture, with its originally open metopes alternating between the triglyphs, may well have suggested a metaphorical term for a shelf of 'pigeon-holes' used for the preservation of public documents. K-W translate it repositorium or loculi. Haussoullier suggests a modern parallel in 'certains bureaux turcs (bureaux de douane ou de santé), où les papiers sont serrés dans les sacs que l'on accroche aux poutres et que l'on décroche au moyen d'un long bâton.'

**postale:

**postale

ling debts (in Dem. 25 § 70, έξαλήλιπται τὸ δφλημα, and CIA i 32, 10, ἀποδόντων τὰ χρήματα καὶ έξαλειφόντων). Cf. CIA iv fasc. 2, 53 a, έξαλειψάτω contrasted with άστευγραψάτω. XLVIII § 1. ἀποδέκται] 'general re-

ceivers.' These officials were instituted

ούτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ [γρα]μματεῖα, ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα έναντίον [της βουλης] έν τῷ βουλευτηρίφ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα [τῷ δη]μοσίφ' κἄν τις έλλίπη καταβολήν, ένταῦθ εγγεγραπται, και διπλ[οῦν ά]νάγκη τὸ 5 [έλλ]ειφθέν καταβάλλειν ή δεδέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσπρά[ττειν ή 2 βο]υλή καὶ δήσαι [κυρ]ία κατά τοὺς νόμους ἐστίν. τἢ μὲν οὖν προτεραία δέχονται τὰ χρ[ήματα] καὶ μερίζουσι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, τῆ δ' ύστεραία τόν τε μερισμόν είσ[φέρου]σι γράψαντες εν σανίδι καί καταλέγουσιν εν τῷ βουλευτηρίφ, καὶ π[ροτιθέ]ασιν εν τῆ βουλή ιο εί τίς τινα οίδεν άδικουντα περί τον μερισ[μον ή άρ]χοντα ή ιδιώτην, καλ γνώμας επιψηφίζουσιν εάν τίς τι δοκή ά[δικείν.

κ ληρούσι δέ καὶ λογιστάς έξ αύτων οί βουλευταὶ δέκα τούς

5 εΝΤΕΥθέΝΓε, ἐντεῦθεν γέγραπται Κ : ἐνταῦθ' XLVIII 4 drodidógai H-L. έγγενραπται Herwerden, Kontos, Gertz (H-L, K-W, B). διπλοῦν ἀνάκη ναπ Leeuwen (K-W, H-L, K³, B). 9 εἰσφέρουσι van Leeuwen (K-W, H-L, K³). 10 προτιθέασιν olim conieci (H-L), idem habent K-W, K³, B.

Zonaras 234; Bekk. Απ. 427, 13): άρχοντες κληρωτοί, δέκα τον άριθμον κατά φυλήν είσιν, οίτινες παρελάμβανον και άπεδέχοντο τὰ γραμματεία των όφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίω... είτα έξήταζον τα τε όφειλόμενα και τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα χρήματα σύν τῆ βουλή και έμέριζον els α χρή αναλίσκειν (Frag. 400³, 440³). Schol. in Aeschin. 3 § 25 αποδέκται ήσαν οί δεχόμενοι τα χρήματα τών καταβολών κτλ.

§ 3 "Harp. λογισταί:...είσι δε τον άριθμον δέκα (έκάστης φυλής είς Schol. in Aeschin.

by Cleisthenes to take over most of the duties previously performed by the κωλα-κρέται (Androtion ap. Harpocr. s. v.). They are mentioned in Dem. c. Timocr. κιες αια inchioned in Dem. c. Timocr. §§ 162, 197, Aesch. c. Ctes. 25, Pol. 1321 δ 31, άλλη δ' άρχη πρός ήν αl πρόσοδοι τών κοινών ἀναφέρονται, παρ' ών φυλαττόντων μερίζονται (cf. l. 8 μερίζουσι) πρός ἐκάπτην διοίκησων καλούσι δ' ἀποδέκτας τούτους και ταμίας, also in an inscr. ολ. 18/7 B.C. quoted in note on 2 · 1.200 418/7 B.C. quoted in note on § 4, & βασιλεύs. See Boeckh, 11 iv; Schömann, p. 417; Gilbert, i 226; and Dict. Ant. s. v.; also Panske, de Magistratibus Atticis, i

τα καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα έναντίον τῆς βουλῆς] CIA ii 807 col. δ 15, τοῦτο κατεβάλομεν ἀποδέκταις in B.C. 330/29; δ 30, in B.C. 329/8; 803 col. d 93 and 138, δ els βουλευτήριον κατεβάλομεν,

138, 0 ess ρουλευτηρίου κατεραλομεν, B.C. 360 and 363.

ἐλλίπη καταβολήν] 'fail to pay an instalment.' Polyb. iv 60, 2, ελλελοιπέναι τινὰ τῶν ὀψωνίων.

ἐνταῦθ ἐγγέγραπται] 'it is entered in this document'; this seems preferable to εντεῦθεν γέγραπται, 'a note is made of it from this record' (Κ.). ἐγγοάφεν is specfrom this record' (K.). έγγράφειν is specially applied to entering the names of state-debtors, Dem. 25 § 70 (cf. L and S, 11 3).

δήσαι κυρία] In Dem. c. Timocr. 98 the speaker argues that, owing to the law proposed by Timocrates, allowing debtors to the treasury to find securities instead of making prompt payments, the βουλή (as well as the δικαστήρια) ceases

το be κυρία δήσαι. Cf. 45 § 1. § 2. μερίζουσι] CIA ii 38, 18 (not later than Ol. 100=B.C. 380-), μερίσαι δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον—τοὺς ἀποδέκτας ἐκ τῶν καταβαλλομένων χρημάτων έπειδαν τα έκ των νόμων μερίσωσι. Ιδ. 181, τους δε αποδέκτας μερίσαι τῷ αρκεθθεώρω δς αν αξι αρκ[ε]θ[εωρήση τδ] άργύριου. 115 δ 44, [τδ άργ]ύριου τοῦτο μερίζειν τ[οὸς ἀποδ]έκτας τῷ ταμία τοῦ δήμ[ου είς τὸν] ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκασ τον. 834 b (B.C. 329/8) col. ii 3, το μεραθέν els τὰ ξεγα παρ ἀποδεκτῶν ἐπιστάταις Ἐλευσίνοθεν. Pol. 1321 b 31, quoted above. Cf. Boeckh, i 210 n. a, Frankel.

μερισμόν] 'the apportionment'; rarely found in this sense. For exx. see Ditten-

berger, no. 344, 18, 21, 23.

σανίδι] rare in sing. Dem. 25 § 70 (of the record of a debt) ή σανίε ή παρά

τη θεώ κειμέτη.
προτιθίασιν] 44 § 3.
§ 3. λογιστάς] These are identical in name and number with those mentioned in 54 § 2. Both bodies are appointed by lot; but the hoyioral in the text are a

λογιουμένους τ[αις άρ]χαις κατά την πρυτανείαν εκάστην. κλη- 4 15 ροῦσι δὲ καὶ εὐθύνους, ἔνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης, καὶ παρέδρους δύο έκάστω τῶν εὐθύνων, οἰς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ταῖς ἀ[γορ]αῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐπώνυμον τὸν τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης καθῆσθαι, κἄν τις βού[ληταί] τινι των τας εὐθύνας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω δεδωκότων, ἐντὸς τριῶν ή [μερών ἀφ'] ής ἔδωκε τὰς εὐθύνας, εὔθυναν, ἄν τ' ἰδίαν ἄν τε

16 $\tau a \hat{i} \hat{s} d [\gamma o \rho] a \hat{i} \hat{s} K (K-W)$: $\tau a \hat{i} \hat{s} \hat{e} \hat{i} \theta \hat{v} r a \hat{s} \hat{s} H-L$ et B invita papyro. KATA (K, B): παρὰ van Leeuwen (κ-w, H-L).

17 ἐκάστης κ, κ-w; ἔκαστον H-L; ἐκάστο[ε]ς Β; post τ prior tantum pars litterae η vel o dispici potest.

19 ἄν τ' ἰδίαν ἄν τε δημοσίαν optime Gertz (H-w, κ³, ἐἀν τ'—ἐἀν τ'—H-L).

3 % 15; cf. ib. § 9), οι τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν διωκημένων ἐκλογίζονται ἐν ἡμέραις λ, ὅταν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποθῶνται οι ἄρχοντες...διείλεκται περί τούτων 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ., ἔνθα δείκνυται ὅτι διαφέρουσι τῶν εὐθυνῶν. Pollux viii 99: καὶ τούτους ἡ βουλὴ κληροῖ κατ' ἀρχὴν ὡς παρακολουθείν τοίς διοικούσιν.

παρακολούσευν τοις οι οικούσευν. \S 4 * Harp. εθθυνοι: $-\delta$ έκα τὸν άριθμὸν ήσαν ἀνδρες, παρ' οἶς ἐδίδοσαν οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες ή άρξαντες ή διοικήσαντές τι τῶν δημοσίων τὰς εὐθύνας. διείλεκται περί αὐτῶν 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. Phot. εὐθυνος: ἀρχή ήν τις. ἐξ ἐκάστης δὲ φυλῆς ἔνα κληροῦσι' τούτω δὲ δύο παρέδρους (Frag. 405³, 445³).

committee of the Council. They are therefore to be distinguished from the board of λογισταί, who, with their συνήγοροι, audit the accounts of all officials at the close of their term of office. The officials appointed by lot are enumerated in c. 50 64; c. 54, in which the λογισταί are named, is introduced with the words: κληρούσι δὲ καὶ τάσδε τὰς άρχάς. This implies that the officials in question have not been mentioned before. The existence of a committee of the Council, side by side with a board of the same name, appears to be supported by the analogy of the committee entitled of επί το θεωρικον committee entitled of ent το θεωρικόν ήρημένοι (CIA ii 739), and the βουλευτήν described as έπι το θεωρικόν (CIA ii 114 c 5), existing by the side of the official board of έπι τῷ θεωρικῷ. The double sense of λογισταί δύο ήσαν ὁ μέν τῆς βουλήν νiii 99, λογισταί δύο ήσαν ὁ μέν τῆς βουλήν λέλ εξε διουρέςτας του στονου ὁ θεωρικός. ό δε της διοικήσεως, και τούτους ή βουλή κληροί κατ' άρχην ώς παρακολουθείν τοις διοικούσιν (Lipsius, Leipzig Verhandl. pp. 66, 67). λογισται δύο is the reading in Bekker's best MS; the rest have δύο δ', making it refer to the αντιγραφεύς (see 54 § 3).
Tous horrouperous

τούς λογιουμένους—πρυτανείαν έκασ-την] Lys. 30 § 5, οι μεν άλλοι της αυτών άρχης κατά πρυτανείαν λόγον αποφέρουσι (αναφέpours MSS). The text shews that this passage was rightly understood by Schömann, as referring to the accounts which had to be presented to the λογισταί, and not to the επιχειροτονία τῶν ἀρχῶν (43 § 4). 'ἀναφέpew nihil aliud esse potest quam quod alibi dicitur λόγον ἐγγράφειν, hoc est perscriptam rationem ad eos, quibus ea examinanda est, deferre, quemadmodum ipsum Lysiam mox hoc verbo έγγράψαι uti videmus, et Aeschines quoque άποφέρειν λόγον πρός τους λογιστάς dicit, in Ctesiph. § 22, eodem sensu quo paullo ante, § 20, λόγον έγγραφειν πρός τους λογιστάς dixerat' (Opusc.

Harp. in Testim. At the audit of accounts by the board of λογισταί, the εθθυνοι were entitled to bring charges against the ὑπεύθυνος. The assessors of the εθθυνοι are mentioned in Andoc. De Myst. 78, δσων εθθυναί τινές είσι κατεγνωσμέναι έν δσων εύθυναι τινές είσι κατεγνωσμέναι έν τοις λογιστηρίοις ύπο τῶν εὐθύνων και (ἢ MSS) τῶν παρέδρων, and in CIA 809 όφειλέτω ὁ μὴ ποιήσας μυρίας δραχμάς ίερας τῷ 'Αθηνά και ὁ εῦθυνος και οἱ πάρεδροι ἐπάναγκες αὐτῶν καταγιγνωσκόντων ἢ αὐτοὶ ὀφειλόντων. In CIA ii 571 (B.C. 368), the εῦθυνος (of a deme) is mentioned together with his πάρεδροι and is ετά the είθυνος (of another deme) and ib. 578, the efferos (of another deme)

with the horistis and the surfropoi.

The text shews that, even after the audit had been passed, officials were in Leipzig Verhandl. pp. 66, 67.

Tats dyopats] i.e. at the regular meetings held by the several tribes for the transaction of tribal business. CIA

ii 555, τη κυρία άγορα κρύβδην ψηφισα-μένων τω [ν φυλετων] έν τη άκροπόλει,

δ[ημοσίαν], εμβαλέσθαι, γράψας εἰς πινάκιον λελευκωμένον τοὔ- 20 νομα τό <τε> [αὐτο]ῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φεύγοντος καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημ' ὅ τι Δν έγκαλή, καὶ τίμημα [έπυγραψά]μενος δ τι αν αὐτῷ δοκή, δίδωσιν 5 τῷ εὐθύνω ὁ δὲ λαβών τοῦτο καὶ ἀ[νακρίνας], ἐὰν [[μὲν]] καταγνῷ, παραδίδωσιν τὰ μὲν ίδια τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς κατὰ δ[ημους, τοῖς] τὴν φυλήν ταύτην εἰσάγουσιν, τὰ δὲ δημόσια τοῖς θεσμοθέτα[ις ἐπι-] 25 γράφει, οί δὲ θεσμοθέται, ἐὰν παραλάβωσιν, πάλιν εἰσάγουσιν [την] εὔθυναν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὅ τι ᾶν γνῶσιν οἱ δικαστ[αί, τοῦτο κύ ριόν έστι.

49. δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ή βουλή, καν μέν τις καλὸν

21 τὸ αὐτοῦ Blass, Richards, H-L, κ³; τό τε αὐτοῦ K-W. 22 [έπιγραφό]μενος Wyse, Lipsius (κ²); [ἐπιγραψά]μενος Η. L., Β; ὑ[πογραφ]όμενος Κ.-w, sed ν valde incertum putat κ. δίδωσι Η. L. 23 d[νακρίνας] Wayte, Lipsius: d[ναγνούς] Blass, κ.-w, H. L., κ³, quamquam vel propter proximum καταγνώ suspectum; d[κούσας] κ¹. μέν secl. K-W, B. 24 legendum fortasse τὰ μέν ίδια παραδίδωσιν, alioqui in altero membro verbum languet. τοῦς τὴν Β; οἶ τὴν cet. 25 εΙCΑΓΟΥCIN K, H-L, Β: δικαζουσιν coni. Richards, Thompson (κ-w). [ἀνα]γράφει Κ, H-L; [ἐγ]γράφει Lipsius; [ἐπι]γράφει Β; [τίμημα δ΄ ὑπο]γράφει κ-w, sed spatium non sinit. 26 εΙσάγουσι H-L. 28 τοῦτο κύριὸν ἐστι van Leeuwen (κ-w, H-L, Κ², Β).

ΧΙΙΧ 1—2 καλὸν ἔπτον Κ-w (κ², Β); καλ[ῶς ἔχων] Κ¹ qui nunc in papyro Oni

agnoscit; κατάστασω Wyse (H.L).

554 b, έν τη άγορα (of the tribe Pandionis), 564, όταν άγοραν ποιώσιν (Gilbert,

i 192). αν τ'...αν τε] Kühner, § 541. ἐμβαλέσθαι] of formally 'putting in' a document, Dem. p. 1014, 25, έμβεβλημένος οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, 1104, 6; 1203, 26, έμβαλομένου γάρ έμου τον δρκον είς τον

τίμημα ἐπιγραψάμενος] Arist. 480, τί δήτα σοι τίμημ' ἐπεγράψω τῷ δίκη; Lex ap. Aeschin. 1 § 16, τίμημα ἐπι-γραψάμενος. Dem. 29 § 8, τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ('the damages claimed') έτίμησαν.

§ 5. ανακρίνας καταγνώ] The examination of the accounts by the λογισταί and συνήγοροι is described as an ανάκρισις. Ar. ap. Lex. Rhet. Cant. s.v. hoyioral, (συνήγοροι) συνανακρίνουσι τούτοις (sc. τοῖς λογισταίε). For the general use of draκρίνω, as applied to the official conducting an drakpisis, cf. Dem. Olymp. 31, d άρχων ἀνέκρινε πᾶσιν ἡμῦν τοῖς ἀμφισ-βητοῦσιν, and Isaeus, Dicaeog. 32, ἀνακρίναντες ήμας πολλάκις οι διαιτηταί. Cf. 56 § 6 (ypapal and dikai) as drakpiras els τὸ δικαστήριον είσάγει. The statement that the drakpious was also called an draγrwors rests on a wrong reading in Dem. 53 § 22. The object of an draκρισιs was to determine by a preliminary examination, el δλως elσάγειν χρή (Harp. s.v.). δικασταίς...κατά δήμους] 16 § 5; 26

τήν φυλήν ταύτην είσαγουσιν] 53 § 2, παραδιδόασι...τοις τήν φυλήν του φεύγοντος δικάζουσω, 58 § 2, τους την φυλην δικά-ζοντας, Lys. *Pancl*. 2, τους τῆ Ίπτο-θωντίδι δικάζοντας, and Isacus frag. 1, ότι πρός την φυλήν του κεκτημένου al πρός δούλους λαγχάνονται δίκαι (Meier and

Schömann, p. 90 n. Lips.). ἐπιγράφει] Aeschin. 1 § 35, μέχρι πεν-τήκοντα δραχμῶν καθ' ἔκαστον ἀδίκημα έπιγράφειν τοις πράκτορσιν.

One of the other suggestions, έγγράφει,

as a principal verb is not wanted, #apaδίδωσι being the verb to both clauses— μὲν and δέ. The irregularity is removed by striking out μέν, but this involves a needless hiatus and is not absolutely necessary.

δ τι άν—κύριον έστι] Cf. c. 45, l. 10. ΧLIX § 1. δοκιμάζει—τους ζππους] Χεπ. Οες. ix 15, ἡ βουλή ζππους καὶ ἰππέας δοκιμάζει, Ηιρρατελ. i 8, (ἡ πόλις) προσέταξε τῆ βουλή συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ Ιππικοῦ, and iii 9—14. A patera from Orvieto, now in the Berlin Museum, ἔ[ππον ἔχ]ων κακῶς δοκῆ τρέφειν, ζημιοῖ τῷ σίτῷ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις [ἀκολ]ουθεῖν, ἢ μὴ 'θέλουσι μένειν ἀναγ<ώγοις> οὖσι, τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γν[άθον ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ὁ τ]οῦτο παθὼν ἀδόκιμός 5 ἐστι. δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρ[οδ]ρ[όμους, ὅσοι ἀν α]ὐτῆ δοκῶ||σιν [Col. ἐπιτήδειοι προδρομεύειν εἶναι, κἄν τιν' ἀποχειροτονήση, καταβέ-

3 ἀκολουθεῖν Wyse (κ³, Β); τρέφεω κ¹, τρέχεω Campbell, κ-w, H-L. λγ (vel λλ)

Κ, Β. Μενείν αναγοίνοις μένειν, ἀναγράφουσι Campbell; μένειν, ἐπιβάλλουσι R D Hicks; μένειν ἀναγ
 $\frac{1}{2}$ αναγοίνοις > οδσι Η-L (Κ³); μένειν ἀλλ' ἀνάγουσι Β (intranscerte usurpatur in Arist. Αν. 383, 400, 1720 et Χεη. Cyr. vii I, 45 ἀναγαγών ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, sed non de equis dictum); (post θέλουσι) σημεῖον ἐπιβάλλουσι κ-w. 4 γνάθον Hicks coll. Hesych. s.v. τρυσίππιον; ἐπιβαλλουσι post μένειν posuit Hicks, post γνάθον Η-L (Κ³), sed (ut videtur) novem tantum litteris locus relictus; praestat igitur ἐπιβάλλει (Β). [καὶ ὁ τ]οῦτο Κ, Η-L, Β: [καὶ ὁ ἔππος ὁ τ]οῦτο (post γνάθον) Κ-W. 5 οἴτινες Κ¹; οὶ ἀν Κ² (Η-L); [κρίνουσα, οὶ ἀν <αν > τŷ Κ-W sed spatium non sufficit: ὅσοι ἀν Κ² (Β); inter προδρόμους et αντŷ sex septemve litterarum spatium superest. 6 τιναπ[ρο]χ (ut infra, v. 7): τιν ἀποχ. J Β Mayor, Campbell, Wyse, Blass, etc. Κ-W, Η-L, Κ³.

ΤΕSΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. **ΧΙΙΧ 4** Hesych. τρυσίππιον et Ιππου τροχός, infra exscriptus. Phot. Ιππου τροχός: τὸ τρυσίππιον διά τὸ τοῖς διά γῆρας ἐκτρυχωθείσιν Ιπποις ἐκτυποῦσθαι τροχόν, ἀπολεγόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατηγών.

represents three horsemen in chlamys and petasus leading their horses by the bridle past two standing figures who examine them as they pass. A third figure is seated and is entering memoranda on a scroll resting on his knees. In the centre is a lamorogéorys standing beside his horse. The subject is doubtless a lamorogéorys standing beside his horse. The subject is doubtless a lamorogéorys tanding 37, 1880, pl. 15; Duruy, Hist. d. Grect, ii p. 177; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Dokimasia, p. 327; Schreiber's Bilderatlat, i 40, 7). On the δοκιμασία of the lames and their horses, see Martin, Les Cavaliers Athéniens, pp. 328—334.

Αλέπιεπις, pp. 328—334.

τοιε μη δυναμένοιε ἀκολουθείν κτλ.]
Χεπ. Μεπ. iii 3, 4, ἐὰν οῦν...παρέχωνται σοι τοὺς Ιππους οἱ μὲν οῦτως κακόποδας η κακοκελείς η ἀσθενεῖς ῶστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οἱ δὲ οῦτως ἀναγώγους ῶστε μὴ μένειν ὅπου ῶν σὰ τάξης...τί σοι τοῦ ἰπκικοῦ δφελος ἔσται; Ηἰρρατελ. i 13, τοὺς...ἱππέας ἡ βουλὴ ἀν μοι δοκεῖ προεποῦσα ὡς...τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον Ιππον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποδοκιμάσει, ἐπιτεῦναι ῶν τρέφειν τε άμεινον καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν Ιππων. ἀνάγωγος is also an epithet of 'unmanageable' dogs in Μεπ. iv 1, 3. τροχόν— ἐπιβάλλα! Hesych. s. v. τρυσίππιον τὸν χαρακτῆρα τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις τοῦς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τετρυμένοις <τῶν Ιππων ἐπιβαλλεμενον addidit Petitus >, Ινα μηκέτι στρατεύωνται, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκάλουν τρυσίππιον τροχὸς δ'ῆν ὁ ἐπιβαλλόμενος χαρακτῆρ τῆς

γνάθφ τῶν ἴππων. Hesych. ἴππου τροχός:

τῶν γεγηρακόσιν ἴπποις ἐχάραττον ἐπὶ τὴν γνάθον σημεῖον, τροχοῦ σχῆμα ἔχων. ἐκαλειῖτο δὲ καὶ τρυσίππιον. Aelius Dionys. apud Eustath. ad Od. iv 562, p. 1517, 8, τρυσίππιον ἔγκαυμα ἴππου γεγηρακότος ἐπὶ τῆς γνάθου, ὅμοιον τροχῷ. Crates, frag. 30 (Κοck i 140), ἴππψ γηράσκουτι τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε, quoted by Zenob. iv 41,...μετῆκται δὲ ἀπὸ στρατιωτικῶν ἴππων, οἰς γηράσκουσιν ἐπέβαλλον τὸ καλούμενον τρυσίππιον ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο σιδηροῦς τροχίσκος...δν ἐκπυροῦντες ἐπέβαλλον ταῖς σιαγόσι τῶν ἴππων. Eupolis 318 (Κοck i 343) ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἵππω μω πιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον; Cf. Photius s.υ. τρυσίππιον and ἴππου τροχός, and Polluvii 186. As suggested by Kaibel and Wilamowitz, most of the above explanations probably rest ultimately on a scholium on the Taxiarchi of Eupolis founded on the present passage. προδρόμουν] 'mounted skirmishers.'

mpoδρόμουs] 'mounted skirmishers.' The term is applied by Hdt. to 'horsemen in advance of an army.' Xen. Hipparch. i 25, uses it of 'javelin-men' under the command of a cavalry officer: el τοὺι ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμήσαις μὲν ὅπλοις ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσαις ὡς μάλιστα, κτλ. In the march of Alexander to the Granicus, the Paeonians formed a special corps of πρόδρομοι for purposes of reconnoitring (Arr. An. i 12, 7; Droysen, Kriegsalterthümer, D. 117, 2).

p. 117, 3).

προδρομεύειν] not found elsewhere.

καταβέβηκεν] 'dismounts' (as dis-

βηκεν ούτος. δοκιμάζει δε και τους άμίππους, καν τιν απογειρο-2 τονήση, πέπαυται μισθοφορών ούτος. τούς δ' ίππέας καταλέγουσιν οί καταλογείς, ους αν ο δήμος χειροτονήση δέκα ανδρας ους δ' αν καταλέξωσι, παραδιδόασι τοις ίππάρχοις καὶ φυλάρχοις, οὐτοι 10 δε παραλαβόντες είσφερουσι τ[ον] κατάλογον είς την βουλήν, καὶ τον πίνακ' ανοίξαντες, εν δ κατασεσημασμένα τα ονόματα των ιππέων έστί, τούς μεν εξομνυμένους τών πρότερον εγγεγραμμένων μή δυνατούς είναι τοις σώμασιν ίππεύειν εξαλείφουσι, τούς δέ κατειλεγμένους [κ]αλοῦσι, κᾶν μέν τις έξομόσηται μὴ δύνασθαι τῷ 15 σώματι ίππεύειν ή τή οὐσία, τοῦτον ἀφιᾶσιν, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἐξομνύμενον διαχειροτονούσιν οι βουλευταί, πότερον επιτήδειος έστιν ίππεύειν

7 ANIΠΠΟΥC: αμίππους Newman, Wyse, Blass, K-W, H-L, K3. (ut supra, v. 6). 12 ΠΙΝΑΚΑΝΟΙΣΑΝΤΕC: πίνακ dv. K-W, B; πίνακα dv. K, H-L. K(ATA)CECHCM(EN)ACM(EN)A. 18 ENTETP. 15 ΕξΟΜΗ CHTAI: εξομόσηται Κ, Η-L; έξομνύηται Κ-W (Β).

qualified); used differently in [Dem.] 42 § 24 of giving up riding, καταβέβηκεν από

dμίππουε] 'infantry fighting in the ranks of the cavalry.' Thuc. v 57, 2, (of the Boeotians at Delium) δπλίται, ψιλοί, ιππής and αμιπποι. Xen. Hell. vii 5, 24 (Epameinondas) άμίππους πεζούς συνέταξεν αυτοῖς (=τῷ ἰππικῷ); the opposite side was ξρημον πεζών ἀμίππων (23); the MSS have in both cases ἀνίππ., corrected by Morus. Xenophon recommends their use: Hipparch. v 13, άσθενες το πεζών έρημον ίππικον προς το αμίππους πεζων έχου. Harpocr. s. v....οί συν επισος στρατευόμενοι...μήποτε (perhaps) πρόδρο-μοί τινές είσιν οἱ ἄμα τοῖς ἐππεῦσι τεταγμοι τυτε είσω οι αμα τοις ιππευοι τεταγμένοι. Φιλόχορος γοῦν ἐν τῷ ι 5΄ φησί κα προδομους. Ατ., in Pol. 1321 α 17, speaks of generals οι συνδυάζουσι πρός τὴν ἰππικὴν δύναμιν και ὁπλιτικὴν τὴν ἀρμάττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν. Cf. Martin, Les Cavaliers Athéniens, p. 410. § 2. οἰ καταλογείε] These officials (who

bear the same name as the καταλογείς under the Four Hundred, Lys. 30 § 13, but are not mentioned elsewhere) are described as employed in drawing up the roll of the cavalry; they hand it over to the Hip-parchi and Phylarchi, to be brought by them before the Council. The fact that the βουλή conducted the δοκιμασία of the in poony contacted the doctated of the res's was already known (Xen. Oec. ix 15). In Lys. 14 § 10, 'Αλκιβιάδη ε' εόλμησεν άναβηναι... ούτε ὑφ' ὑμῶν δοκιμασθείς, the pronoun loosely identifies the δικασταί with the βουλευταί. The text shews that no proceedings before a lawcourt were involved in a δοκιμασία Ιππέων.

The term κατάλογοι is applied to the official list of the inness in Lys. 16 § 13 (of Mantitheus), προσελθών έφην τῷ 'Ορθοβούλω (doubtless his Phylarchus) έξαλειψαί με έκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ib. § 6, τους φυλάρχους απενεγκείν τους Ιππεύσαντας. The Hipparchi, as well as the Phylarchi, were responsible for the κατάλογος, as had already been pointed out by Bake, Scholica Hypomnemata, v 150, 170: the text shews that it was drawn up in the first instance

by the καταλογείς.
τὸν πίνακ'] The κατάλογος of the Ιππείς under the Thirty is described as ένεγέγραπτο.

Karasesmuapulva] Plat. Leg. 756 E, (in the scheme proposed for the appointment of the βουλή) τὰ κατασημανθέντα δυόματα έξενεγκείν τους άρχοντας ίδειν

πασι τοις πολίταις.

ξομνομένους] Pollux viii 55 (ξωμοσία) όταν τις ή πρεσβευτής αίρεθεις ή έπ' άλλην τινα δημοσίαν ύπηρεσίαν, άρρωστεῖν ή άδυνατείν φάσκων έξομνύηται αὐτὸς η δι' έτέρου. Schol. on Arist. Eccl. 1026.

έγγεγραμμένων] Lys. 26 § 10, quoted above, and 16 § 6 (as emended by Mark-

land). Arist. Eq. 1371, δπλίτης έντεθείς έν καταλόγω έγγεγράψεται.

tξαλείφουσι] Lys. 16 § 7, έκ τούτων (the lists of lππεις under the Thirty) βάδιον ήν έξαλειφθήναι τῷ βουλομένω.

25

η ού καν μεν χειροτονήσωσιν, εγγράφουσιν είς τον πίνακα, εί δε μή, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφιᾶσιν.

έκρινεν δέ ποτε καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ τὸν πέπλον ή βουλή, 3 νῦν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ λαγόν εδόκουν γὰρ οὖτοι καταγαρίζεσθαι την κρίσιν. και της ποιήσεως των Νικών, και των άθλων των είς τὰ Παναθήναια, συνεπιμελείται μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικών.

δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ή βουλή νόμος γάρ ἐστιν δς Δ

K(AI) TON K, K-W, H-L: Tà els Tòr B. 20 Expure H-L.

§ 4 *Harp. άδύνατοι :...οὶ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένοι [πεπηρω μένον codd. praeter E (Suid.), ubi ol πεπηρωμένοι το σώμα; το δε σώμα πεπηρωμένοι

§ 3. παραδείγματα] Of the architect's plan for the temple at Delphi, Hdt. v 62. The construction of such a παράδειγμα is illustrated by an inscr. cited by Homolle, Les Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Délos, p. 13, n. 4 : els τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ προπύλου πίνακα ήγοράσαμεν παρά Χρησίμου ΔΗ. επισκευάσαντι τον πίνακα Θεοδήμωι H. λευκώσαντι τὸν πίνακα άμφοτέρωθεν HH. The wood used for the wirak is also mentioned : τοῦ φοίνικος τοῦ περιγενομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ παραδείγματος (Wyse, Class. Rev. v 275 b). Cf. CIA ii 807 b 101 (B.C. 330), παράδειγμα των κεραμίδων των έπι την σκευοθήκην and ib. 126, π. ξύλινον της τριγλύφου της ένκαύσεως. The last item

πετικού της εκαυσείς. Δε πε πετικοίς recurs in B.C. 325, ib. 809 col. e 8, and in B.C. 324, ib. 811 col. b 193.

τον πέπλον] woven by ἐργαστῦναι, under the superintendence of two ἀρρηφόροι and certain priestesses. In CIA ii 477 we have an inscr., ascribed to B.C. 98, referring to a proposal to dedicate to Athene a silver φιάλη with 100 dr. on the part τῶν παρθένων τῶν ἡργασμένων τῷ Αθηνὰ τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον. These were the έργαστίναι αι τον πέπλον boalrouσαι (Hesych.). In CIA ii 956, 957, 957 b, we have lists of εργαστίναι (one of them containing more than 100 names) arranged under their respective tribes, many of them belonging to the Euwarploan (Bull. Corr. Hellén. xiii 170; Mittheil. viii 65). A new peplus was made every year (Schol. Arist. Eq. 566). The loci classici are collected in Michaelis, Parthenon, Anhang II 88 151 -164, 171-3, p. 328-9. Suidas, s. v. επιώψατο, describes the αρρηφόροι as selected by the archon Basileus, while Harpoer., s. v. άρρηφορείν, states that four άρρηφόροι έχειροτονούντο & εύγένειαν, and two of these εκρίνοντο to superintend the πέπλος. The text shews that the appointment was ultimately transferred to a lawcourt to secure an impartial selection.

νθν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον] The date of this transfer to a law-court of duties formerly entrusted to the Council is uncer-The παράδειγμα of the σκευοθήκη designed by Philo was expounded in public by the architect himself:—Cic. de Or. i 62, 'Philonem illum architectum, qui Atheniensibus armamentarium fecit, constat perdiserte populo rationem operis sui reddidisse'; Val. Max. viii 12, 2, 'Philonem...rationem institutionis suae in theatro reddidisse constat.' It was constructed between B.C. 347/6 and 330/29.

The fact that the exposition took place before the 'people,' in the theatre,' is

suggestive of a meeting of the execution rather than one of the βουλή. It is certainly inconsistent with an appearance before a δικαστήριου. There is more evidence for the theatre being used for meetings of the ekkhnola (Müller's Bühnenalterthümer, p. 73) than for those of the βουλή. The only evidence for the latter

is cIA ii 482, B.C. 39—32.

Thus, the above passages respecting Philo suggest that the duty of deciding suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that the suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that the suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that the suggest that the duty of deciding the suggest that on παραδείγματα was in his time not yet transferred to a law-court; on the other hand, they do not refer to any hearing before the Council.

Nικών] 47 § 1. τῶν ἄθλων] The musical, gymnastic, and equestrian contests. Among the minor contests were those in evaropla (60 § 3), the Pyrrhic dance and the Lampa-dedromia (see Michaelis, Parthenon, Anh. II §§ 46—130, and Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v. Panathenaea). The special officials were the ten Athlothetae (60 § 1), who received subsidies from the ταμίαι lepŵr χρημάτων

τῆς 'Αθηναίας (CIA i 188, 1—7).
ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν] 43 § 1.
§ 4. τοὺς ἀδυνάτους] Schol. Aeschin.

30

κελεύει τους έντος τριών μνών κεκτημένους, και το σώμα πεπηρωμένους ώστε μη δύνασθαι μηδέν έργον έργάζεσθαι, δοκιμάζειν μέν την βουλήν, διδόναι δε δημοσία τροφην δύο όβολους εκάστο της ήμέρας.

καὶ ταμίας έστὶν αὐτοῖς κληρωτός.

συνδιοικεί δε και ταις άλλαις άργαις τα πλείσθ, ώς έπος εἰπεῖν.

τα μέν οδυ ύπο της βουλης διοικούμενα ταθτ' έστίν. **50**. κληρούνται δὲ καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ δέκα ἄνδρες, οἱ λαμβά-

28 δύ' όβολοὸς K-W, Β: δύο όβολοὸς cum pap. K, H-L. 31 συνδιοικεί—elπεῦν delet Herwerden utpote 'ex capitis 47 initio maximam partem repetita, hic autem incommoda': eadem recte idcirco retinet K, quod talia Senatus officia nondum omnia

post Bekkerum Dind.]. ελάμβανον δε οὖτοι δοκιμασθέντες ἐπὸ τῆς βουλῆς δύο ὁβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης [ἡ ὁβολὸν], ὧς φησιν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. Bekk. Απ. 345, 15 (cf. 200, 3): οἱ μέρος τι βεβλαμμένοι τοῦ σώματος ὡς μηδὲ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ καὶ ἐχορηγοῦντο τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μισθοφορούντων αὐτῶν (αὐτοῖς cod.) ὡς (τῶν cod.) ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν (om. cod.) περιουσίαν κεκτημένων. ἐδοκιμάζοντο δὲ οἱ ἀδύνατοι ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλής και ελάμβανον τής ήμέρας, ώς μεν Λυσίας λέγει, όβολόν ένα, ώς δε Φιλόχορος, πέντε, 'Αρ. δε δίο εφη. Hesych. οι έντος κεκτημένοι τριών μνών παρά 'Αττικοίς. ελάμβανον δε παρά της βουλής δύο όβολούς (Frag. 430², 470³).

i 103, κατὰ μήνα (πρυτανείαν?) ἐκ τοῦ δη-μοσίου δίδοται τοῖς ὰδυνάτοις πολίταις μισθός άδυνάτους δε πάντας λέγουσι τους όπωσδηποτούν ήχρειωμένους πρός έπικουρίαν έαυτων. At first it was only citizens who were disabled in war that received relief from the state. This institution is ascribed to Peisistratus in Plut. Sol. 31, ο νόμος ο τους πηρωθέντας έν πολέμω δημοσία τρέφειν κελεύων. This limitation was afterwards removed. It is clear that the speaker in Lys. 24, ὑπέρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, had never seen any service in the field; otherwise he would have mentioned the fact (Gilbert, i 329). The speech is addressed to the βουλή on the occasion of an είσαγγελία. The βουλή are there described as having given the grant (§ 7, ξδοτε, and in more general terms § 22, πάλαι κοινŷ πάντες ξδοτέ μοι). The grant had to be confirmed by each successive βουλή, as implied in § 26, την αὐτην ψήφον θέσθε περί έμου ταις δίλλαις βουλαίς. It rested ultimately on a decree of the people, § 22, ή πόλις ήμῶν ἐψηφίσατο τοῦτο τὸ ἀργόριον, but it does not follow that the case of each recipient was settled by decree.

μή δύνασθαι μηδέν έργον έργαζεσθαι] Lys. 24 § 6, τέχνην κέκτημαι βραχέα δυνα-μένην ώφελεῦν ήν αύτος μέν ήδη χαλεπως

έργάζομαι.
Somudζειν] The fact is stated by

Harpocr., Bekker's Anecd. Gr. 345, 18, and Suidas.

δύο όβολούs] Hence in Harpocr. s. v. dδύνατοι the words η δβολον must be struck out (as was suggested by Hulleman, Quaestiones Graceae, p. 5). The text is correctly quoted in Bekker's

text is correctly quoted in Berker's Anacd. Gr. 345, 15.

ταμίαs] In B.C. 343/2, CIA ii 114, there were two βουλής ταμίαι. They superintended τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκόμενα τη βουλή (114 B 61). Early in the third century we have an inscr. mentioning only one; CIA ii 329 Νικοκράτης βου-λεύειν λαχών — και ταμίας αίρεθεις ύπο της βουλης είς τε τὰς θυσίας τοίς.......... συν μεμέρικεν τοις Ιεροποιοίς—και ύπερ άπάντων ων ώκονδμηκεν άπολελόγισται τῆ βουλή δρθώς και δικαίως (Gilbert, i 254); cf. ii 431, 36.

§ 5. συνδιοικεί—πλείσθ'] 47 init.; 57 § 1, ώς δ' έπος είπεῦν — διοικεῖ ούτος πάσας. s twos elwelv] c. 2 ult., is elwelv, 57 \$ 1, is two elwelv.

L-LIII. On minor officials appointed

by lot.

L § 1. lepûr truckevacrat] 'repairers of temples'; not mentioned elsewhere. The small sum allowed for this department (30 minae) implies that their duties were unimportant. The word is used in an unofficial sense in Dem. Androt.

νοντες τριάκοντα μνάς παρά των άπο δε κτων, επισκευάζουσιν τά μάλιστα δεόμενα των ίερων, καὶ ἀστυνόμοι δέκα. τούτων δὲ 2 5 πέντε [μεν] ἄρχουσιν εν Πειραιεί, πέντε δ' εν άστει, καλ τάς τε αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς ψαλτρίας [καὶ] τὰς κιθαριστρίας οὖτοι σκοποῦσιν, ὅπως μὴ πλείονος ἡ δυεῖν δραγμαῖν μισθωθήσονται, κάν πλείους την αυτην σπουδάσωσι λαβείν, ούτοι διακληρούσι και τώ λαγόντι μισθούσιν. καὶ ὅπως τῶν κοπρολόγων μηδεὶς ἐντὸς δέκα το σταδίων τοῦ τείχους καταβαλεῖ κόπρον ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ τὰς , όδους κωλύουσι κατοικοδομείν, και δρυφάκτους ύπερ των όδων

L 3 ἐπισκευάζουσι H-L. 5 πειραει (K-W, B): Πειραιεί K, H-L. AIC

ΑΡΑΧΜ... (fortasse δραχμαΐν scriptum erat); δυείν δραχμαΐν idcirco retinet κ quod in titulis Atticis δυείν cum plurali tantum iunctum sit, Meisterhans, p. 1623; δυείν CTA

δραχμαΐν $K \cdot W^1$, B; δυοΐν δραχμαΐν $H \cdot L$, $K \cdot W^3$. 9 ENTOCIDION: EPTOS T GTANGE J E B Mayor (K-W, H-L, K³, B), έντὸς τ σταδίων <dπò>malebat van Leeuwen. 10 KATABAAHI? ante corr. ETTIMENONTAL.

Testimonia. L § 2 * Harp, αστόνομος:...δέκα φησών είναι τοὺς αστυνόμους 'Αρ. ἐν τῷ 'Αθ. πολ., "πέντε μὲν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, πέντε δ' ἐν αστει." τούτοις δέ φησι μέλειν περί τε τῶν αὐλητρίδων και ψαλτριῶν και τῶν κοπρολόγων και τῶν τοιοότων (Frag. 408², 448³). Heraclidis epitom. Rose, Frag. 611, 8, και τῶν ὀδῶν ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως μή τινες κατοικοδομῶσιν αὐτὰς ἢ δρυφάκτους ὑπερτείνωσιν.

ἀποδεκτών] 48 §§ 1, 2. § 2. ἀστυνόμοι] Pol. 1321 b 18, ἐτέρα δ' ἐπιμέλεια... ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἀστυ δημοσίων και ίδίων, δπως εύκοσμία ή, και τών και όδων σωτηρία και διόρθωσις και τών όριων τών πρός άλλήλους... καλοῦσι δ' άστυνομίαν οι πλείστοι την τοιαύτην άρχην, ib. 1331 b 9 την καλουμένην άστυνομίαν. The fact that the αστυνόμοι were appointed by lot is stated in Dem. 24 § 112. Cf. Gilbert, i 245, and Häderli, die Astynomen und ranomen (Teubner) 1886.

αὐλητρίδας] Hyperides, ii 4, 3, πλείονος ισθοῦντες τὰς αὐλητρίδας ή ὁ νόμος κελεύει. Cf. Plato, Protag. 347 D (of the συμπόσια των φαύλων και άγοραίων ανθρώπων) οὐτοι τιμίας ποιούσι τας αύλητρίδας, πολλού μισθούμενοι άλλοτρίαν φωνήν την τών αύλών. -- δπου δε καλοί κάγαθοί συμπόται καί πεπαιδευμένοι είσίν, ούκ αν ίδοις ούτε αύλητρίδας ούτε όρχηστρίδας ούτε ψαλτρίας. The αύλητρίς (as well as the κιθάρα) is to be seen at the symposium, in Schreiber's Bilderatlas, i 76, 2 and 4; and the κιθαριστρία and the ψαλτρία in the mural paintings from the Farnesina garden in Baumeister's Denkmäler, figs. 1605, 1609.

κοπρολόγων κτλ.] Arist. Frag. 662 Κοck, κοπρολογεί κόφωνον λαβών. Schol. Dem. Timocr. 735. 16, αστυνόμοι ὁ τῶν δημοσίων έπιμελούμενος και τοῦ καθαράν είναι τὴν πόλιν. Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 282.

rds obovs] A decree relating to the Peiraeus which was proposed by Demades in B.C. 320 (Ditt. no. 337) assigns to the αγορανόμοι some of the duties of the ἀστυνόμοι—requiring them ἐπιμεληθήναι τῶν ὀδῶν τῶν πλατειῶν... ἐπαναγκαζόντων δέ και τους του χούν (rubbish) καταβεβλη-κότας els τὰς όδους πάντας άναιρεῦν τρόπω ότφ αν επίστωνται...μη εξείναι μηδενί μητε χούν καταβάλλειν μήτε άλλο μηδέν μήτε κόπρον μήτε έν τῷ ἀγορῷ μήτ' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μηδαμοῦ. Cf. Meier and Schömann, p.

105—8 Lipsius. катоковориту [Xen.] de Rep. Ath. iii 4, бей бе... блавика јего е тіз... катогковорией τι δημόσιον. The general superintendence of buildings has been ascribed to the dorvνόμοι on the analogy of the provisions suggested in Plat. Leg. 763 C, τῶν τε δδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι... καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν. Cf. Polyaen. iii 9, 30, Ἰφικράτης ἐν ἀπορία χρημάτων ἔπεισεν ᾿Αθηναίους τὰ ὑπερέχοντα των οικοδομημάτων ές τὰς δημοσίας όδους

άποκόπτευ ή πιπράσκευ κτλ.

δρυφάκτου: Balconies projecting from the fronts of houses. (Lat. maeniana, like that of the casa del balcone pensile at Pompeii; forbidden at Rome in A.D. 368 ύπερτείνειν, και οχετούς μετεώρους είς την όδον εκρουν έχον[τας] ποιείν, και τάς θυρίδας είς την όδον ανοίγειν και τους έν ταίς όδοις απογυγνομένους αναιρούσιν, έχοντες δημοσίους ύπηρέτας.

51. κληρούνται δὲ καὶ ἀγορανόμοι, πέντε μὲν εἰς Πειραιέα, πέντε δ' είς ἄστυ. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων προστέτακται τῶν ω [νίω]ν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντων, ὅπως καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκίβδηλα πωλήται.

TESTIMONIA. LI § 1 * Harp. αγορανόμοι: οἱ κατὰ τὴν αγοραν ώνια διοικοῦντες αρχοντες... Αρ. δ' ἐν ᾿Αθ. πολ. κληροῦσθαί φησι "πέντε μὲν εἰς Πειραιᾶ, πέντε δὲ εἰς dστυ" (Frag. 4093, 4493).

and again by Honorius and Theodosius.) Schol. Arist. Vesp. 386 δρύφακτοι τὰ νῦν ταβλωτὰ (ταβλώματα Schol. Eq. 675) καλούμενα, τὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐξέχοντα ξύλα, cf. 349 and 830 with Schol.

ένλα, ci. 349 and 830 with Schol.

δχετούς κτλ.] the λαύραι of Arist. Pax
99; cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, p. 284-5.

θυρίδας είς την όδον ανοίγειν] θυρίς is
usually a 'window,' as in de Anima 404
a 4 and Probl. 913 a 10, al διά τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτῦνες, also in Arist. Vesp. 379, and Thesm. 797, έκ θυρίδου παρακύπτωμεν, Plut. Dion 57, πρός ταις θύραις τοῦ οίκου και ταις θυρίσω, and Mor. 522 (de Curiosi-tute 13). The same meaning can be retained in Plat. Rep. 359 D, Ιππον χαλκοῦν, καίλου, θυρίδας έχουτα, καθ' αξ έγκύψαντα εδεῦν ἐνόντα νεκρόν, cf. Lucian, Hermo-timus, 20, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπέπληξε τὸν "Ηφαιστον, διότι μὴ καὶ θυρίδας ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, ώς ἀναπετασθεισών Δίνος, διάσει και διάσει Δίνος, διάσει και διάσει Δίνος, διάσει και διάσει Δίνος, διάσει και διάσει Δίνος, διας, διάσει Δίνος, διάσει Δί κτλ., and Plut. Mor. 2, 273 B, δια τί πύλην μίαν θυρίδα καλοῦσι (την γαρ φαινέστραν τοῦτο σημαίνει») and ib. διά θυρίδος προκύψασα. I can find no passage in which θυρίς means the same as θύρα. In Land S θυρίε is defined as a diminutive of $\theta i \rho a$; but, of the two passages quoted, the first (Plato, l.c.) is inconclusive, and in the second (Plutarch l. c.) it certainly means a 'window.' In a Greek house the principal windows were in the peristyle, and any that looked into the street were on the upper storey. must suppose that windows with shutters opening outwards on to the street were prohibited. Possibly such shutters were considered dangerous in the event of their being loosened by the wind and falling into the street.

The author of the Oeconomica, 2, 1347 a 6, says of Hippias, τὰ ὑπερέχοντα το ύπερώων els τας δημοσίας όδους και τους άναβαθμούς και τα προφράγματα, και τάς θύρας τὰς ἀνοιγομένας ἔξω ἐπώλησεν (taxed, cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 286); and Plutarch, Poplic. 20, infers from

the comic poets that in former days the doors of Greek houses usually opened outwards. Mr Kenyon, who regards θυρίε as synonymous with θύρα, supposes that the ἀστυνόμοι prohibited this. If so, it must have been in defiance of the dorvνόμοι that the doors of Athenian houses, in the time of the Attic comedy, 'habitu-ally opened outwards.' The fact is far from certain, but it does not concern us here, unless $\theta v \rho ls$ is to mean the same as θύρα, an opinion which, in the light of the general usage of Greek authors, we can hardly accept. —θυρίδας and θύρας are, however, sometimes confounded in MSS (see apparatus criticus to Aesch. 1 § 74, συγκλήουσι τὰς θύρας, where one MS has θυρίδας).

αναιρούστιν] 'take up for burial,' Arist. Vesp. 386, Xen. Anab. vi 4, 9. LI § 1. αγορανόμοι] Pol. 1321 b 12, πρώτον μεν οδν επιμέλεια των άναγκαίων ή περί την άγοράν, έφ ή δεί τινα άρχην είναι την έφορώσαν περί τε τὰ συμβόλαια καί την εὐκοσμίαν, and 1299 b 17. Lys. 22 κατά τῶν σιτοπωλῶν, § 16, ἐπὶ μέν τοῖε άλλοις ώνίοις άπασι τους άγορανόμους κατε-στήσατε. In Dem. 24 Timocr. § 112 the dyoparoμos, as well as the dστυνόμος, is described as holding a κληρωτήν dρχήν. Arist. Vesp. 1407, Ach. 724, 968 and Schol. on 896; Xen. Symp. ii. 20. Cf. Meier and Schömann p. 101-4 Lipsius; Schömann, Ant. p. 416; Büchsenschütz, Besitz u. Erwerb, p. 536; Gilbert, i 246; Häderli, die Astynomen und Agoranomen.

έπιμελείσθαι...δπως...πωλήται] At the end of the next sentence the papyrus has έπιμελείσθαι followed by όπως χρήσωνται. In the inscriptions of the fourth century against 37 exx. of δπως ῶν c. subj. we have only one of δπως, CIA ii 115, 45 (Ditt. no. 106), ἐπιμελεῖσθαι...ὅπως... κομίσωνται: in the same inscr. ὅπως ῶν occurs twice (Meisterhans, p. 2122). 29 § 3. In this respect the usage of in-

κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ μετρονόμοι, πέντε μὲν εἰς ἄστυ, πέντε δὲ 2 είς Πειραιέα και ούτοι των μέτρων και των σταθμών έπιμελούνται πάντων, όπως οἱ πωλοῦντες χρήσονται δικαίοις.

ήσαν δε και σιτοφύλακες κληρωτοί, πέντε μεν είς Πειραιέα, 3 πέντε δ' είς άστυ, νῦν δ' εἴκοσι μὲν είς άστυ, πεντεκαίδεκα δ' εἰς το Πειραιέα, ούτοι δ' έπιμελούνται, πρώτον μέν δπως ό έν αγορά

LI 7 χρηςωνται: χρήσονται Sidgwick, Rutherford, Blass, H-L, K-W, K³. 8 δεκαι <δεκα > Β; κληρωτοί <ι'> ex Harp. addiderunt K-W. Quidni etiam in vv. 1, 5? Περαιέα: Πειραιέα Κ, K-W, Β; Πειραιά H-L. 9 EIKOCI (littera i evanida) K. H-L, B: elol ie K-W. 10 ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΑ K, K-W, B: πειραια H-L.

§ 2 * Harp. μετρονόμοι : ἀρχή τις 'Αθήνησίν έστιν ή τῶν μετρονόμων...ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ῖ, ͼ μὲν εἰς Πειραιᾶ, ͼ δ' eἰς ἀστυ (legebatur τὸν ἀριθμὸν ῖϵ, εἰς μὲν τὸν Π. ῖ, ͼ δὲ αριθμόν τ, ε μέν els Πειραιά, ε δ' els doτυ (legebatur τον αριθμόν τε, els μέν τον Π. τ, ε δè els άστυ: epitomes ope correxit Dind. collato Voemelio in Bergkii Ephem. antiq. 1852, p. 31): είχον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπων δίκαια ἢ τὰ μέτρα τῶν πωλουντων, ώς καὶ ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. δηλοῖ. Βεκκ. Απ. p. 278, 25: ἀρχή τις ᾿Αθήνησι κληρωτή ἡ τῶν μετρονόμων, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ῶν πέντε μὲν ἢσαν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, πέντε δὲ ἐν ἄστει. οὖτοι δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν είχον ὅπως δίκαια ἢ τὰ μέτρα τῶν πωλούντων. Photius: ἀρχοντες ἢσαν δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν πέντε μὲν ἐν ἀστει, πέντε δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ: καὶ είχον τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως—πωλούντων (cf. Frag. 412°, 452³).
§ 3 * Ηατρ. σιτοφύλακες: ἀρχή τις ἦν ¾θθνησιν, ἤτις ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως ὁ σῖτος δίκαιως πραθήσεται καὶ τὰ ἄλφιτα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοι. ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμών ῖ, ε μὲν ἐν ἄστει (τὸν ἀριθμόν ῖε μὲν ἐν ἄστει), ε δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ὡς ᾿Αρ. ἐν ᾿Αθ. πολ. Photius: ἀρχή τις—ἄρτοι. ἢσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμών πάλαι μὲν πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐν ἄστει, πέντε δὲ ἐν Π. δστερον δὲ τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, πέντε δ' ἐν Π. Βεκκ. Απ. 300, 19: ἄρχοντες ¾θθνησι κληρωτοί. οὖτοι δ' ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως — οἱ ἄρτοι κατὰ τὰ ωρισμένας τιμὰς καὶ τὸν σταθμόν (Frag. 411², 451²).

(Frag. 4112, 4513).

scriptions differs from that of ordinary literature. In the latter orws a is less common; orws with the future indicative is frequent in both. See Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, §§ 339, 348, ed. 2; Madvig, Gk. Syntax, §§ 122—123. § 2. perpovópo.] The numbers given in the text, five for the city and five for the Distriction of the Distriction of the Points of the Company of the Compan

the Peiraeus, confirm the account in Photius, s.v. art. 1, and Bekker's Anecd. 278, 25 (accepted by Voemel, and Gilbert, i 247). The MSS of Harpoer, have: πσαν δε τον αριθμον ι' ε', εls μεν τον Πειραια ι', ε' δ' els άστυ. Boeckh accepts 15 as the total, but assigns five to the Peiraeus and ten to the city. Dindorf corrects Harpocr. thus: ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἰ', ε' μὲν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ε' δ' εἰς ἄστυ, and this is con-

nirmed by the text.

The party of a long inscr. in CIA ii 476, early in first century B.C., discussed in Boeckh, Staatsh. ii 318-332 Fränkel.

The dpxorres mentioned doubtless the μετρονόμοι. ἐπιμελοῦνται...ὅπως...χρήσονται] The και γρήσωνται, 'Quicunque papyrus has χρήσωνται. 'Quicumque Codices Graecos paulo diligentius inspexit saepissime vidit librarios δτωι et

δπως μή cum coniunctivi aoristis [primis] coniungere, ubi veteres indicativi futurum posuissent' (Cobet, Nov. Lect. 266). Cf. 1. 3.

§ 3. σιτοφύλακες] Harpocr. s. v. ήσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ι'ε' (ι'ε', ι' Valesius) μὲν ἐν ἄστει, ε' δ' ἐν Πειραιεί. These numbers, as altered by Valesius, seemed to be conas altered by valesius, seemed to be con-firmed by Photius, ησαν δε τον άριθμον πάλαι μεν πεντεκαίδεκα, <ί > εν άστει, ε' δ' εν Πειραιεί, and were accepted by Boeckh. But the text, which is Harpocration's authority for his statements, shews that i'e' must be separated in Photius, as well as in Harpocration, so that we get 10 in all, 5 in the city and 5 in the Peiraeus. In Lys. 22 § 8 (of the σιτοφόλακει), οι μὲν τέσσαρει (Bergk, for δύο, a corruption of δ') are contrasted with another member of the board, Anytus. Cf. Boeckh, i 105 Fränkel; Gilbert, i 247.

κληρωτοί Lys. 22 § 16, σιτοφύλακας

άποκληρούτε. νῦν δ' εἴκοσι κτλ.] Photius, ὅστερον δὲ Χ΄ μὲν ἐν ἄστει, ε' δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ. Here the total is correct, but the text shews that Photius ought to have said: κ' μὲν ἐν ἀστει, ι'ε' δ' ἐν Π.

σίτος άργος ώνιος έσται δικαίως, έπειθ' όπως οί τε μυλωθροί πρός τας τιμας των κριθών τα άλφιτα πωλήσουσιν και οί άρτοπώλαι προς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πυρῶν τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἄγοντας δσον αν ούτοι τάξωσιν ό γαρ νόμος τούτους κελεύει τάττειν.

έμπορίου δ' ἐπιμελητὰς δέκα κληροῦσιν' τούτοις δὲ προσ-15 τέτακται των τ' έμπορίων επιμελείσθαι, καὶ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος είς τὸ ᾿Αττικὸν ἐμπόριον τὰ δύο μέρη τοὺς ἐμπόρους αναγκάζειν είς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν.

καθιστασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα κληρωτούς, ἐπιμελησομέ-

17 CITIKON K, K-W, H-L: 'ATTIKO' ex Harp. Torr; dστικόν quondam proposui coll. Bekk. An. 255, 208, 284, 456; accepit B: nunc unice verum arbitror 'Αττικόν, etenim σιτικόν et σστικόν oculi errore e proximis verbis σίτου et ἀστυ videntur irrepsisse.

LII 1 < τους > ἐπιμελησομένους Rutherford, H-I.; cf. Heracl. in Testimoniis.

§ 4 "Harp. έπιμελητής έμπορίου:...'Αρ. "έμπορίου δ' έπιμελητάς -

§ 4 "Harp. ἐπιμελητής ἐμπορίου:...'Αρ. "ἐμπορίου δ' ἐπιμελητάς — τοῦ σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος els τὸ 'Αττικὸν ἐμπόριον — κομίζειν" (Frag. 409³, 449³). Bekk. An. 255, 22: ἐμπορίου ἀρχωντες ἦσαν κληρωτοί, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐκάστου ἔτους καθιστάμενοι, οἰς προσετέτακτο τῶν ἐμπορίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος els τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ ἀστικὸν τὰ δύο μέρη τοὺς ἐμπόριονς ἀναγκάζειν (reliqua propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον omissa)...ib. 208, 26 ἀστικὸν ἐμπόριον ὅπου οἱ ἀστοὶ ἐμπορεύονται. ἡν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ξενικόν, ὅπου οἱ ξένοι (cf. 284, 6; 456, 3).

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LII 1 Heraclidis epitoma; Rose, Frag. 611, 8: ὁμοίως δὲ "καθιστᾶσι καὶ τοὺς ἐνδεκα" τοὺς (secl. K-W; sed fortasse e κληρωτοὺς εκοττιμη) "ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ." Pollux viii 102: οἱ ἔνδεκα: εἰς ἀφ ἐκάστης φυλής ἐγίνετο καὶ γραμματεὺς αὐτοῖς συνηριθμεῖτο...ἐπεμελοῦντο δὲ "τῶν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ" καὶ ἀπῆγον κλέπτας ἀνδραποδιστὰς λωποδύτας, εἰ μὲν ὁμολογοῖεν, θανατώσοντες, εἰ δὲ μή, εἰσάξοντες εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια, κᾶν ἀλώσιν, ἀποκτενοῦντες. Bekk. An. 310, 14: οἱ ἔνδεκα τοὺς κλέπτας καὶ τοὺς λωποδύτας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραποδιστὰς ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἀποκτινούονσιν, ἀντιλέγοντας δὲ εἰσάγουσιν "εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον" (Frag. 429²). Phot.

otros dayos] 'unprepared corn,' Hippocr. Vet. Med. 12, wool dayol. The position of dayos (after, instead of before, σιτος) is defended by Eth. Nic. vi 4, 2, ή μετά λόγου έξις πρακτική ετερόν έστι τής μετά λόγου ποιητικής έξεως, quoted by Dr Jackson to prove that part of a complex epithet may be placed after the article and substantive. Mr Newman

ardice and substantive. Mr Newman adds Pol. 1252 b 27, η ἐκ πλειδεων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις ήδη.
§ 4. ἐμπορίου...ἐπιμελητάς] All that is known of these officials apart from the statement in the text, is that they were the proper authority to receive legal notice (pdois) of any infringement of the law forbidding citizens and resident aliens lending money on the security of a cargo iending money on the security of a cargo bound for any other port than that of Athens. Dem. 35 §§ 50, 51, έἀν τις... χρήματα δανείση εἰς άλλο τι ἐμπόριον ἢ τὸ 'Αθηναίων; 58 §§ 8, 9 (Gilbert, i 248). Cf. Meier and Schöm., p. 98 Lips. The ἐμπόριον extended over the greater part of the east shore of the harbour of the Peiraeus; Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii

96—esp. 114.

ἐμπόριον] After τοῦ σίτου the epithet σιτικὸν (which is first found in Polybius) is redundant. The variant Αττικὸν in 18 redundant. The variant Artikov in Harpocration's quotation of this passage is supported by Dem. 34 § 36, 'Αθηναζε εἰς τὸ 'Αττικὸν ἐμπόριον σιτηγέω, and § 37, εἰ τις...άλλοσέ ποι σιτηγήσειεν ἢ εἰς τὸ 'Αττικὸν ἐμπ., 35 § 28 τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐμπορίου (quoted by Mr Torr). ἀστικὸν is suggested by Bekk. Anecd. 208, ἀστικὸν ἐμπορίου (Ανακον Κουν εἰς Αστικὸν Ανακον Κουν εἰς Αστικὸν Τουν εἰς Ανακον Επορίους Τουν Ελευστοίρευσης. Τουν εἰς Ανακον Επορίους Τουν Ελευστοίρευσης. έμπόριον ' όπου οἱ ἀστοὶ έμπορεύονται. δέ και άλλο ξενικόν, όπου οι ξένοι, cf. 255, 284, 456. One of the parts of the έμπόριον in the Peiraeus was the στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις, also called the mand orod (Dem. 34 § 37, cf. Thue. viii 90, 5, Wachsmuth, m. s. p. 101); but I can find no authority for applying the epithet orrigor to the emπόριον, or to any part of it, at or before the date when the text was written.

LII § 1. 7003 [106eca] c. 7 § 3. Schömann, p. 414; Gilbert, i 243; Dict. Ant.

νους των έν τω δεσμωτηρίω, και τους απαγομένους κλέπτας και τούς ανδραποδιστάς καὶ τούς λωποδύτας, αν μέν [όμολογώ]σι, θανάτω ζημιώσοντας, αν δ' αμφισβητώσιν, είσαξοντας είς τὸ δικα-5 στήριου, καυ μεν αποφύγωσιν, αφήσοντας, εί δε μή, τότε θανατώσοντας, καὶ τὰ [ά]πογραφόμενα χωρία καὶ οἰκίας εἰσάξοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριου, και τὰ δόξαυτα δ[ημ]όσια είναι παραδώσουτας τοις πωληταίς, καὶ τὰς ἐνδείξεις εἰσάξοντας καὶ γὰρ ταύτας εἰσάγουσιν οί ενδεκα. εἰσάγουσι δε τῶν ενδείξεών τινας καὶ οί θεσμο-10 θέται

κληρούσι δὲ καὶ εἰσαγωγέας πέντε ἄνδρας, οῦ τὰς ἐμμήνους 2

2 < κακούργους, τούς τε > κλέπτας, κ-w, coll. Etym. Mag. 3 700s bis delent 3. 4 éd bis H-I. 4 ZHMIWθHCONTACENA COTT K.

ήγεμονία δικαστηρίου :...τοις ένδεκα όσαι ληστάς και λωποδύτας και άνδραποδιστάς είσάγουσι. Etym. M. 338, 31: κληρωτοί άρχοντες ήσαν ούτοι, προεστηκότες τοῦ εισαγουσι. Είγηι. Νι. 330, 31: κληρωτοι αρχοντες ήσων ουτοι, προεστηκονες του δεσμωτηρίου και τους άπα γομένους κακούργους έπι θάνατον παραλαμβάνοντες έζημίουν τους δὲ ἀμφωρητοῦντας εἰσῆγον "εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον" και τὸ γνωσθέν περί αὐτῶν ἔπραττον. εἰσῆγον δὲ "και τὰ ἀπογραφόμενα χωρία «και Schleusner» οἰκίας" και τὰ "δημόσια είναι" δόξαντα παρεδίδουν τοῦς πολίταις (πωληταῖς Schleusner). εἰσῆγον τὰ "δημόσια είναι" δόξαντα παρεδίδουν τοις πολίταις (ποληταις Schleusner). είσηγου δὲ ένίας ἐνδείξεις. Βεκκ. Απ. 150, 4: ...και τοὺς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ κακουργήμασι παρελλαμβανον κλέπτας και ἀνδραποδιστὰς και φονεῖς. και τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογοῦντας θανάτψ ἐξημίουν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφισβητοῦντας εἰσῆγον εἰς δικαστήριον. Schol. Arist. Verp. 1108: ἡ τῶν ἔνδεκα ἀρχὴ τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογοῦντας και ἀνδραποδιστὰς και λωποδύτας θανάτψ ἐκόλαζον, τοὺς δὲ ἀρνουμένους εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσῆγον. εἰσῆγον' δὲ και τὰς ἐνδείξεις. Schol. Patm. Dem. p. 11, 16, Sakkelion; Schol. Lucian. iv 170 Jacobitz. § 2 Pollux viii 101: εἰσαγωγεῖς οἱ "τὰς ἐμμήνους δίκας" εἰσάγοντες ἡσαν δὲ

απαγομένους κλέπτας...άνδραποδιστάς...λωποδύτας] Isocr. Antid. § 90, τοῦτον απαγαγών ἀνδραποδιστήν καὶ κλέπτην και λωποδύτην. Meier and Schöm. p. 273-6, Lips. Pollux de δραποδιστής ό του έλευθερου καταδουλούμενος ή του άλλοτριου οίκέτην υπαγόμενος.

κλέπται, ανδραποδισταί and λωποδύται came under the general heading of κακούργοι; cf. [Dem.] 35 Lacr. 47, τοι-χωρύχους και κλέπτας και τους άλλους κακούργους τους έπι θανάτω οδτοι (ες. οί erδεκα) elσάγουσιν, Androt. §§ 26-28. Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 86 Lips.

αν μεν όμολογώσι κτλ.] Aeschin. 1 § 113, οἱ δὲ νόμοι κελείουσι τῶν κλεπτῶν τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογοῦντας θανάτω ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀρνυμένους κρίνεσθαι, and Dem. in Timocr. § 65, των...κακούργων τους όμολογούντας άνευ κρίσεως κολάζευ οι νόμοι κελεύουσιν. Schol. Arist. Verp. 1108, ή των ένδεκα άρχη τους μέν όμολο-γούντας και άνδραποδιστάς και λωποδίτας θανάτω έκολαζον, τους δε άρνουμένους els δικαστήριον είσηγον. These passages (quoted in Class. Rev. v 224) prove the incorrectness of the interpretation suggested in the Saturday Review, March 21,

1891, p. 359 'if (the Eleven) are unanimous...or if they disagree.' See also the passages quoted in the Testimonia.

θανάτο Dem. 4 § 47, τον άνδραπο-διστών και λωποδυτών θάνατον...κακούργου μέν γάρ έστι κριθέντ' άποθανείν.

rd απογραφόμενα χαρία κτλ.] Our knowledge of this part of the duties of the Eleven has hitherto been derived from the Etym. Magn. 338, 35, which is obviously quoted from the text: see Testimonia. Meier and Schömann, p. 88

παληταίε] 47 § 2. τας ενδαίξειε] Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1108, elogyor de kal ras erdelfeis. Bekker, Anecd. 250, 11, rûr de érdelfeur elseépeper els discorrispor às nêr ol érdesa, às de ol θεσμοθέται. Etym. Mag. 338, 39, elσηγω δὲ ἐνίας ἐνδείξεις (Meier and Schömann, p. 87 Lipsius). The text does not enable us to distinguish between the evocates under the control of the Eleven, and those under that of the Thesmothetae. The general statement, ral yap raires elodyovour of erocka, is modified in the following sentence.
§ 2. elsaywyéas] These officials are

εἰσάγουσι δίκας, δυοίν φυλαίν [ε]καστος εἰσὶ δ' εμμηνοι προικός, έάν τις όφείλων μη άποδώ, κάν τις έπὶ δραχ[μ]η δανεισάμενος άποστερή, κάν τις έν άγορά βουλόμενος έργάζεσθαι δανείσηται παρά [τι]νος ἀφορμήν' ἔτι δ' αἰκείας καὶ ἐρανικαὶ καὶ κοινωνικαὶ 15 καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ὑποζυγ[ίων] καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ τραπεζιτι-

18 ΑΠΟΔωι (K) cf. Lys. 30 § 22 δύο τάλαντα ἀποδοῦναι : ἀποδοδῷ Blass, Kontos, K-W, H-L; cf. Dem. 34 § 13 οὐδ ἀποδίδωσι τὸ δάνειον. ἐπὶ δραχμῆς: ὑπὲρ δραχμὴν 14 dr: EAN. 15 AIKEIAC (K, H-L, B): aiklas K-W. EPANIKAC-KOΙΝωΝΙΚΑC (K1, B): έρανικαl—κοινωνικαl Bury, K-W, H-L, K3. 'Desiderantur autem έμπορικαί, cf. Poll.' (B). 16 ΤΡΙΗΡΑΡΧΙΑC (K, H-L, B): τριηραρχικαί Bury (K-W). TPATTEZITIKAC (Β): τραπεζιτικαί Bury, K-W, H-L, K3.

προικός, έρανικαί, έμπορικαί. Hesych. είσαγωγή (είσαγωγής = -εῖς Scaliger): άρχη Αθήνησι τῶν τὰ έγκληματα (leg. έμμηνα κ-w) είσαγώντων (cf. Schol. Dem. Mid. § 3).

mentioned twice in Pollux viii 93, άρχης τάς έμμήνους δίκας είσάγοντες, ήσαν δέ προικός, έρανικαί, έμπορικαί. But their existence was doubted by Meier. doubts were dispelled in 1860 by the publication of an inscr. of B.C. 425/4 relating to the superintendence of judicial relating to the superintendence of judician proceedings connected with the assessment of the tribute; CIA i 37, 47, έπι τῶν ἐσαγωγέων (Meier and Schömann, p. 94 Lips.; Gilbert, i 396). The text shews that their number was five; not ten, as had been conjectured.

Pollux is mistaken in placing έμπορικαὶ δίκαι under the control of the είσαγωγείς. These were under the Thesmothetae as is proved by passages in the Orators, and by c. 50 § 5, quoted elsewhere by Pollux himself. In CIA i 38, frag. f, certain emuestyral are appointed to attend to cases of delay in the payment of tribute, o[l δε έπιμεληταί έσαγό] στων ξιμηνα ές τὸ δικαστήριον, thus shewing that at that time (probably shortly after 432 B.C.) there were some ξμμηνοι δίκαι not under the

were some εμμηνοι οίκαι not under the care of the elσαγωγείς (Gilbert, i 358).

τds εμμήνους δίκαε] Lawsuits which had to be decided within a month (Meier and Schöm. p. 906 f.). They are first mentioned in B.C. 425/4, CIA i 38 (quoted in last note). The text mentions several varieties of such lawsuits that are omitted by Pollux.

προικόs] actions for restitution of dowry.

(1) If the husband divorced his wife, he was bound to return the dowry or to pay interest at the rate of 18 per cent. per annum (Dem. Aph. i 17, Near. 52). The κόριος might enforce these claims by a προικός δίκη (Isaeus 3 §§ 9, 78). (2) A similar action might be brought against the heirs who kept a widow out of her

rights. The olkan wpoints in the text are limited by the definition in the next

clause, έἀν τις δφείλων μη ἀνοδῷ.
κάν τις ἀνοστερῆ] The benefit of the
expeditious process for recovery of debts is here limited to creditors who are satisfied with what in Athens was regarded as the moderate rate of 12 per garded as the moderate rate of 12 per cent. (Dem. Aphob. i 23, 35; Aesch. Cles. 104; cf. Boeckh, i 156 Fränkel). Those who charge higher rates, such as 16, 18 or even 36 per cent., are excluded from this privilege. Lipsius in Leipzig. Verhandlungen, 1891, p. 57 n.

Δφορμήν] 'capital.' The speech of Dem. pro Phormione is a παραγραφή to a δίκη φφορμήν. The text refers to the case of a small tradesman setting up business

of a small tradesman setting up business in the market-place and refusing to repay the capital he had borrowed for the pur-

alkelas] Meier and Schöm. p. 647 f. Lips. About B.C. 346/5, according to Dem. c. Pantaenetum 37 § 33, the tribunal in such cases was the Forty; cf. Schol. Plat. Rep. 464 E. The text implies that the tribunal had been changed.

eparical] lawsuits for the recovery of friendly loans, or for the decision of disputes between various members of an lparos (Meier and Schöm. p. 637-643 Lips.).

kolvevikal] suits against corporations (Meier and Schömann, p. 767 Lips.). In Dem. 14 § 16 ROLPWICK probably means property held by corporations (ib. p. 602,

Lips. note 321).

dvopamóber | Dem. Callicl. 55 88 31,
34 (Meier and Schömann, p. 766). By
the law of Solon quoted in Lys. c. Theo mnest. i 19, (the owner was liable) oleijos και δούλης βλάβην δφείλειν, cf. Plat. Leg. 936 D. On wwolvylov ark. see next page.

καί. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν ταύτας δικάζουσιν ἐμμήνους εἰσάγ[ον]τες, οἱ δ' 3 αποδέκται τοῖς τελώναις καὶ κατά τῶν τελωνῶν, τὰ μὲν μέχρι δέκα δραγμών όντες κύριοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγοντες 10 έμμηνα.

53. κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρας ἐκ τῆς φυλής έκάστης, πρός οθς τὰς ἄλλας δίκας λαγγάνουσιν οδ

18 δέκα <(= δραχμῶν).

1-2 εκ της φγλης (casu obliteratum) LIII 1 <τούς> τετταράκοντα K-W. фүхнс

EKACTHC $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\xi}$ $\dot{\epsilon}$ kástys ϕ uhûs K^1 ; $\dot{\epsilon}$ k tûs ϕ uhûs $\dot{\epsilon}$ kástys K-W, H-L, K^3 , B. 2 ANNAC : Idias Wyse.

§ 3 Pollux viii 97: ἀποδέκται δὲ ήσαν δέκα, οι τούς φόρους και τὰς είσφορὰς και τὰ τέλη υπεδέχοντο, και τα περί τούτων αμφισβητούμενα έδικαζον. εί δέ τι μείζον είη, elogyor els bikasthoior.

LIII § 1 * Harp. κατά δήμους δικαστάς:...περί των κατά δήμους δικαστών, ώς "πρότερι LIII § 1 * Harp. κατὰ δήμους δικαστάς:...περὶ τῶν κατὰ δήμους δικαστῶν, ὡς "πρότερον μὲν—ἐδίκαζον," εἶτα ἐγένοντο τετταράκοντα, εἶρηκεν 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ < 'Αθγναίων addidit Μείετ> πολιτεία. Pollux viii 101: οἱ δὲ τετταράκοντα "πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν τριάκοντα," οἱ περιιώντες κατὰ δήμους τὰ μέχρι δραχμῶν δέκα ἐδίκαζον, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παρεδίδοσαν "μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα δλιγαρχίαν" μίσει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ τριάκοντα τετταράκοντα ἐγένοντο. Phot.: κληρωτή τις ἦν 'Αθήνησιν ἀρχή μ (μετὰ cod.) τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἱ τὰς ἱδίωτικὰς δίκας ἐδίκαζον' ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἄχρι "δέκα δραχμῶν αὐτοτελεῖς" ἦσαν δικάζειν, τὰς δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτας τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παρεδίδουν.

Βελέκ. Απ. 206. 12: ἀρχή τἱς ἐστι κληρωτή τεσσαράκοντα τὸν αθιθμόν ποὸς οῦς οἱ δίνας καθερίδουν. Bekk. Απ. 306, 15: άρχή τίς έστι κληρωτή τεσσαράκοντα τὸν άριθμὸν πρός οὖς al Τδιαι δίκαι έλαγχάνοντο και τὰ "μέχρι δέκα δραχμῶν." "τὰ δ' ὑπέρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παραδιδόασιν" (cf. p. 310, 22; Frag. 413², 453³).

1. 16. ὑποζυγίων] actions arising out of damage done by beasts of draught or of damage done by beasts of traught of burden. Cf. Solon's law in Plut. Sol. 24; and Plat. Leg. 936 E, εἰν ὑποῦνγιον ἡ ἔππος (Dinarch. c. Antiph. περί ἔππου) ἡ κύων (Lys. περί τοῦ κυνός ap. Harpoct. s. v. καρκίνος) ή τι τῶν άλλων θρεμμάτων σίνηται τι τῶν πέλας, κατά ταὐτα έκτίνειν την βλάβην (τὸν δεσπότην). The special case of homicide caused by a υποζύγιον ή ζώον άλλο τι is considered ib. 873 E

(inf. c. 57 ad fin.).

TOURDEN (as] The speech delivered by Apollodorus against Polycles, [Dem.] Or. 52, belongs to this class. Polycles failed to join his ship for four months after the official year had expired, and his prede-cessor Apollodorus had incurred extra expenses for which he sues Polycles.

τραπεζιτικαί] In the Trapeziticus of Isocr. the banker Pasion is accused of repudiation and forgery.—δίκαι μεταλλικαί and europeral are not included in the list. probably because they came under the ηγεμονία of the Thesmothetae (Dem. c. Apol. § 12, and inf. 59 § 5). § 3. Succisource] i.e. have the type-

μονία του δικαστηρίου in these law-suits. Meier and Schöm. p. 43 Lips. Cf. c. 57 ad fin.

dтовіктац] с. 48 § 1.

rols relatives] e.g. the farmers of the public taxes were allowed to bring a odous against any one suspected of de-frauding the revenue. They might even arrest him and bring him before a magis-

trate. Cf. Gilbert, i 335.
LIII § 1. теттаракотта] a body of officials instituted by Peisistratus under the name of ol κατὰ δήμους δικασταί (16 the name of of κατά σημούς οικάσται (16 g 5), revived in B.C. 453/2 (26 g 3), and (as stated in the text) increased in number from 30 to 40 after the time of the Thirty tyrants. They are mentioned in Isocr. Antid. 237, έν δὲ ταῖς τῶν τετταράκοντα (σανίσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἐνεῦναι) τούς τ' ἐν τοῖς ίδίοις πράγμασιν άδικουντας και τούς μή δικαίως έγκαλοῦντας. In Dem. Paset. 33 we are told that cases of aikeia and τὰ Tur Bialur came under their jurisdiction. They are described as appointed by lot in Timor. 1112, el μέν τις άγορανόμος ή δικαστής κατά δήμους κλοπής έν ταις εὐθύναις έάλωκεν, άνθρωπος πένης και ιδιώτης και πολλών άπειρος και κληρωτή άρχην άρξας. It was only in unimportant cases, where the matter in dispute was not above the value of 10 drachmas, that they were competent to decide on their own authority: other cases they referred.

πρότερ[ον] μεν ήσαν τριάκοντα, καὶ κατὰ δήμους περιιόντες εδίκαζου, μετά δε την επί των τριάκοντα όλιγαρχία[ν] τετταράκοντα 27.]2 γεγόνασιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν || μέχρι δέκα δραχμών αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσὶ 5 [κρίνει]ν, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παραδιδόασιν. οί δὲ παραλαβόντες, [έ]αν μη δύνωνται διαλῦσαι, γιγνώσκουσι, καν μεν αμφοτέροις αρέσκη τα γνωσθέντα [καλ] εμμένωσιν, έχει τέλος ή δίκη. αν δ' ὁ ἔτερος ἐφῆ τῶν ἀντιδίκων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, έμβαλόντες τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰς 10 έχίνους, χωρίς μέν τὰς τοῦ διώκοντος, χωρίς δὲ τὰς τοῦ φεύγοντος,

8 ΠΕΡΙΟΝΤΕΟ retinent K-W2 (et B) coll. Hyper. i 13, 6 et ii 2, 12: περιώντες K, K-W¹, H-L. 4 επι supra versum, non habet Pollux. 7 ΓΙΓΝωϊ CΚΟΥ CI
γιγρώσκουσι (coll. 54, 7 et Herondae papyro V 21) B: sed cf. Meisterhans, p. 141, 17². 9 έων H-L.

§ 2 "Harp. διαιτηταί:...καί εί μὲν ήρεσκε τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις, τέλος εἶχεν ἡ δίκη· εί δὲ μή, τὰ ἐγκλήματα και τὰς προκλήσεις και τὰς μαρτυρίας, ἔτι δὲ και τους νόμους και τὰς ἄλλας πίστεις ἐκατέρων ἐμβαλόντες εις καδίσκους και σημηνάμενοι παρεδίδοσαν τοῖς είσαγωγεῦσι τῶν δικῶν. λέγει δὲ περί αὐτῶν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. Pollux viii 126: ἡ δ' έφετις αύτων el els δικαστήριον γένοιτο, els έχυνον τὰς ψήφους (sic) έμβαλόντες ίδια έκατέρας τὰς τοῦ φεύγοντος καὶ διώκοντος κατεσημαίνοντο. Bekk. An. 235, 20.

έκατέρας τὰς τοῦ φεύγοντος καὶ διώκοντος κατεσημαίνοντο. Bekk. Απ. 235, 20.

11 "Harp. έχωσς: ἔστι μὲς ἄγγος τι εἰς ὅ τὰ γραμματεῖα τὰ πρὸς τὰ δίκας ἐτίθεντο...
μημονεύει τοῦ ἀγγους τούτου καὶ 'Αρ. ἐν τῷ 'Αθ. πολ.... Phot. ὶ 240 Naber, ἐχῶοι: οἱ
μὲν χαλκοῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ κεράμου· εἰς οῦς καθιᾶσιν οἱ διαιτηταὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα τῶν μαρτυριῶν
ἄ τινες ἐμαρτύρησαν, καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι μετὰ ταῦτα εἰ ἐγκληθεἰη ἡ δίαιτα τοῖς δικασταῖς
ἐπεδίδουν (fere eadem habet "Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1436, additis τοῦ δ΄ ἄγγους τούτου
καὶ Δημοσθέτης μνημονεύουσι καὶ 'Αρ.). Phot. ἐχῶνος: καδίσκος τἰς ἐστι χαλκοῦς, εἰς δν
αί τε μαρτυρίαι καὶ αὶ προκλήσεις ἔγγραφοι ἐνεβάλλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικαζομένων καὶ κατεσημαίνοντο ἴνα μηδεἰς κακουργήση περὶ τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα (fere eadem Etym. Μ.; καὶ
κατεσημαίνετο ὁ ἐχῶνος, ικα μηδεἰς κακουργήση μετὰ τὸ ἀπαξ ἐμβάλλεσθαι, Bekk. Απ.
258, 6). Cf. Frag. 415², 455².

in the first instance, to the arbitrators, and, if necessary, to the law-courts.

Gilbert, i 358.

Most of the cases concerned with the rights of property were supposed by Meier to come under the jurisdiction of the Thesmothetae. Lipsius, in his re-93, (1) assigns them to the Forty; he also (2) identifies the δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους with the δικασταί concerned with the several tribes (ib. p. 90 n.). Thus they could act in their several divisions of four for each of the ten tribes. Lastly, (3) he holds that after a time they ceased to go on circuit and held their court in Athens. The first of these opinions is opposed by Caillemer in Daremberg and Saglio, Dict. Ant. iii 200 f.; but all three are confirmed by the text. (1) is supported by ras alkas alkas, whereby they have jurisdiction over all causes not as signed to the Eleven, the eloaywyeis and άποδέκται. (2) by c. 48 § 5, οί τὴν φυλὴν εἰσάγοντες, 58 § 2, οί τὴν φυλὴν δικάζοντες, and inf. § 2, οί τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζοντες.

λαγχάνουστυ] εε. 'the suitors.' § 2. μέχρι δέκα δραχμών] In B.C. 445/4 (CIA i 29 and iv p. 12) we have mention of a court probably consisting of thirty members, appointed by lot from the κληρούχοι of Hestiaia and Ellopia and competent to decide cases of this kind. In Pol. 1300 b 23 and 32, Ar. approves of the institution of two separate courts, according to the value of the matter in dispute: matters that are worth little more than five drachmas need not be referred els δικαστών πλήθος.

atroradis 3 % 5 ult.
Saurnrais Meier and Schöm. pp. 48,
1009—1015; Smith, Dict. Ant. s.v. The text shews that all private causes (except the Eminor dirac, c. 52) were in the first instance tried by the diairntal.

έμβαλόντες - έχίνους] Dem. 45 § 17, έχρην αυτό το γραμματείον είς τον έχίνον έμβαλείν and ib. 57, also 48 § 48, αντίγραφα (συνθηκών) έμβαλέσθαι είς τον έχίνον. μαρτυρίαs, Meier and Schöm. p. 873

ff. Lips.; προκλήσεις, ib. 871 ff.

καλ τούτους κατασημηνάμενοι, καλ την [γνω]σιν του διαιτητου γεγραμμένην εν γραμματείφ προσαρτήσαντες, παραδιδόασι τοίς τέτταρσι τοις την φυλην του φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν οι δε παρα- 3 15 λαβόντες εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, [τὰ μὲν έ]ντὸς χιλίων εἰς ένα καὶ διακοσίους, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ χιλίας εἰς ἔνα καὶ τετρακοσίους. οὐκ ἔξεσ[τι δ' οὕ]τε νόμοις οὕτε προκλήσεσι οὕτε μαρτυρίαις άλλ' ή ταις παρά του διαιτητού γρησθ[αι ταις είς] τους έχίνους έμβεβλημέναις. διαιτηταί δ' είσιν οίς αν έξηκοστον έτος ή. τοῦτο δὲ 4

12 $[\gamma\nu\hat{\omega}]\sigma\nu$ $\tau\circ\hat{\nu}$ B; $[\kappa\rho l]\sigma\nu$ $\tau\circ\hat{\nu}$ K, H-L; $[\kappa\rho l\sigma]\nu$ $<\tau\hat{\nu}$ > $\tau\circ\hat{\nu}$ K-W; in ectypo fere nihil dispici potest; γνώσιν defendit Dem. 40 § 42 κατά γνώσιν διαιτητοῦ, 21 § 92 διαιτητοθ γρώσι», 33 § 22 γρώσι»—διαίτης, 36 § 17 τῆς γρώσεως. Κ³, Β: τοῖς ἐπὶ? Κ¹; πάλιν Κ-W, -ν εὐθύς Η-L.

14 τ(HC)ς 18 TOICA ? TOUS & K³, В: то̂s éπl? K¹; тали к-w, -, сооб 1.— Wyse, K-W, H-L, K³, В, coll. с. 48 § 5, с. 58 § 2. 14 τ(HC)φγλ(HO) K1: τὴν φυλὴν

§ 3 Pollux viii 48 infra laudatus.

§ 4 έξηκοστον έτος. Cf. Bekk. An. 235, 3, infra laudatum, § 5 της ήλικίας κτλ.

κατασημηνόμενοι, cf. 39 § 17, σεσημασμένων τῶν έχίνων, 47 § 16, έσημάνθησαν οι έχῦνοι (and ib. προκλήσεως έμβεβλημένης σοι και μαρτυρίας), and 54 § 27, τψ μή

σημανθήναι τους έχίνους. In Meier and Schöm. p. 904 Lips. it is assumed that the έχθος was used for the reception of documents handed in at the drakpiois. Thus Dem. 28 § 1, dreβάλετο τηρήσας την τελευταίαν ημέραν, is there referred to the 'last day of the dranpors.' Mr Wyse suggests that there is no reason why it should not refer to the arbitration. It may be doubted whether in the Attic orators there is a single certain example of exists except in con-nexion with arbitration. To the pas-sages above quoted may be added 39 \$\frac{8}{9}\$ 22, 37; 34 \\$ 46; 40 \\$\frac{8}{9}\$ 21, 28, 58; 45 \\$\frac{8}{9}\$ 8, 20, 31, 57, 58, 61; 49 \\$\frac{8}{9}\$ 10, 55, 65; 54 \\$\frac{8}{9}\$ 30. There is nothing in the lexicographers which refers to the the lexicographers which refers to the drdxpass before the presiding magistrate: Harp. s. v. έχινοι (= Phot. i, Suid. 1); Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1436 where ol διαιτηταl are named, (= Phot. 3, έχινοι—έπεδίδουν, and Suid. s. v. έχινοι); Photius, έχινοι 2 (= Lex Seg. 258, 3, with trifling variants; cf. Etym. Mag. p. 404, 54); Harp. s. v. διαιτηταί; Pollux viii. 27: Schol. Patm. Dem. 48 8 48.—It is 127; Schol. Patm. Dem. 48 § 48.—It is clear from col. 31 l. 11 that Hesychius in εμπήκτης does not refer to the dσάκρισι as supposed in Meier and Schöm. l.c. (Wyse).

προσαρτήσαντες] used in several pas-

sages of Hist. An.

τοίς την φυλήν του φείγοντος δικά-ζουσι] 48 § 5; 58 § 2. Probably those of the Forty who belonged to the same

tribe as the defendant.

§ 3. Αντός χιλίων κτλ.] The number of the δικασταί varies with the value of the matter in dispute: for property under 1000 dr. the court consists of 201 diragral; for property above that amount, of 401. Pollux, viii 48, says of cases of φάσις: elσήγετο δέ τὰ μεν έντος χιλίων els ένα καί διακοσίους, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ χιλίας els ένα καὶ τετρακοσίους. This statement ultimately comes from the text which shews that the distinction was not confined to cases of odos. This conclusion had already been drawn by Heffter, Att. Gerichtsverfass.
p. 55, and Frankel, Att. Geschworenengerichte, p. 102. From Dem. c. Mid.
223 it has been inferred that the round number of 200 was the smallest number for a δικαστήριον: αν τε διακοσίους αν τε χιλίους αν θ' δπόσους αν ή πόλις καθίση

own there is no stood of π hours kabler (Meier and Schöm. p. 170 Lips.).

own there is no lipe in the lipe is not the lipe in the lipe is not the lipe in the lipe in the lipe in the lipe is not the lipe in the

stolen an important deposition which the speaker expected to find in the εχῦνος. Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 904 Lips.

§ 4. Ετικοστάν έτος] ε.ε. on attaining the age of 59. As explained below, there was a cycle of 42 ἐπῶνιμοι τῶν ἡλικιῶν. All who attained the age of 18 in any given year had an ἐπῶνιμοι assigned to them. After completing 41 years, during which they were liable to be called out on military duty, they reached the age of on military duty, they reached the age of 59 and then served as determine age of 59 and then served as determine for one year,—their 'sixtieth year.' The επώνυμος assigned to the εφηβοι in each year was the ἐπώνυμος of the διαιτηταί who had held office in the previous year.

δήλον [έ]κ τῶν ἀργόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐπώνυμοι 20 δέκα μὲν οἱ τῶν φυλῶν, δύο δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα οἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν οί δ' ἔφηβοι ἐγγραφόμενοι πρότερον μέν εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεια ενεγράφουτο, και επεγράφουτο αυτοις ο τ' άρχων εφ' ου ένεγράφησαν καὶ ὁ ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ [ἔτει] δεδιαιτηκώς, νῦν δ' εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν ἀναγράφονται, καὶ ἵσταται ή στήλη πρὸ τοῦ 25 5 βουλε[υτ]ηρίου παρά τοὺς ἐπωνύμους. τὸν δὲ τελευταίον τῶν

22
 εγγραφόμετοι quondam Blass (H-L); ol etiam Harp. omisit. εΝΓΡΑΦ. 24 ο επώνυμος: επώνυμος Harp. προτερωι (item Harp.): πρότερον K-W, Poland, B. ΔεΔΙΔΙΤΗΚωC (edd.): δεδεικτικώτ (Harp. codices plerique), δεδειητικώτ Aldum secutus Dind., δεδειφκηκώτ Rose; ἐπιδεδημηκώτ Photius et Suidas. 26 'π' (sc. περί) fortasse per errorem pro π' (sc. παρά)' Κ. περί dubitanter retinet Κ; παρά K-W, H-L, B.

ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν] 21 § 6. τῶν ἡλικιῶν] It has been sometimes supposed that the archon ἐπώνυμος of the year, in which a citizen reached the age of military service, was deemed to be the came of age in the same year. Thus the 42 ἐπώνυμοι would be the series of 42 archons corresponding to the 42 groups of citizens who were at any given time between the ages of 18 and 60 (Schömann, Ant. p. 423; Gilbert, i 300). But in the text the αρχοντει are contrasted with the ἐπώνυμοι, and the latter divided into ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν and τῶν ἡλικιῶν. As the ἐπ. τῶν φυλῶν derived their names from ten of the Attic heroes, selected out of 100 (21 § 6), the ex. των ήλωιων were presumably selected out of the remaining The period of military service was included within a cycle of 42 years, each of them probably bearing the name of one of the Attic heroes. When a youth attained the age of 18, he was enrolled under the archon of the year and also under the eponymous hero under whom those of the citizens who had just completed their 42 years had been originally entered. This is Mr Kenyon's view and it appears to be substantially correct, except that the 42nd year of service was really devoted to the duties of the diairnral which occupied the sixtieth year of the citizen's life (ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος). It was when he reached the age of 59 (not 60, as Mr Kenyon

says) that the citizen served as an arbitrator.

The lists were unfortunately drawn up on perishable material, at first on wood afterwards on bronze, and no example of the στήλη χαλκή of the writer's time has survived. Had marble been used instead, the result might have been different, and an interesting question might have been conclusively decided. We have indeed several lists of diairnral, all on marble; but these are for another purpose. Thus for B.C. 325/4 we have no less than 103 names with the superscription: διαιτηταί οἱ ἐπὶ ᾿Αντικλίξουν ἄρχοντος ἀνάθοσαν στοφαρωθότε(ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δελίνους (Cla ji oca) καξικός (for a name of the control of the δή]μου (CIA ii 943); also (for an un-known year) a list of 88 names (ib. 944); and there are lists of a few such names for B.C. 330 and 329 (ib. 941—2). But none of these preserve any record of an eπώνυμος τῆς ἡλικίας.

λαλτικομένα] 47 88 2, 4. δ έπ. δ Seδιαιτηκώς] A brief expression for the eponymus of the citizens who served as diairnral for the previous year.

8εδιαιτηκώς] In classic Attic this verb usually has the double augment in the pf. and plpf., ε. g. pf. Dem. 33 § 31 δεδιήτηκα, 21 § 85 κατεδεδιητήκει (Dind.) οτ καταδεδ. (Bekk.); Thuc. vii 77 δεδιήτημαι, Dem. 21 §§ 85, 96 dπο-, 55 § 61 κατα-; plpf. ἐδεδιήτητο, Thuc. i 132 ἐξ- (Veitch). βουλευτηρίου κτλ.] Paus. i 5, 1, τοῦ β.... πλησίου Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη...ἀνωτέρω

έπωνύμων λαβόντες οί [τεττ]αράκοντα διανέμουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς διαίτας, καὶ ἐπικληροῦσιν ᾶς ἔκαστος διαιτήσει καὶ ἀναγκαίον ᾶς αν εκαστος λάγη διαίτας εκδιαιταν. ὁ γαρ νόμος, αν τις μή 30 γένηται διαιτητής της ήλικίας αὐτῷ καθηκούσης, ἄτιμον είναι κελεύει, πλην έαν τύχη άρχην άρχων τ[ιν]α έν έκείνω τώ ένιαυτώ ή ἀποδημών, οὖτοι δ' ἀτελεῖς εἰσὶ μόνοι, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ εἰσαγ-6 γέλλειν είς τοὺς διαιτητάς, ἐάν τις ἀδικηθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαιτητοῦ, κἄν τινος καταγνώσιν, άτιμοῦσθαι κελεύουσιν οι νόμοι έφεσις δ' έστὶ 35 καὶ τούτοις. χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας. 7 καὶ ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσι, προγράφουσιν ἀπὸ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπων[ύμου μ]έχρι τίνων δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι.

29 διαίτας (hiatu admisso) secl. K-W. 31 Tura év K-W, K8, B; đất H-L 38 ΔΙΑΙΤΗΤΑC (K-W, K3, B): δικαστάs Harp. (K1, άλλην K1, τις έν Burnet (H-L). et H-L qui alioquin els τους άλλους διαιτητάς exspectarent). 36 a < : ἀπὸ Harp. (K, K-W, H-L). 37 TINWN: TUOS Harp.

§ 5 ἐπικληροῦσιν—ἀτιμον είναι. Pollux viii 126 infra exscriptus.

§ 6 Harp. είσαγγελία infra exscriptus.

δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν 'Aθηναίοις υστερον τὰ δυδματα έσχον al φυλαί.

§ 5. ἐπικληροῦσιν] Pollux viii 126, ἐπεκληροῦντο αὐτοῖς al δίαιται, καὶ ἀτιμία (cf. άτιμον) άφώριστο τῷ μὴ διαιτήσαντι τὴν ἐπικηρωθείσαν δίαιταν. In Dem. Aphob. iii 58 a public (as contrasted with a private) arbitrator is described as κληρωτόs. Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 1012 Lips.

έκδιαιταν] not found in this sense elsewhere. Cf. ἐκδικάζειν in [Xen.] Rep. Ath. iii 2, olkas kal ypapas kal ebobras

έκδικάζευ, and Lys. 17 § 5.
τῆς ἡλικίας—καθηκούσης] The age
has hitherto been inferred from Bekker, Anecd. 235 (= Schol. Plat. Leg. 920 D), πάντες 'Αθηναίοι οις έξηκοστον έτος ήν (§ 4), and from the less precise statements in Pollux viii 126, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, and Hesych. οἱ περὶ ἐξήκοντα έτη γεγονότες. The age of 50 is wrongly given in Bekker Anecd. 186 and Suidas, s. v. διαιτηταί.

drupov] the severer form of drupla is

probably meant.
drakers] 'exempt' from serving as diau-

§ 6. είσαγγελλειν είς τούς διαιτητάς] Harpocr. s. v. είσαγγελία εί γάρ τις ὑπὸ διαιτητοῦ άδικηθείη, έξην τοῦτον είσαγγέλλειν πρός (els K-W) τούς δικαστάς (διαιτητάς is Bergk's correction), και άλους ήτιμοῦτο (cf. Bekk. Anced. 235, 24 = Schol. Plat.

Leg. 920 D, and Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 13). We have an example of this procedure in Dem. c. Mid. 86, φυλάξας την τελευταίαν ημέραν των διαιτητών—, κατηγορών Ερημον οὐδενός παρόντος, ἐκβάλλει καὶ άτιμοι τὸν διαιτητήν, first explained in this sense by Bergk, Zeitsch. f. Alt. 1849, 273, supported by Frankel, Att. Geschwerenenger. p. 73 f., as quoted in Meier and Schöm. p. 334 Lips.; see also Daremberg and Saglio, iii 126. Cf. Dr Hager on εἰσαγγελία in Smith Diet. Aut. 1310 h. where here Smith, Dict. Ant. i 710 b, where, however, it is accidentally stated that, in Harpocr. I. c., Bergk 'rather needlessly alters διαιτητάς into δικαστάς: Bergk really altered δικαστάs into διαιτητάs, and the text confirms his alteration. The διαι-τοῖε διαιτηταῖε (Hubert, de Arbitris, p. 25; Meier-Schöm. p. 1013 Lips.). It is their president who is described as πρυτανεύων in Dem. Mid. l.c. Hitherto it has been deemed uncertain whether the eloayyella of an arbitrator came before the diairnral or before a body of δικασταί (Hubert, p. 55; Gilbert, i 371). The text is decisive for the former alternative: but it also shews that the sentence was subject to appeal. In the latter event it would come before a law-court.

§ 7. προγράφουσιν — στρατεύεσθαι] Lys. 14 § 6, σκέψασθε δε τίνες είσιν ους δεί – στρατεύεσθαι] παρείναι. ούχ οίτινες αν την ηλικίαν ταύτην

54. κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ τάσδε τὰς ἀρχάς ὁδοποιοὺς πέντε, οἶς προστέτακται δημοσίους ἐργάτας ἔχουσι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπισκευάζειν
2 καὶ λογιστὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους τούτοις δέκα, πρὸς οῦς ἄπαντας ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρ[ξαντ]ας λόγον ἀπενεγκεῖν.
οὖτοι γάρ εἰσι μόνοι <οἱ> τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις λογιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰς 5

LIV 5 ins. J B Mayor, K-W, H-L, K3, hiatu admisso.

ΤΕSΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LIV § 1 Schol. in Aeschin. 3 § 25 infra exscriptum. § 2 Bekk. Απ. 276, 17 λογισταί: ἀρχοντέι εἰσι κληρωτοί, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐφ' ὧν πάντει οἱ ἄρξαντει ἀρχὴν ἡντινοῦν λόγον ἀπέφερον τῶν διφκημένων (ſere eadem Etym. Μ. 569, 32). Τὸ. p. 310, 6: οἱ λογισταὶ τὰι εὐθύναι ἀπάσαι εἰσῆγον (cf. Phot. ἡγεμωνία δικαστηρίου). Phot. εὐθύναι: κυρίων διε ἐισάγουσιν οἱ λογισταὶ πρὸι τοὺι δόξανται μὴ ὀρθῶν ἄρξαι τῆν πόλεων ἡ πρεσβεῦσαι κακῶν καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια μὲν οἱ λογισταὶ κληροῦσι, κατηγορεῖ δὲ ὁ βουλόμενον καὶ τοῖν δικασταῖν ἐφεῖται τιμᾶσθαι τοῖν ἀλοῦσω (eadem Bekk. Απ. 245, 6 et Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 142). *Lex. rhet. Cantab. λογισταί, infra exscriptum.

ξχωσιν; Dem. Ol. 3 § 4, ἐψηφίσασθε...καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν. Aeschin. F. L. 133, ψηφισαμένων ὑμῶν... τοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῆν γεγονότας ἐξιέναι, ið. 168, πρώτην δ' ἐξελθῶν στρατείαν ἐν τοῦς μέρεσι καλουμένην...καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους τὰς ἐν τοῦς ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐξῆλθον (Gilbert, i 302, and Βείτταξε, 51 ff.). Cf. Lycurg. Leocr. 39, aὶ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμω ἐν τοῦς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονόσι καθειστήκεσαν. For προγράφουστος, cf. Arist. Αυ. 450, (τοὺς ὁπλίτας) σκοπεῖν δ τι ἀν προγράφωμεν ἐν τοῦς πινακίοις.

μεν ἐν τοῖς πινακίοις.

LIV § 1. ὁδοποιούς] mentioned in Aeschin. 3 § 25 (with Schol. ol ἐπιμελούμενοι τῆς καθαρότητος τῶν ὀδῶν τῆς πόλεως), and by a Comic poet quoted in Plut. Ργακ. Reip. Ger. 15 § 9, Μητίοχος μὲν <γὰρ> στρατηγεῖ, Μ. δὲ τὰς ὁδούς, Μ. δ' ἀρτους έποπτῆ, Μ. δὲ τὰς ὁδούς, Μ. δ' ἀρτους έποπτῆ, Μ. δὲ τὰκφιτα, Μητίοχως δὲ πάντα κεῖται, Μητίοχος δ' οἰμώξεται (ascribed to Cratinus by Bergk; Meineke, Frag. Com. iv p. 675). Boeckh, II x, p. 257 Fränkel.

257 Fränkel.
§ 2. λογιστάς] 'Auditors'; Pol. 1322
δ 11, speaking of τὴν ληψομένην λογισμόν και προσευθύνουσαν (ἀρχήν), καλοῦσι δὲ τούτους οι δὲ εὐθύνους οι δὲ λογιστάς οἰ δἱ ἐξεταστάς οἰ δὲ συνηγόρους. It had already been proved by Boeckh (II viii, p. 230³) that the λογισταὶ and εθθυνοι were perarate bodies; and this is confirmed by the present treatise (cf. 48 § 4). Almost all the ὑπεύθυνοι had to send in their accounts to the λογισταί (Aeschin. c. Cles. § 20, ἐγγράφειν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι, § 22, λόγον ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς λ., Schol. on §§ 9, 15). ClA ii 444, 446, (an ἀγωνοθέτης) ἀπενήνοχεν λό-

γους els το μητρώον και προς τους λογιστάς και τὰς εὐθύνας εδωκεν. In B.C. 454, 452, 435 they were 30 in number (CIA i 226, 228 and 32). The number was subsequently reduced to 10, possibly after the time of the Thirty. Gilbert, i 214.

συνηγόρουs] mentioned in Pol. 1322 b
11, quoted above. The present passage is loosely paraphrased in Lex. Rhet. Cant.
ρ. 672, 20: 'A. ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. οδτως λέγει λογισται δὲ αἰροῦνται [απ κληροῦνται] δέκα, παρ' οἰς διαλογίζονται πῶσαι αἰ ἀρχαὶ τὰ τε λήμματα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας δαπάνας: καὶ άλλοι δέκα συνήγοροι οδτινες συνανακρίνουσι τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνας διδόντες παρὰ τούτοις ἀνακρίνονται πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐφίενται εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, εἰς ἔνα καὶ ψ΄ (Rose, Frag. 447³). Μι Kenyon, however, regards this notice as 'differing wholly from the present passage'; and Lipsius implies that the name of Aristotle is mentioned by mistake. Wilamowitz places it among the spurious fragments.
οδτοι—τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις λογιζόμενοι] It

οδτοι—τοίε ὑπευθύνοιε λογιζόμενοι] It was the λογισταί who received the accounts of outgoing officials; who examined them conjointly with the συνήγοροι; and brought the accounts before a law-court of 501 δικασταί under their own presidency (Meier and Schöm. pp. 257 ff. Lips.). These functions have sometimes been erroneously ascribed to the εθθυνοι (ib. pp. 115, 208 and Lipsius in Leipsig Verhandl. p. 64). The procedure may be illustrated by the oath taken by the corresponding officials in the deme Myrrhinus, CIA ii 578, δμεύναι δὲ τὸν δρκον καὶ τὸν λογιστὴν λογιεῦθαι ἃ δε μοι δοκῆ ἀνηνοήσεων τῷ δήμω τὰ δίκαια καὶ ψηφιεῦσθαι ἃ δε μοι δοκῆ δικαιότατα εἶναι.

εὐθύνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγοντες. κάν μέν τινα κλέπτοντ έξελέγξωσι, κλοπήν οί δικασταί καταγυγνώσκουσι καί τὸ γνωσθέν άποτίνεται δεκαπλούν εάν δέ τινα δώρα λαβόντα επιδείξωσιν, καὶ καταγνώσιν οί δικασταί, δώρων τιμώσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο το δεκαπλούν άν δ' άδικείν καταγνώσιν, άδικίου τιμώσιν, άποτίνεται δὲ τοῦθ' ἀπλοῦν, ἐὰν [πρὸ τῆς] ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἐκτείση τις, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλοῦται· τὸ <δὲ> δεκαπλοῦν οὐ διπλοῦται.

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καλούμενον, ς

7 -ΓΙΝωΙCΚΟΥCI: -γινω K-W; -γιγνω H-L, K³; -γιγνω B, cf. 53, 7. **LNMCBEN** (K, H-L): <κατα > γνωσθέν K-W, B. 8 $\epsilon \pi i \lambda \epsilon i \tilde{\xi}$: $d\pi o \delta \epsilon i \tilde{\xi}$. K·W. 10 dà 11 εκτιση: ἐκτείση K-W, H-L, K³, B: cf. Meisterhans, p. 144², n. 1252. 12 <8è> ins. K (edd.).

10 doiklov Harp. infra exscriptus.

§§ 3—5 Pollux viii 98: γραμματεύς ό κατά πρυτανείαν κληρωθείς ύπό της βουλής έπί τῷ τὰ γράμματα φυλάττειν και τὰ ψηφίσματα, και έτερος έπι τούς νόμους ύπό της βουλής χειροτονούμενος. ό δ' ύπο του δήμου alpebels γραμματεύς αναγινώσκει τῷ τε δήμω και τῆ

χειροτονούμενος. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἰρεθεὶς γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῆ βουλῆ. ἀντιγραφεὺς κτλ. (τεliqua p. 195 ὁ exscripta).

§§ 3, 4 "Harp. γραμματεύς :... ὁ γραμματεὺς πῶς τε καθίστατο καὶ τὶ ἔπραττεν, ὡς τῶν γραμματων τὶ ἐστὶ κύριος καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ γενόμενα φυλάττει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθηται τῆ βουλῆ, δεδήλωκεν 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. § 4 "Harp. ἀντιγραφεύς, p. 195 ὁ exscriptus. § δ Suidas (e lexico Photiano) γραμματεύς (1): οὖτος πράξεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ἢν κύριος, ὑπανεγίνωσκε δὲ τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμω τὰ πραττόμενα. Βεἰκ. Απ. 226 γραμματείς: καὶ τὸν γραμματέα ὁ δήμος χειροτονεῖ, "ἀναγνωσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ βουλῆ καὶ οὖτος οὐδενὸς" τὸ σύνολον ἄλλου "ἐστὶ κύριος" ἢ "τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι"... (Frag. 399², 439²). Βεἰκ. Απ. 185, 14. Suidas s.v. (2) κληρωτοί δὲ ήσαν τὸν ἰριθρὸν τρεῖς, γράφωντες τὰ δημόσια. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς οὖτοι κύριοι ἀλλ ἢ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι. κύριοι, άλλ' ή τοῦ γράφειν και άναγνωναι.

τας είθύνας—είσαγοντες] Dem. de Cor. 117, ότε με είσηγον οί λογισταί, and F. L.

κλοπήν] δημοσίων χρημάτων. Dem. c. Timocr. 112, εί μέν τις άγορανόμος ή άστυνόμος ή δικαστής κατά δήμους γενόμενος κλοπης έν ταις εύθύναις έάλωκεν,μέν την δεκαπλασίαν είναι, and 127, συνέδρου γενομένου κλοπην αύτοῦ τὸ δικαστήριον κατέγνω και δεκαπλάσιον άπέτισε.

καταγιγνώσκουσι] the compound verb. καταγιγνώσκουσι] the compound verb, in the special sense, is followed by the simple participle το γνωσθέν, which, although more general in itself, has its meaning necessarily coloured by the previous context. Το repeat the preposition is no more necessary here than in 57, 7, where διατίθησι is followed in the next sentence by τίθησι. Cf. Dem. in the next sentence by τίθησι. Cf. Dem. Timocr. 9, where της βουλης κατεγνωκυίας is followed several lines later by τὰ γνωσθένθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. I may also refer to my note on Eur. Bacch. 1065, κατῆγεν, ήγεν, ήγεν, where Hec. 168, άπωλέσατ, ώλέσατ, and Med. 1252, κατίδετ, ίδετε, are quoted. δώρα...δεκαπλοῦν] This penalty is also

mentioned in Dinarch. c. Aristog. 17. The penalty of death (unnoticed in the text) is mentioned ib. §§ 4, 20. The two penal-ties are contrasted as alternatives in Dinarch. c. Dem. 60 and c. Philocl. 5 (Meier

and Schöm. p. 445, n. 723).

ἐπιδείξωστυ] Pol. 1259 α 16, ἐπιδείξαι
δτι. Aeschin. 3 § 228, τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας
αΙσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενον ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ

έχειν έπιδείξαι.

dSixlov] here of 'maladministration.' Plut. Per. 32, είτε κλοπής και δώρων είτ' άδικίου βούλοιτό τις όνομάζειν την δίωξιν. The term is not found in the Orators, but is mentioned in Harpocr. s. v. Eori de όνομα δίκης. ἀποτίνυται δὲ τοῦτο ἀπλοῦν, ἐὰν πρὸ τῆς θ΄ πρυτανείας ἀποδοθῆ εἰ δὲ μή, διπλοῦν καταβάλλεται. Meier and Schöm., p. 424-8; Lipsius, Leips. Verhandl. p. 64. δεκαπλοῦν οὐ διπλοῦται] This fact has

been hitherto unknown

§ 3. γραμματέα] The full title is à κατά πρυτανείαν γραμματεύς της βουλής, with the shorter forms γρ. της βουλής or γρ. κατά πρυτανείαν. The regular form before the year of Eucleides was δ γρ. της βουλής. As an exception we find in B.C.

δη των γραμμάτων έστὶ κύριος, καὶ τὰ [ψη]φίσματα τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἀντυγράφεται, καὶ παρακάθηται τῆ 15

14 ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕωΝ: γραμμάτων ex Harp. et Polluce Burnet, Bywater, Blass, Naber, K-W, H-L, K³. <τ'> post γραμμάτων addidit B ex Harp. γεν. Harp.

409/8, CIA i 61 (as restored by Köhler) παραλαβόντες παρά [τ]οῦ [κατά πρυτανείας γραμμα]τέως της βουλης. In the fourth century the title ο γραμματεύς ο κατά πρυravelar is first found in an inscr. of B.C. 358/7 or of 354/3 (CIA ii 61, where the other title δ γραμματεύε τῆς βουλῆς is also found, and where mention is made of τούς άλλους γραμματέας τους έπι τοις δημοσίοις γράμμασι»). The two forms are interchanged with one another down to B.C. 322/1, when the short title γρ. της βουλής appears for the last time (CIA ii 186), while the title γρ. δ κατά πρυτανείαν continues in use down to the Roman age (Gilbert in Philol. xxxix p. 131—6, and Gr. St. i 254; also Müller's Handbuch, IV i 167). This γραμματεύs always belonged to a different tribe to that presiding at the time (CIA i 45, 46, 51, 61, 188; Gilbert, *Philol.* p. 133); but, in or after B.C. 322/I (the date of the death of Aristotle), the $\gamma \rho$, so called belonged to the presiding tribe.

The 'full title' cited at the head of this note is not actually found except in CIA i 61 (as restored); and there is much to be said in favour of the restoration proposed by C. Schaefer: παραλαβόντες παρὰ [τ]οῦ [βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ γραμμα]τέως τῆς βουλῆς. The special literature of the Athenian γραμματεῖς includes (in addition to the works already quoted) two dissertations of 1878 by C. Schaefer and C. A. Holle; and Hartel's Studien, published in the same year; also an article by von Wilamowitz (in Hermes, xiv 148—153), who, like Stoientin, in Jahrb. f. Philol. 1880, 189—202, rightly attributed to Aristotle the account which we find in Pollux. The dissertation by Kornitzer (1883) unfortunately receded from this position, which is now proved to be the only tenable one.

γραμμάτων κύριος] 'is responsible for all public documents'. According to the law quoted in Dem. c. Timocr. 63, he delivered to the θεσμοθέται the decrees of the Council. τα ψηφίσματα ψυλάττει] 'has the (general) custody of the public archives' (in the Μητρώον). In Dem. F. L. p. 381 these are described as under

the (special) charge of a public slave: ἐν τοῖε κουνοῖε τοῖε ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ Μητρώψ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' οἶε ὁ δημόσιος τέτακται. This γραμματεὐε is mentioned by Aeschin. 3 § 15, λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφουσι πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, and by Chamaeleon, αρ. Athen. 407 C, (Alcibiades) ἤκεν εἰε τὸ Μητρώον, ὅπου τών δικών ἦσαν αὶ γραφαὶ καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διηλείψε τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἡγήμονος ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ δ τε γραμματές καὶ ὁ Μογιω τὰ ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον καὶ ὁ Κογιω τὰ ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον καὶ ὁ Κογιω τὰ ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον τῶν ἐνθον ἐν ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον ἐν ἐντινίας ἔνον δι΄ λλινιβιάδου με πον ἐντινίας ἔνον ἔνὶ λλινιβιάδου με πον ἐντινίας ἔνον ἐντινίας ἔνον ἐντινίας ἐντι

γραφαί και βρέξας τον δάκτυλον εκ του στόματος διηλείψε την δίκην τοῦ Ἡγήμανος ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ δ τε γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ ἀρχων τὰς ἡσυχίας ἦγον δι' ἀλκιβιάδην.

τάλλα ἀντιγράφεται] 'checks (or supervises) the transcription of all other public documents.' Thus, in the inventory of the χαλιοθήκη in C1λ ii δ1, ascribed to B.C. 358 or 354, Εὐκλῆς ὁ δημόσιος is to enter all the items and the γρ. κατὰ πρυτανείαν is to check them (ἀντιγράφεσθαι δὲ τὸγ γραμματέα τὸγ κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ τοὺς άλλους γραμματέας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν), and lastly, the γραμματεὸς τῆς βουλῆς is to record the list on a tablet and to make a copy (ἀντίνουμάς).

(ἀντίγραφα).

Pollux, viii 98, after describing the γρ. δ κατὰ πρυτανείαν and the γρ. ἐπὶ τοῦν κόμους in terms borrowed in part from the text, continues as follows: ἀντιγραφεύς πρόπερον μὲν αἰρετὸς αδθις δὲ κληρωτὸς τῆ βουλῆ. In Bekker's best Ms the following words, δύο δ' ἤραν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως, come after the next heading λογισταί, and this order is approved by Lipsius; but Harpocration s. υ. agrees with the other Mss in making them apply to the ἀντιγραφεῖς:—ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῆ πόλει χρήματα, ὢστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα (Dem. c. Απατοί. p. 615 and Aeschin. c. Cles. 25). διττοί δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος, ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἐν ᾿Αθ. πολ. Cf. Bekker's Απεεεί. p. 185, ὁ δὲ καταγραφόμενος τὰ ἐν τῆς βουλῆ γενόμενα. The present is the only passage in the treatise to which Harpocration can refer, but it is remarkable that the title ἀντιγραφεύς does not occur in the text.

βουλή. πρότερον μέν οὖν οὖτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους ἐχ[ειρ]οτόνουν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενί[αι]ς καὶ πολιτείαις οὖτος ἀναγράφεται νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός. κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς 4 20 νόμους ἔτερον, ὃς παρακάθηται τῆ βουλή, καὶ ἀντιγράφεται καὶ οὖτος πάντας. χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος γραμματέα τὸν 5

17 κ(aι) aπιστ: corr. κ.
19—20 επι τογτοις Ν[ο] mon ετερον: corr. κ
e Polluce (edd.).

§§ 4, 5. Cf. Testim. p. 194.

πρότερον] The date at which this official ceased to be χειροτονητός and became κληρωτός is unknown. The office became annual between B.C. 367 and 363. The last example of its being held for a πρυτανεία only is in 368/7; the first example of its being held for a year is in 363/2. Possibly appointment by lot was introduced about the same time.

rovs in Society and the period between 450 B.C. and 403 B.C., about 28 names are known (Hille in Leips. Stud. i 240); but only one is at all familiar, Αγύρμος Κ[ολλυτεὺς], CIA ii 1b (404/3 B.C.). In the fourth century, down to B.C. 322, we have 38 names, not one of them 'famous' (see Wyse in Class. Rev. v 276).

στήλαις] cf. note on Dem. Lept. § 36. ταϊς συμμαχίαις] ε.g. in B.C. 433/2, the treaties between Athens and Leontini (CIA iv 33 a) and Athens and Rhegium (CIA iv 13), Χαρίας ἐγραμμάτευε: also in B.C. 378/7, the second maritime Confederacy (CIA ii 17), Καλλίβιος Κηφισοφώντος ἐγραμμάτευε. The latest example now known belongs to B.C. 356/5 (CIA ii 66). προξευίαις] 'grants of the title of πρό-

προξενίαιε] 'grants of the title of πρόξενος' (cf. note on Dem. Lept. 60, and Gilbert, i 173). As exx. we have (in B.C. 431/0) CIA i 45, Προκλέης 'Ατάρβου Εὐωνυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε.—ἀναγραψάτω πρόξενον και εὐεργέτην' Αθηναίων' (Αστίαν τον 'Αλεον) έστηλη λιθινη ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς και καταθέτω ἐν πόλει. ið. ii 29 (Echembrotos of Cleone)—Πιστόξενος ἐγραμμάτευς, and ii 3 (Amyntor, Eurypylus, &c) —Δεξίθεος ἐγρ.—ἐπειδὴ καθηρέθη ἡ στήλη ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐν ἢ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἡ προξενία, ἀναγράψαι τὴν στήλην τὸν γρ. τῆς βουλῆς. ii 21 (Eurytion) ΑΙσχόλος ἐγρ., ii 69 (Philiscus, Β.C. 355) ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἢ Πάνδιος Σωκλέους ἐξ Οἰου ἐγρ.—ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ. τῆς βουλῆς. ii 119 (Apelles of Byzantium, B.C. 339)—ἀναγράψαι αὐτοῦ τὴν προξενίαν τὸν γρ. τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν. ii 124 (an officer of Philip in B.C. 337)—ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὴν προξενίαν κτλ. Cf. Monceaux, Les Proxenies Grecques, p. 83.

πολιτείαιε] 'grants of citizenship. The oldest inscr. on this subject is that in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883, pp. 37, 38: 'Ίππαρχον & κ. 'Αθηναίος έναι ἀνδραγαθίας ένεκα τῆς ἐς 'Αθηναίος έναι ἀνδραγαθίας ένεκα τῆς ἐς 'Αθηναίος καὶ φυλὴν καὶ δῆμων καὶ φρατρίαν ἐλέσθαι ῆν περ ἀν βόλωνται καὶ ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸς ἐστήληι λιθίνηι τὸγ γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς. CIA ii 243—εἶναι 'Οξύθεμν (friend of Demetrius Poliorcetes)—'Αθηναίον—ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν. πολιτεία is used of 'a grant of citizenship' in inscriptions of Ephesus, Ditt. no. 134, ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ἰερὸν τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος, οὐ καὶ αὶ λαπαὶ πολιτείαι ἀν]αγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν, and ἰδ. 315, ἀναγράψαι ὅπου καὶ αὶ λοιπαὶ πολιτείαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν. See Schömann, Ant. p. 355; Gilbert, i 175; Dict. Ant. 1443; Hartel, Studien, p. 271—3; Reinach, l'Epigraphie Grecque, p. 371. ἀναγράφεται] Thus, in a decree in honour of Thrasybulus of Calydon, the first two lines ανε inscribed in large.

dvaγρdφεταί] Thus, in a decree in honour of Thrasybulus of Calydon, the first two lines are inscribed in large characters, CIA i 59: [έπὶ Γλαυκ] ππου d[ρ]χω[ρ]στο. [Λόβων ἐκ] Κηδῶν ἐγραμμάτευε. Then follows the decree in smaller characters and the name of the γραμματεύν is repeated in the second line, Λόβων ἐγραμμάτευε. CIA ii 51 (decree of citizen ship &c B.C. 369) l. 3—'Αξηνιεύν ἐγραμμάτευε. CIA ii 54 (do. B.C. 363)—Παλληνεύν ἐγρ.—τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγράψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆν βουλῆν. Μr Wyse (Class. Rev. v 276 a) points out that this style is not found in any inscr. between 356/5 and 320/19.

3.4. επὶ τοὺς νόμους] Pollux viii 98, καὶ ετερος έπὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς χειροτονούμενος. The term χειροτονούμενος applies to the first γραμματεύς of an earlier time, and not to the second γραμματεύς.

§ 5. τον αναγνωσόμενον] It is probably the same official that is meant in Dem. Lept. 94 (of a new law), τῷ γραμματεῖ παραδοῦναι, τοῦτον δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνώσκειν. When the letter of Nicias was delivered in Athens (Thuc. vii 10) ὁ γραμ-

άναγνωσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῆ βουλῆ, καὶ οὖτος οὐδενός ἐστι κύ[ρι]ος άλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι.

κληροί δὲ καὶ ἱεροποιούς δέκα, τούς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα καλουμένους, [οι] τά τε [μαν]τευτὰ ίερὰ θύουσιν, κἄν τι καλλιερήσαι 25 7 δέη, καλλιεροῦσι μετὰ τῶν μάντε[ων]. κληροῖ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους δέκα, τούς κατ' ένιαυτον καλουμένους, οδ θυσίας τέ τινας θύουσι, [καὶ τ]άς πεντετηρίδας άπάσας διοικοῦσιν πλην Παναθηναίων.

23 Αλλά: ἀλλ' ή Blass, Richards, Gennadios (e Suida κ-w, H-L); ἀλλά defendit κ, sed ἀλλ' ή fortasse praestat. **28** διοικούσι H-L.

§§ 6, 7 *Etym. Μ. Ιεροποιοί: κληρωτοί ἄρχοντές είσι δέκα τον άριθμόν, οί τά τε αργεντεί είναι. Μ. τεροποιοι: κπηρωτοί αρχοντες είσι σεκά τον αρισμός, οι τα τε μαντεύματα Ιεροθετούσι (Ιεροθύτουν cod. V; Ιεροθυτούσι cod. D, Bekk. Απ. 265, et Photius: οι τα μεμαντευμένα Ιερά θύουσιν Lex. Dem. Patm.), "κάν τι καλλιερήσαι δέη καλλιερούσι μετά τών μάντεων," και θυσίας τὰς νομιζομένας ἐπιτελούσι "καὶ τὰς πενταετηρίδας ἀπάσας διοικούσι πλην Παναθηναίων." ταῦτα δὲ 'Αρ. Ιστορεῖ ἐν τŷ 'Αθ. πολ. Pollux viii τος lepoποιοί, p. 198 a exscriptus.

ματεύς [τῆς πόλεως] παρελθών ἀνέγνω τοῖς Abyualoss, where Herwerden, Stahl and Hude bracket της πόλεως. The margin of M (the MS in the British Museum) has: ύπηρέτην τὸν εἰωθότα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ δήμῳ τὰ γράμματα άναγιγνώσκευ. We should have expected to find him named in CIA ii 61, 26, ακούσασαν δέ την βουλην ανταναγιγνωσκομένων τ[ων ἀναγεγραμμένων κτλ]. In CIA ii 114, 10 (B.C. 343/2) we read of a decree in honour of Phanodemus: ἀναγνῶναι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸγ γραμματέα τῷ δήμῳ. In [Plut.] ii 841 F, we learn that the orator Lycurgus required the γρ. της πόλεως to see that the authorised text alone of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides was adopted in the public performances of their plays, [Plut.] ii 841 F, τον της πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσ-

κευ τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις. $d\lambda\lambda d] = d\lambda\lambda'$ ή in Eth. N. x 5, 1176 a 22, vii 13, 1152 b 30, Rhel. ii 23, 1402 a 27 (Index Ar.).

§ 6. lepowowods] 'Commissioners of sacrifices.' Pol. 1322 b 18, άλλο δ' είδος έπιμελείας ή περί τους θεούς. οδον leptis τε και έπιμεληταί των περί τὰ lepà τοῦ σώζεσθαί τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα των οίκοδομημάτων και των άλλων δσα τέτακται πρός τους θεούς—(δ 24) οδον λεροποιούς κτλ. The text is quoted in Etym. Magn., without any distinction between the two boards. The article adds a reference to Dem. p. 47, 13, οι λογοποιοί τὰς πομπὰς ὑμῶν πομπεύουσι μετὰ τῶν Ιεροποιών. The lepoποιοί are mentioned under ii 741 (B.C. 334/3), ἐκ τοῦ δερματικοῦ—ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῆ ᾿Αγαθῆ Τύχη παρὰ lεροποιῶν έξ Ασκληπιείων παρά δεροποιώνδιδέων, παρά Ιεροποιών. (Β.С. 333/2), [έκ Πανα]θηναίων παρά [leροποιώ]ν. Β.С. 331/1 έκ Παναθηναίων παρά leροποιών, έξ Έλευσινίων παρά Ιεροποιών. Certain kinds of συνίων παρά leροποιών. Certain kinds of leροποιοί, however, were elected and not appointed by lot. Thus, Dem. c. Mid. §§ 115, 171 states that he had the honour of being 'elected' from among all the Athenians as one of the three leροποιοί τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν. In an inscr. published in 'Αθήναιον, 6 p. 483, we find 10 leροποιοί οί αlρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (out of the 10 tribes). Gilbert i p. 240: Müller's the 10 tribes). Gilbert i p. 249; Müller's

Handbuch, v 3, 34.

ἐκθύματα] The word is hitherto only known in the sense of 'pustule' (Hipp. Epid. 3, 1086 L and S). ἐκθύω, however, means in act. to sacrifice, in Soph. El. 572, and Eur. Cycl. 371; and, in middle, to expiate. In the text εκθύματα (if genuine) means 'expiations.' The corresponding phrase in an inscr. of B.C. 329/8, in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883, 110—126, B 82, is els τὰ ἐπιθύσιμα.

μαντευτά] 'appointed by oracle.' Xen. Anab. vi 1, 22, έθύετο τῷ Διὶ, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἢν. Sacrifices are enjoined in the parreias quoted by Dem. c. Mid.

καλλιερήσαι] [Xen.] Vect. vi 3, τούτοις (τοις θεοις) καλλιερήσαντας άρχεσθαι

τοῦ ξργου.

§ 7. τους κατ' ένιαυτον] possibly corresponding to the ἐπιμελητάς of 30

πεντετηρίδαε]_ These festivals are also enumerated in Pollux viii 107 (as cor-

 $\epsilon[i\sigma i \delta \hat{\epsilon}] \pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \tau \eta \rho i \delta \epsilon \varsigma \mu i a [\mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\eta} \epsilon i] \varsigma \Delta \hat{\eta} \lambda \rho \nu (\epsilon \sigma \tau i \delta \hat{\epsilon} \kappa a i \epsilon \pi [\tau \epsilon] -$ 30 τηρίς ενταθθα), δευτέρα δε Βραυρώνια, τρίτη [δε 'Ηράκλει]α,

29 ε[lol δè] K, K-W, ε (sc. πέντε) [δ' εlol] H-L (B).

 $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \tau \eta \rho \delta \epsilon s < \delta' > K-W.$

rected by Rose), lepomoiol déka dures ούτοι έθυον θυσίας τάς < νομιζομένας καί (τάs added by Kenyon) > πεντετηρίδαs

(τάs added by Kenyon) > πεντετηρίδας <διοικοῦσι >, τὴν εἰς Δῆλον, τὴν ἐν Βραυρῶνι, τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείων (Ἡρακλείδῶν codd.; cott. Jungermann), τὴν Ἑλευσῶνι. πλὴν Ἡαναθηναίων] At this festival the procession was marshalled by the δήμαρχοι: Suidas, s. v. οῦτοι δὲ διεκόσμουν τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων, and Subol. Arist. Νυίδ. 37, οῦτοι δὲ τὴν πομπὸν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐκόσμουν. Ιπ CIA ii πην των Παναθηναίων εκόσμουν. Ιη CIA ii 741 lepoworol are twice mentioned in connexion with a Panathenaic festival: a 34, [έκ Πανα]θηναίων παρά[[εροποιώ]ν, and c 8, [έκ Πα]ναθηναίων παρά lepo[ποιῶν]. The former refers to B.C. 333/2, the latter to 332/1, and, as neither of these is the 3rd ear of an Olympiad, the lesser Panathenaea must be meant, and not the 'pen-teteric' festival mentioned in the text. The difficulty is more serious in CIA i 188, 74 (Ditt. no. 44): άθλοθέταις παρε-δόθη ές Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα (such and such a sum), leροποιοίς κατ' ένι-αυτόν, Διύλλφ Έρχεες και συνάρχουσιν ές τὴν ἐκατόμβην (5114 dr.). Boeckh, II p. 8 Fränkel, supposes that, in the Pana-thenaea, it was the ἀθλοθέται who undertook the duties connected with the games, which were undertaken by the lepomosol in the other festivals, while the lepomosol were only concerned with making arrangements for the hecatomb.

48 Δηλον] The ancient παυήγυρε at Delos was ravivad by the Atherica.

Delos was revived by the Athenians in the spring of B.C. 425, Thuc. iii 104, 2, την πεντετηρίδα τότε πρώτον μετά την κάθαρσιν έποίησαν οι 'Αθηναίοι, τὰ Δήλια. Besides the *mevrernpls* mentioned in the text there was an annual θεωρία (Plat. Phaedo 58 B, Crito 43 C). Hermann, Gottesdienst. Alt. § 65, 31—34.

ottesatenst. Alt. § 65, 31—34. It was formerly supposed that the Delian festival was held on the 6th and 7th of Thargelion = May-June (Boeckh, II p. 72 Fränkel). The Delian inscriptions point to its having been really held in the month known at Delos as 'Iepòs, corresponding to the Attic Anthesterion = Feb.-March (Robert in Hermes xxi 161, approved by A. Mommsen in Bursian's *Jahresb*. 1886, 3 p. 335—8). It included musical (Plut. Nic. 3; Lucian de Salt. 16) and gymnastic competitions,

as well as horse-races (Thuc. iii 104; Dit-

tenberger, 121, 16).
M. Homolle (Bull. Corresp. Hellen., 1891, pp. 149-155) remarks that 'the inventories from Delos for 279 B.C. mention 30 of the cups that the Athenians gave every year, and 23 of the wreaths that they gave every four years... He also remarks that the inventories for 334 B.C., which come next in date, mention 11 of these cups and 20 of these wreaths, so that the last cup would have been given in 315 B.C., and the last wreath in 322. He argues that, as the Athenians certainly left Delos before 310 B.C., the cessation of their gifts after 315 B.C. is attributable to their departure and marks the exact date. But then one would like to know why there was not a twenty-fourth wreath for 318 B.C. The new treatise suggests the reason. It states that the Athenians held a festival at Delos every four years; but adds parenthetically and every six years also, and then alludes obscurely to the archonship of Cephisophon in 329 B.C. Suppose that [after the festival in 330] the interval was increased in 329 from four years to six: the twenty-second and twenty-third wreaths would then belong to 324 B.C. and 318 B.C. and would probably complete the series; for there is no other record of festivals at Delos every six years, and such festivals would pre-sumably have been recorded, had they existed for any length of time' (Mr Torr in Class. Rev. v 277).

Bpaupovua] The festival originally held

at Brauron in honour of Artemis is mentioned in Hdt. vi 138 (cf. Arist. Lysistr. 646 and Schol.). It was afterwards held in the Brauronion on the Acropolis (Paus. i 23, 9; Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, 128 n. 47 f.). We have lists of dresses dedicated to Artemis by Athenian ladies (CIA ii 751 ff., p. 113), one of whom actually bears the name of Herretypis (ib.

756, 15, B.C. 345).
There was also a festival held at Brauron in honour of Dionysus, Arist. Pax 874 with Schol. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Διονύσια ήγετο, καὶ καθ' έκαστον δημον. Hence the Dionysia are described by Suidas i 454 as having been held every four years at Brauron. But the country Dio nysia were celebrated annually throughτετάρτη δὲ Ἐλευ[σίνι]α, [πέμπτη] δὲ Παναθήναια καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγί[γνεται]. *[ἄθλα] δὲ πρόκειται [*κατὰ τὰ $_{32}$ ψη]φίσ[ματα τὰ*] ἐπὶ Κηφισοφῶντος ἄρχοντος.

31 'E $\lambda e \nu [\sigma i \nu_1]a$, $[\vec{\epsilon}]$ δè Wyse (κ^3 , qui $\vec{\epsilon}$ pro $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \mu \pi \tau \eta$ scribi potuisse ostendit, coll. c. 47 § 4 ubi $[\vec{\theta}]$ pro $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{a} \tau \eta s$ recte datum; 'dispiciuntur vestigia litterae ϵ , et super eam ductus transversus qui numerum indicat' (B). 'E $\lambda e \nu \dot{a} \dot{b} \dot{c}$ K-W. 32 ΟΥ $\lambda \dot{c}$ MIA

legit Κ; ΟΥΔΕΤΡΙΑ Η-L; equidem puto primitus fuisse οὐδέτερα. ΕΝΤωιΑΥΤωιΓι-ΝΕΤΑι: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγ[νεται] Κ¹; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει γίνεται J B Mayor; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γίγνεται Blass (Η-L). [τ]ὰ δὲ Παναθήναια [καλ] τούτων οὐδεμιᾳ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν[ιαυτῷ] γίνε[ται] Κ-W; καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν[ιαυτῷ] γίγνε[ται] Β. 32 δὲ πρόκειται.... αις ἐπὶ Κηφισοφώντος ἄρχοντος Κ, qui ante αις aut φ,

out Attica; and it is more probable that the festival under the control of the lepoποιοί was the distinctive Brauronian festival of Artemis. Hemsterhuys, Corsini and others refer the Brauronian πεντετηρίς (cf. Pollux viii 107) to the Dionysia. K. O. Müller points out that the existence of a lepeta τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος τῆς Βραυρωνίας (Dinarch. Arist. 12) does not prevent the festival being under the management of the lepoποιοί, and Rinck, die Religion der Hellenen, ii 105, refers it to the festival of Artemis. Hermann l. c. 8 62. 14—20.

§ 62, 14—20.
 'Ηράκλεια] Dem. F. L. § 125, παΐδας και γυναίκας έκ τῶν Αγρῶν κατακομίζευ ἐψηφίζεσθε... και τὰ 'Ηράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύευν. Η Ατροςτ. s. v. πολλῶν ὅντων τῶν κατα τὴν 'Αττικὴν 'Ηρακλείων νῦν ἀν ὁ Δημοσθένης μνημονεύοι ἤτοι τῶν ἐν Κυνσσάργει, ταῦνα γὰρ μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον 'Αθηναΐοι. The festival referred to by Dem. was probably held about midsummer, apparently in the month Hecatomboeon, at the same time as the Panathenaea: Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐχελίδαι —τοῦ τετρακώμου 'Ηρακλείου, ἐν ῷ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς άγῶνας ἐτίθεσαν τοῦς Παναθηναίοις (Βότ Πεκλεία at Marathon, cf. Paus. i 15, 4; Pind. Ol. ix 95, Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii 110. See also Hermann l. c. § 62, 21—24.

24.
 "Eλευσίνια] A festival held (as the context shews) once in four years and therefore distinct from the Eleusinia in the ordinary sense of the term. A. Mommsen, Heortologie, 1864, p. 243, doubted its existence. Cf., however, inscr. from Eleusis in Έφ. 'Αρχ. 1883, pp. 110—126 β 50, σύμπαν κε[φάλαιον lepeivi και] lepelais els τὴν τριετηρίδα τῶν 'Ελευσινίων και els τὴν πεντετηρίδα, cf. ib. 1887, p. 3, v. 25, τῆς πανη[γύρε]ως τῶν 'Ελευσινίων τῶν τριεγικός. It has been conjectured that the τριετηρίs and πεντετηρίs fell in the

second and fourth year respectively of the Olympiad. If the inscr. in CIA ii 741 (Ditt. 374) is correctly restored, the lepomoiol, presumably of κατ' ένιωντόν, were concerned with the annual celebration of the 'Ελευσίνια, cf. c 66 [ἐξ 'Ελε]νσυνίων παρὰ lepoποιών—], B.C. 432/1, the first year of an Olympiad, and d 74 ἐξ 'Ελευσινίων παρὰ] lepoπ[οιών—], B.C. 331/0, the second year of an Ol. For the fourth year of an Ol., 333/2, the inscr. b 39, as restored in the Corpus, has [ἐκ τῆς θυσ]las [τῆ Δήμητρι καὶ τῆ Κόρη] τῆ Δαείρ[ᾳ παρὰ ἐπιμελητώ]ν. (Wyse, in Class. Rev. v 235 b.)

The inscr. in Έφ. Αρχ. 1883, mentioning the πεντετηρίς τῶν Έλευσινίων, refers to B.C. 329/8, the very year in which Cephisophon was archon. Payments are there made to the leροποιοί οί κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, β 8 and 38 (κατὰ ψήφισμα δήμου [τ]ὸ [εἰς θ]υσ[ἰσς]), and to the leροποιοί ἐγ βουλῆς β 67, 72, 76, 82 (εἰς τὰ ἐπιθύσιμα), γ 4 (Wyse, ib.).

Havabivata] the great Panathenaea;

to τφ αὐτῷ] probably means 'in the same place,' which is true, the festivals being associated with Delos, Brauron, Marathon, Eleusis and Athens respectively. 'At the same time' is in itself a less likely interpretation. It is not at all probable that the festivals would actually clash in respect of date; but there would be no point in drawing attention to this. The Delian festival and the great Panathenaea were alike in the third year of an Olympiad (Thuc. iii 104). The Delia of 334 fell in the third year; those of 279 in the second year of an Ol. The Delia were probably held in the month of Anthesterion; the Panathenaea (and probably the Heracleia) in Hecatomboeon; the Eleusinia possibly in the fourth year of an Olympiad, and probably in the same month as the annual Eleusinia, i.e.

κληρούσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Σαλαμίνα ἄρχοντα, καὶ εἰς Πει[ραι]έα 8 35 δήμ[αρχ]ον, οὶ τά τε Διονύσια ποιοῦσι έκατέρωθι καὶ χορηγοὺς

aut fortasse ρ, scriptum fuisse arbitratus, conicit [τοῦτο] δὲ πρόκειται [γραφ]αῖς [ταῖς] αυτ ιοτιαsse ρ, scriptum nuisse ατοιτιατώς, conicit [τουτο] σε προκειταί [τραφ]αίε [ταιε] έπὶ κτλ.δὲ πρόκειται [ἐν γρα]φαῖε (φλι Β) [ταῖε] ἐπὶ κτλ. Κ-Ψ. [νόμοσ] δὲ πρόκειται [περὶ τούτων τεθεὶε] ἐπὶ κτλ. Η-L, invita papyro. equidem tentavi [ἄθλα] δὲ πρόκειται [πάσ]αιε [καθάπερ] ἐπὶ κτλ.; νεὶ [ἐν ταῖε γρα]φαῖε [ταῖε] ἐπὶ κτλ., coll. Plut. ii 1134 Α, ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων γραφή περὶ μουσικοῦ ἀγῶνος; νεὶ [κ(ατὰ) τὰς σ(υγ)γρα]φὰε [τὰε] ἐπὶ κτλ. (coll. Dittenb. Sylloge, p. 24); νεὶ potius [ἄθλα] δὲ πρόκειται [κ(ατὰ) τὰ ψη]φίσ[ματα τὰ] ἐπὶ κτλ.; sed Cephisophon Olympiadis in anno quarto archon erat, nec video cur in anno proximo post Panathenaea, potius quam ante ludos illos, nova praemia decreta fuerint; eo meliore igitur iure πέμπτη δὲ Παναθήναια delenda putat B. 35 ποιούσι etiam H-L. 34 MEI...Ed, Heipaifa K, K-W, B: Heipaiâ H-L.

in Boedromion. The month (and even the year) of the Brauronia is unknown. Mommsen, Heortol. 409, assigns it to the 16th of Munichion.)

The insertion of $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \iota a \nu \tau \hat{\varphi}$ is only possible if we disconnect the Panathenaea from the four penteteric festivals. The text, as edited by K-W, implies that not one of these four is in the same year as the Panathenaea; which is only possible if the Delian festival had already been transferred to the second year of the Ol., and the Heracleia to the first year, leaving the Brauronia (and possibly the Eleu-

sinia) in the fourth year.

1.32. ἀθλα δὶ πρόκευται] The suggestion ἀθλα is confirmed (in point of sense) by the context, and (in point of expression) by Pol. 1330 a 33, τοις δούλοις άθλον προκείσθαι την έλευθερίαν, Hdt. ix τοι, άεθλα πρόκειται, viii 93, άεθλον έκειτο, ib. 26, τὸ ἀεθλόν σφι κείμενον, Plat. Rep. 638 C, προκείμενα άθλα, Xen. Cyr. ii 3, 2, åθλα πρόκειται, i 6, 18 åθλα προτιθείς. Cf. inscr. found at Sestos, in Dittenberger, 246, 78 (before 120 B.C.), τιθελε άθλα πάντων αθλημάτων τοις τε νέοις και τοις έφήβοις. It is a welcome confirmation of this suggestion to find that $d\theta \lambda a$ has been independently proposed by Mr Newman, Class. Rev. v 117 b.

The inscr. already quoted from 'Εφ 'Aρχ. 1883, pp. 110—126, describes the payments made to the lepotocol of κατ' ενιαυτόν, β 8 and 38 κατά ψήφισμα δήμου $[\tau]\delta$ [els θ] $v\sigma$ [las], and γ 7 kal $\tau \circ \hat{v}\tau \circ$ (more than 1000 dr.) leροποιοίς κατεβάλομεν κατά ψήφισμα δήμου δ Αυκούργος είπεν. The date of the inscr. is the archonship of Cephisophon, B.C. 329/8. It is clear that in that year, on the proposal of Lycurgus, there was a special decree of the people affecting the **errernpls* of the Exercisia.

The same decree added a horse-race to the contests, and we are told that the prize in that contest was 70 medimni, β 38, 48, είς τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν προστεθείσαν κατά ψήφισμα άθλα μέδιμνοι ΡΔΔ. The suggestion in the text assumes that. under the active administration of Lycurgus (cf. Dürrbach, Lycurgue, pp. 99—102), prizes for the other festivals as well were the subject of decrees in the same year, but there is no evidence on this point. It may also be admitted that the 4th year of an Olympiad is not a very likely year for a decree to be passed affecting the Panathenaic and Delian festivals, which would not be held till three years

later, in the 3rd year of an Olympiad.

*** Knowooduros] B.C. 329/8, the latest date mentioned in this treatise.

§ 8. εἰς Σαλαμίνα ἄρχοντα] CIA ii 594 (117 Β.C.?), v. ι, έ[πί] 'Επικλέους ἄρχοντος ἐν ἄστει, ἐν Σαλαμῶι δὲ 'Ανδρονίκο[υ], v. 31, Διονυσίων τών ἐν Σαλαμῶν τραγω-δοῖς. iò. ii 469 (somewhat before 69 B.C.), v. 75 and 80, ἐπὶ Πυθέου ἀρχοντος ἐν Σαλαμιν, έν δοτει δέ Ίππάρχου, v. 82, Διονυσίων των έν Σαλαμινι τραγωδών έν άγωνι (cf. n. 470, v. 58). Before the discovery of this treatise there was nothing to shew how the archon in Salamis was appointed. Cf. de Schoeffer, De Deli Insulae Rebus, p. 201: 'Archon Salaminis insulae fueritne ab Atheniensibus constitutus an a cleruchis electus, prorsus ignoramus; nomen archontis minime obstat quominus illud verisimilius videatur,' Dittenberger, Syll. Inscr. Graec. n. 383, n. 2, on an 'archon' in a decree of Scyros posterior to

196 B.C. (Wyse in Class. Rev. v 335.)
Salamis was not reckoned as a regular Attic deme, but as a community de-pendent on Athens. Hence (like Athens) it had an archon at its head (Hermann,

Staatsalt. § 117, 4).

ds Πειραιία δήμαρχον] In CIA ii 573 δ
we have a decree, of the second half of
we have a decree, of the βεσμοthe fourth century, placing the θεσμο-φόριον in the Peiraeus under the protection of the δήμαρχος. In ii 573 the δήμαρχος is mentioned in connexion with a theatre in the Peiraeus. In an inscr.

καθιστάσιν· ἐν Σαλα[μινι] δὲ καὶ τὸ [ὄν]ομα τοῦ ἄρχοντος 36 ἀναγράφεται.

55. αὖται μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀργαὶ κληρωταί τε καὶ κύριαι τῶν [εἰρη]μένων [πραγμάτ]ων εἰσίν. οί δὲ καλούμενοι ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν τρόπον καθίσταντο [εἴρη]ται [νῦν] δὲ κληροῦσιν θεσμοθέτας μὲν εξ καὶ γραμματέα τούτοις, ἔτι δ' άργοντα καὶ βασι[λέα] καὶ πολέμαργον, κατά μέρος έξ έκάστης 5 $2 < \tau \hat{\eta}$ ς> φυλ $\hat{\eta}$ ς. δοκιμάζονται δ' οὖτοι πρώτον μὲν ἐν τ $\hat{\eta}$ [βουλ $\hat{\eta}$] τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, πλην του γραμματέως, ούτος δ' έν δικαστηρίω

LV 1 'an κληροῦνται καὶ κύριαι ?' K-W. $\mathbf{3}$ [είρη]ται [ήδη· νῦν] K, K-W, H-L: [είρη]ται· [νῦν] B, cum versus proximi in spatio eodem non plus quam tres exstent litterae. $\mathbf{4}$ κληροῦσι H-L. $\mathbf{5}$ ἐκάστης $<\tau$ ῆς > B. $\mathbf{7}$, $\mathbf{10}$ $<\tau$ $\hat{\mathbf{\varphi}}>$ δικασ-LV 1 'an κληρούνται και κύριαι?' K-W. τηρίω hic et in c. 45, 7 K-W; idem in c. 46, 13 et c. 55, 10 articulum omissum non inserunt.

TESTIMONIA. LV §§ 1, 2, 4 Heraclidis epitoma; Rose Frag. 611, 8: elol de nal έννέα άρχοντες. Θεσμοθέται ς' (Coraes; θεσμοθέται και vel θεσμοθετικοί και codd.) οί δοκιμασθέντες δμεύουσι δικαίως αρξειν και δώρα μη λήψεσθαι ή ανδριάντα χρυσούν άναθήσειν.

§§ 2, 8 Pollux viii 85, 86, p. 202 b exscriptus. *Lex. rhet. Cantab. θεσμοθετών 33 α, ο τοιτιά τη ο 3, ου, ρ. 202 υ εκπαιεριώ. Τεκτ. Πετ. επίπαι σεσμοσετών φτάκρισις: κατά 'Αριστοτέλην οἱ θεσμοθέται ἐκ τῶν θ ἀρχώντων, αὐτοὶ ἔξ όντες. οἱ δὲ λαχώντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου "δοκιμάζονται" "πλην τοῦ γραμματέως" ἐρωτώμενοι τίνες αὐτῶν πατέρες, ὀμοίως καὶ δήμων τίνων εἰσί, καὶ "εἰ ἔστω" αὐτοῦς "'Απόλλων πατρώσς καὶ Ζεὸς ἔρκειος," καὶ εἰ τοὺς "γονέας" εδ ποιοῦσι, και εί "τα τέλη" τελούσι, και εί τας ύπερ της πατρίδος στρατείας έστρατεύσαντο (Frag. 3752, 4148).

ascribed to the beginning of the 3rd cent., ib. 589, one Callimedon has a place of precedence assigned him έν τψ θεάτρψ όταμ ποιώσι Πειραιείς τά Διονύσια-καί είσαγέτω αὐτὸν ὁ δήμαρχος είς τὸ θέαrpor. Lastly, in ii 1059, a lease granted Those Lastry, in it 1050, a lease granted by the Πειραιεῖs is superscribed επὶ Αρχίππου άρχοντος (Β.C. 321/0), Φρυνίωνος δημαρχοῦ[ντος]. Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii 5. While, in the other demes, the δήμαρχος was elected by the members of the deme, in the important deme of the Peiraeus he was appointed by lot. Otherwise he would have be-

come too powerful a personage.

Διονύσια] τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς, celebrated in the month Poseideon, and on the grandest scale in the Peiraeus. CIA ii 589 (quoted above), ib. 741 (Ditt. 374), 6, 72, 79, eγ Διουσθων των eν Πειραιεί. Cf. Müller's Handbuch, V 3, 162, and Wyse in Class. Rev. v 276 b.

LV-LVI § 1. On the nine Archons. Hermann, Staatsalt. § 138; Schömann, Ant. p. 410—414; Gilbert, i 239—243; Dict. Ant. s. v.

LV § 1. & doxη*] c. 3 §§ 2—4; 8 § 1; 22 § 5; 26 § 2. κληρούστω κτλ.] The process is described in c. 8 § 1, ταῖε φυλαῖε τὸ δέκα

κληροῦν ἐκάστην, εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων κυαμεύειν.
Θεσμοθέτας—& ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς] It has hitherto been uncertain whether, in the annual appointment of archons, the holders of the office were taken from different tribes. Those who (like Schömann, p. 410) accepted this view, supposed that one of the ten tribes was unrepresented. We now learn that the tenth tribe supplied the γραμματεύς to the θεσμοθέται.

γραμματέα] The existence of a γρ. to the thesmothetae has hitherto been unknown. Pollux, viii 92, after stating that the three first archons select two #dpeδροι each, adds: προσαιρούνται δέ καὶ γραμματέα, δε έννομφ δικαστηρίφ κρίνεται, but says nothing of any such secretary

to the other six archons.

§ 2. δοκιμάζονται] Harpocr. s. v. δοκιμασθείς:—Λυκοῦργος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ διοικήσεως "γ' δοκιμασίαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον," φησὶ, "γίνονται, μία μέν ἢν οἱ θ' ἄρχοντες δοκιμάζονται κτλ." Βεκκ. Απεεά. 235, 11. Dem. Lept. 90 describes the six thesmothetae as undergoing a double δοκιμασία, ëν τε τῷ βουλῷ καὶ παρ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δικασ-τηρίῳ (cf. Lys. 15 § 2). Dem. 57 §§ 66, 70 refers to the δοκιμασία of all the nine archons. Gilbert, i 208; Schömann, p. 406.

μόνον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχον[τες] (π[άντες γὰρ καὶ] οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσιν), οἱ δ᾽ ἐννέα [ἄρχ]οντες το τῆ βουλἢ καὶ πάλιν ἐν δικαστηρίφ. καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἤρχεν ὅντ[ιν᾽ ἀ]ποδοκιμάσειεν ἡ βουλή, νῦν δ᾽ ἔφεσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τοῦτο κύριόν ἐστι τῆς δοκι[μα]σίας. ἔ[πε]ρωτῶ- 3 σιν δ᾽, ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν, πρῶτον μὲν 'τίς || σοι πατὴρ καὶ πόθεν [Col τῶν δήμων, καὶ τίς πατρὸς πατήρ, καὶ τίς μήτηρ, καὶ τίς μητρὸς τοῦν δήμων, καὶ πόθεν τῶν δήμων;' μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ᾿Απόλλων πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς ἔρκειος, καὶ ποῦ [τ]αῦτα τὰ ἰερά ἐστιν, εἶτα ἠρία εἰ ἔστιν καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα γονέας εἰ εὖ ποιες, [καὶ] τὰ τέλη τελεῖ, καὶ τὰς στρατείας εἰ ἐστράτευται. ταῦτα δ᾽

9 ἐννέ' K-W, B. 12 ἐπερωτῶσι H-L. K-W e Lex. Cantabr. coll. Dinarch. ii 18. 16 έρκεῖος edd. 18 <εl> τελεῖ

πάντες - δοκιμασθέντες άρχουσιν] Aeschin. c. Cles. §§ 14, 15; Lysias 26 §§ 6, 12. Pollux viii 44, δοκιμασία δε τοῖς άρχουσιν επηγγέλλετο και τοῖς κληρωτοῖς και τοῖς αίρετοῖς, εἰτ' ἐπιτηδειοί εἰσυ ἄρχειν εἰτε καὶ μή. The text states that, whereas the nine archons were examined by the Council and by the law-court, all the other officers (whether appointed by lot or by show of hands) were examined by the law-court alone. This is in exact agreement with the view put forward by C. Schaefer in Jahrb. f. class. Phil. 1878, 821 (the other views are stated in Gilbert, i 208, n. 3).

The passages bearing on the δοκιμασία of the dρχαί χειροτονηταί are Dem. 40 § 34, χειροτονησάντων ύμῶν ἐμὲ ταξίαρχον ήκεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον δοκιμασθησόμενος and Aesch. Cies. 15, χειροτονητάς ἀρχαί...άρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. In the latter passage it is added that the κληρωταί ἀρχαί are οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, but nothing is stated about the law-

courts. Cf. c. 45 § 3.
 § 3. πρώτον μέν κτλ.] Dinarchus, Ατίσος 17, άνακρίνοντες τοὺς ὑπὲρτῶν κοινῶν τρέπος 17, άνακρίνοντες τοὺς ὑπὲρτῶν κοινῶν τρέπον, εἰ γονέας εδ ποιεῖ, εἰ τὰς στρατείας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐστράτευται, εἰ ἰερὰ (ἡρία Baiter and Sauppe, coll. § 18 πατρός μυῆμο πατρῷα ἔστιν, εἰ τὰ τέλη τελεῖ. Χεπ. Μενι. ii 2, 13, ἐὰν δέ τις γονέας μὴ θεραπεύη, τούτω δίκην τε ἐπιτίθησι καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζουσα οὐκ ἐᾳ ἀρχεω τοῦτον... καὶ ἐἀν τις τῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τοὺς τάφους μὴ κοσμῆ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων δοκιμασίαις. Lys. 16 § 9 (of the δοκιμασία οἱ α βουλευτής), ἐν ταῖς δοκιμασίας δίκαιον εἶναι παυτὸς τοῦ βίου λόγον διδόναι. Pollux, viii 85, 86,

gives a summary of the text, ἐκαλεῖτο δέτις θεσμοθετῶν ἀνάκρισις (Dem. Εινδιι. 66), εἰ ᾿Αθηναῖοι εἰσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας καὶ τὸν δῆμον (corrected in margin of Cobet's copy into τῶν δῆμον, which is proved to be right by the text) πόθεν, καὶ εἰ ᾿Απόλλων ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πατρῶνς καὶ ἔεὶ ἔρκειος, καὶ εἰ τοὺς γονέας εῷ ποιοῦσι, καὶ εἰ ἐστράτευνται ἀπέρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ εἰ τὸ τίμημα ἔστιν αὐτοῖς. In the quotation in Lex. Rhet. Cant. the clause last quoted is in closer accordance with the text, εἰ τὰ τέλη τελοῦσι: though the form in Pollux has been supposed to be the older form (Gilbert i 210, n. 1).

πατρός πατήρ...μητρός πατήρ] Pollux viii 85, 'Αθηναίοι—έκ τριγονίας, not necessarily part of an earlier formula.

ήρία] Dem. 57 § 66, ὤσπερ γάρ τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ἀνακρίνετε, ἐγὼ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῶν ἀνακρινῶ. (67)—οἰκεῖοί τινες εἶναι μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ; πάνυ γε πρῶτου μῶν γε τέτταρες ἀνεψιοί, -εἶτ ' Α πόλλωνος πατρώου καὶ Διὸς ἐρκείου γεννῆται, εἰθ' οἶς ἡρία ταὐτά (cf. Dinarchus, quoted above).

 \dot{a} νερωτήσας, ' $\kappa[\dot{a}]$ λει,' φησίν, 'τούτων τοὺς μ \dot{a} ρτυρας.' $\dot{\epsilon}$ πειδ \dot{a} ν δ $\dot{\epsilon}$ παράσχηται τοὺς μάρτυρας ἐπερωτᾶ, 'τούτου βούλεταί τις 20 4 κατηγορείν;' κάν μέν ή τις κατήγορος, δούς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν, οὕτω δίδωσιν ἐν μὲν τῆ βουλῆ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δικαστηρίφ την ψηφον έαν δε μηδείς βούληται κατηγορείν, εὐθὺς δίδωσι την ψηφον καὶ πρότερον μέν είς ενέβαλλε την [ψ]ηφον, νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη πάντας ἐστὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα, ἄν τις 25 πονηρός ών απαλλάξη τούς κατηγόρους, έπι τοις δικασταίς 5 γένηται τοῦτον ἀποδοκιμάσαι. δοκιμασθέν<τες> δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπου, βαδίζουσιν πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἐφ' ο[τ] τὰ τόμι' ἐστίν, ἐφ' οδ καλ οί διαιτηταλ ομόσαντες αποφαίνονται τας διαίτας, καλ οί μάρτυρες εξόμνυνται τὰς μαρτυρίας. ἀναβάντες δ' επί τοῦτον 30 όμνύουσιν δικαίως ἄρξειν καὶ κατά τοὺς νόμους, καὶ δώρα μὴ λήψεσθαι της άργης ένεκα, καν τι λάβωσι, ανδριάντα αναθήσειν χρυσοῦν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ομόσαντες είς ἀκρόπολιν βαδίζουσιν καὶ πάλιν έκει ταυτά όμνύουσι, και μετά ταυτ' είς την άρχην είσέρ γονται.

56. λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ παρέδρους ο τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ βασι-

20 Βογλεγται: corr. κ. 25 b' έων H-L. 27 μασθέν <τes> Rutherford, Richards, Blass, κ-w, H-L. 27 DOKIMACHEN (K): BOKI-28 υφ' ψ τὰ ταμιεῖά (ΤΑΜΙ?) έστω Κ¹; έφ' οὖ τὰ τόμι έστω van Leeuwen (H-L, K³); έφ' ψ κτλ. Β; ὑφ' ('εφ an γφ incertum; utrumque libri Pollucis') φ τὰ τόμι εντίν K-w. mihi quidem littera γ cum φ connexa potius quam ε scripta videbatur (sed ε posse legi censent κ et κ-w): sequitur o potius quam litterae ω initium.

31 δμενόονσι H-L.

32 λά-K-W); sequitur o potius quam litterae ω initium. βωσιν H-L. 88 βαδίζουσι H-L.

LVI 1 Kal & Basileds om. Harp.

§ 5, 28 *Harp. λίθος (cf. Testim. ad c. 7, 5).

ΤΕΣΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LVI § 1 Pollux viii 92: πάρεδροι δ' όνομάζονται οὖς αἰροῦνται ἀρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολέμαρχος, δύο ἔκαστος οὖς βούλεται. δοκιμασθῆναι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν ἐν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, εἰτ' ἐν δικαστηρίψ. προσαιροῦνται δὲ καὶ γραμματέα, δς ἐννόμψ δικαστηρίψ κρίνεται. *Harp. πάρεδρος: 'Αρ. δ' ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. φησί ''λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ παρέδρους δ' τε ἄρχων <καὶ δ βασιλεὺς Rose, coll. Meier Att. Proc. p. 57; Bull. de Corr. Hell. vii 158> καὶ δ πολέμαρχος, δύο ἐκάτερος (ἔκαστος Rose) οὖς ἀν βούληται, καὶ οὖτοι—παρεδρεύσωσιν'' (cf. Suid. s. v.). Frag. 389³, 428².

§ 4. ψήφον] Meier and Schöm. p. 635 ff. Lips.
dπαλλάξη] Dem. c. Timocr. § 37, dr
dπαλλάξητιστὸν ἐπιστάντα, and ἀπαλλάξας και διαφθείρας, also And. de Myst. 122,

supra c. 27 ad fin. § 5. πρός τόν λίθον] Dem. 54 § 26, πρός τόν λίθον (Harpocr.; βωμόν MSS) άγοντες και έξορκίζοντες. Plut. Sol. 25, ώμιναν δρκον έκαστος των θεσμοθετών έν άγορα πρός τῷ λίθφ. ἐφ' οῦ τὰ τόμι' ἐστίν] Dem. 23 c.

Aristocr. 68 (the prosecutor in a case of homicide before the Areopagus) δμυνσιν...

στάς έπι τών τομίων κάπρου και κριού και ταύρου. Arist. Lys. 186, καί μοι δότω τά τόμιά τις. The archon's oath was taken τομα τες. Τhe archors bain was taken (Pollux viii 86) πρὸς τῆ βασιλείω στοῦ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ὑφ' ψ τὰ ταμεῖα (ita codex Schotti; ἐφ' ψ τε ceteri: ἐφ' οῦ τὰ τόμια bbs corr. Bergk, Ep. crit. ad Schiller.,

dνδριάντα dvaθήσειν] 7 § 1. Gilbert,

i 211, n. 3.

LVI § 1. ** παρέδρου*] In [Dem.] 59 § 72, and in CIA ii 597, the πάρεδρου to the archon βασιλεύν is mentioned. Gilbert, i 218, n. 4.

λεύς καὶ ὁ πολέμαρχος δύο ἔκαστος, οῦς αν βούληται, καὶ οὖτοι δοκιμάζονται έν τῷ δικαστηρίφ πρὶν παρεδρεύειν, καὶ εὐθύνας διδόασιν έπαν παρεδρεύσωσιν.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων εὐθὺς εἰσελθών πρώτον μὲν κηρύττει, δσα 2 τις είχεν πρίν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, ταῦτ' ἔχειν καὶ κρατείν μέχρι άρχης τέλους. Επειτα χορηγούς τραγφδοίς καθίσ- 3 τησι τρείς, έξ άπάντων 'Αθηναίων τούς πλουσιωτάτους πρότερον δὲ καὶ κωμφδοῖς καθίστη πέντε, νῦν δὲ τούτους αἱ φυλαὶ φέρουσιν. το έπειτα παραλαβών τους χορηγούς τους ένηνεγμένους ύπο τών φυλών είς Διονύσια ανδράσιν και παισίν και κωμφδο[î]ς, και είς Θαργήλια ανδράσιν και παισίν (είσι δ' οι μέν είς Διονύσια κατά

2 ἔκαστος: ἐκάτερος Harp. (κ1). å: EAN. 9 ΤΟΥΤΟΙΟ Κ et H-L, 'i.e. τοῖς κωμφδοῖς χορηγούς φέρουσιν': τούτους Wyse coll. Dem. 30 § 7 (K-W, B). 11—12 ἀνδράσι—παισί—ἀνδράσι Η-L. 39 § 7 (K-W, B).

§ 3 Lex. rhet. Cantab. ἐπώνυμος ἀρχων :...ἔχει δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν χορηγούς καταστῆσαι "els Διονύσια" και "Θαργήλια," ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ και τῶν "els Δῆλον" και τῶν ἀλλαχόσε πεμπομένων 'Αθήνηθεν χορών...

ξκαστος] ἐκάτερος is found in the citation in Harpocr., where, however, και δ βασιλεύs is omitted. It was conjectured by Meier (Att. Proc. p. 71 Lips.) that it was owing to this omission that Exagros had been corrupted into ἐκάτερος. We now see that this was actually the case (Lipsius, Leipz. Verhandl. p. 53, n. 3, was accidentally led to state the contrary by the reading in Mr Kenyon's first edition, exarepos).

\$\$ 2-7. The Archon.
\$\$ 3. Xoonyoùs] Dem. Lept. Introd.
p. iv-vii; Haigh's Attic Theatre, p.
71-75; Albert Müller's Bühnenalter-

τραγφδοίε] Lys. 24 § 9, κατασταθείε χορηγήσαι. Cf. Kühner, § 426, 2.

τρείς] In tragedy the number of competitors was limited to three. In the extant notices we never find more than extant notices we never find more than three tragic poets competing, e.g. B.C. 467, (1) Aeschylus, S. C. T. &c. (2) Aristias, (3) Polyphradmon. B.C. 431, (1) Euphorion, (2) Sophocles, (3) Euripides, Medea, &c. B.C. 428, (1) Euripides, Hippolytus, &c. (2) Iophon, (3) Ion. Cf. Haigh, Attic Theatre, p. 19.

KOMMODIS—MOVE II noomedy the number of competitors during the fifth century was three, as in tragedy: thus Aristophanes, in producing at the City Dionysia the Clouds, the Peace and Birds, during

the Clouds, the Peace and Birds, during the latter part of the fifth century, had in each case two competitors. The same

was the rule at the Lenaea. With the was the full at the fourth century the number was raised to five at both festivals (cf. Arg. Arist. *Plut.* and CIA ii 972,

Haigh, l.c. p. 30—31).

τούτους - φέρουσιν] Dem. p. 996, 22,
οὐκοῦν...οἴσουσί με, ἄν χορηγὸν ἢ γυμνασίαρχον ἢ ἐστιάτορα ἢ ἐάν τι τῶν ἄλλων φέρωσω; It is only in the case of comedy that the φυλαί nominate; and even here it is a recent innovation. The χορηγοί concerned with the production of tragedies were not nominated by the tribes; cf. Lipsius, Leips. Verhandl. 1885, p. 411.

Aurigua] is tares. Elaphebolion 9-13.

ανδράσιν και παισίν] At the City Dionysia, besides the dramatic contests, there were choral competitions, between choruses of men and boys respectively. There were five choruses of men and five of boys, each chorus being provided by one of the ten tribes, each tribe being represented by one of its members as xopmyos. Haigh,

L.c. pp. 14, 15.

Θαργήλια] On the second day of the festival, about May 25, there was a competition among the cyclic choruses of men and boys. Lys. 21 § 1, Θαργηλίοις νικήσας ἀνδρικφ χορφ, Απτ. de Chor. §§ 11—13, of a χορός παίδων, CIA ii 553, et τις άλλος νενίκηκεν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου άρχοντος παισίν ή ἀνδράσιν Διονόσια ή Θαργήλια ατλ. Dem. Mid. § 10 (lex), Θαργηλίων τῆ πομπῆ καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι. Cf. A. Mommsen, Heortol., 414-424.

φυλάς, είς Θαργήλια [δέ] δυοίν φυλαίν είς παρέχει δ' έν μ[έρει] έκατέρα των φυλών), τούτοις τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ποιεί καὶ τὰς σκήψεις $\epsilon i\sigma[\acute{a}\gamma\epsilon\iota, \,\dot{\epsilon}\acute{a}]\nu$ τις $\mathring{\eta}$ λελητουργη[$\kappa\dot{\epsilon}]\nu[a\iota]$ $\phi\mathring{\eta}$ $\pi[\rho\acute{o}]\tau\epsilon\rho o\nu$ ταύτην 15 την λητουργίαν, η ά τελης είναι λελη τουργηκώς έ τέραν λητουργίαν καὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ [τῆς ἀτελ]είας μὴ ἐξελη[λυ]θό[των, ἡ τὰ τετταράκοντα] ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι: δεῖ γὰρ τὸν τοῖς παι[σὶν χορη]γοῦντα ὑπὲρ τετταρά[κον]τα ἔτη γεγονέναι. καθίστησι δὲ καὶ εἰς $\Delta \hat{\eta}$ λον χορηγούς, καὶ \hat{a} ρχ $[i\theta]$ έω[ρον τ] $\hat{\varphi}$ τριακοντορί $[\varphi]$ τ $\hat{\varphi}$ τους 20

18 8è, quod in lacuna absorptum censet K, in codicis imagine videre sibi visi sunt H-L, B: idem a librario omissum putant K-W. AYEIN K1, B: duoir K-W, K3, B (coll. Meisterhans, p. 1622, ubi in titulis dueir cum plurali tantum coniungi dicitur). 14 τούτοις, τὸς ἀντιδόσεις κοιεῖ Κ¹; τούτοις τὸς κτλ. Κ-ν (κ³, Β); τοῦτοιν ἡῦ πρότερον κ¹; λελητουργηκέναι φῷ πρότερον scripsi (κ³, Β); λελογτηρ pr.? (Blass); λελητουργη[κέναι λέ]γη

π[ρ] δ τερον Κ-W. 16 λειτογργιαν (vel λογτηργιαν pr.). $\hat{\eta}$ \hat{d}]τελ $\hat{\eta}$ εἶναι λελητουρ[γηκέναι γ \hat{d} ρ] Κ-W; $\hat{\eta}$ \hat{d}]τελ $\hat{\eta}$ ς εἶναι λελη[τουργηκώς Κ 3 (B). 17 τῶν χρόνων αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ [τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς \hat{d} τελ]είας μ $\hat{\eta}$ ἐξελη[λυ] $\hat{\theta}$ \hat{b} [των, $\hat{\eta}$ τὰ $\hat{\mu}$] ἔτη Κ 3 ; eadem (omisso $\hat{\mu}$ quod olim protuli) B: ἐξεληλυθόνων non accipiunt K-W. Locum totum 15—19 its constitution \hat{u} protuin) Β; εξεληλυθότων non accipiunt K-W. Locum totum 18—19 ita constituunt H-L: εάν τις ἢ λέγη πένης είναι ἢ πρὸς ετερον ταύτην τὴν λητουργίαν μάλλον ἀνήκειν ἢ λητουργίαν ἤ δὴ ετέραν λητουργίαν ἢ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ ἔνεκα...εἰας μὴ ἐξεῖναι, διὰ τὸ τὰ νόμμα ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι. Melius K-W: ἐάν τις ἢ λελητουργηκέναι λέγη πρότερον ταύτην τὴν λητουργίαν, ἢ ἀτελὴς είναι λελητουργηκέναι γὰρ ἐτέραν λητουργίαν καὶ τὸν χρόνον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀτελείας μὴ ἐξελθεῦν, ἢ τὰ νόμιμ (incertum) ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι. 18 παισὶ H-L. 20 ἀρχιθεώρους Τοιτ coll. CIG 158 a 33 (H-L, κ³); ἀρχιθέωρον Lipsius, Fränkel, K-W, B. Cf. Boeckh, ii 84³, n. 391.

19 *Harp. ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα τη γενόμενον χορηγεῖν παισὶν \mathbf{A} Ισχίνης τε ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου φησὶ καὶ ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῷ ᾿Αθ. πολ. (Frag. 431³, 471³).

δυοίν φυλαίν είς] Ant. de Chor. 11, χορηγός κατεστάθην είς θαργήλια καί έλαχον Κεκροπίδα φυλήν πρός τη έμαυτου. Schol. Dem. Lept. 27, er rois Bapynhlous δυοίν φυλαίν είς μόνος καθίστατο χορηγός.

ουοιν φυλαιν είς μόνος καθίστατο χορηγός.

αντιδόστες] Lys. 24 § 10, εί—κατασταθείς χορηγός—προκαλεσαίμην αὐτὸν είς
ἀντίδοσιν. Dem. Lept. §§ 40, 130, and Or.
42 adv. Phaenippum. [Xen.] de Rep. Ath.
iii 4, χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι είς Διανόσια καὶ
Θαργήλια. Cf. Boeckh, IV xvi, Meier and
Schöm p. 28 Lips. Dick. Aut.

Schöm. p. 738 Lips.; Dict. Ant. s. v.

τds σκήψεις elσάγει] CIA ii 809 (of the
στρατηγοί, who dealt with ἀντιδόσειs in
the case of the trierarchy and propertytax, just as the archon did in that of the χορηγία), όπως δ' αν και αι σκήψεις είσαχ-

θωσι. Meier and Schömann, p. 743 n. λελητουργηκώς έτέραν λητουργίαν] Dem. 50 § 9, τούτων έγω ούδεμίαν πρόφασιν ποιούμενος ότι τριηραρχώ, και οὐκ αν δυναίμην δύο λητουργίας λητουργείν, οὐδὲ οὶ νόμοι ἐῶσιν.

και των χρόνων—μή εξεληλυθότων] 'or owing to the period of his exemption

having not yet expired.' The obligation

to perform a λητουργία recurred only every other year, Dem. Lept. 7.

ὑπὰρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη] Aeschin. c.

Τίπατch. § 11, κελεύει τὸν χορηγὸν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἀναλίσκευν ὑπὲρ τετταρά. κοντα έτη γεγονότα τοῦτο πράττειν, ζυ' ήδη έν τη σωφρονεστάτη αὐτοῦ ήλικία ών, οῦτως

έντυγχάνη τοις ύμετέροις παισίν.
εἰς Δήλον χορηγούς] lex. Cantab. 670;
'Δθήν. vii p. 480, no. 3 (Gilbert i 240);
Thuc. iii 104, §§ 3, 6; Xen. Mem. iii 3,
12, χορός... ὁ εἰς Δήλον πεμπόμενος, Lucian de Saltat. 16, έν Δήλφ δέ γε ούδεν αι θυσίαι άνευ όρχήσεως, άλλά σύν ταύτη και μετά μουσική έγίγγοντο: παίδων χοροί συνελ-θόντες ὑπ' αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρα, οὶ μέν έχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι προκριθέντες ἐξ αυτών. On the Delian πεντετηρίε, cf. 54

φρχιθέωρον] Plut. Nic. 3 § 5. τῷ τριακοντορίῳ κτλ.] Xen. Mem. iv 8, 2, ἔωτ ἀν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθη, Plat. Phaed. p. 58 A; Plut. Thes. 23, τὸ πλοῖον, ἐν ῷ μετὰ τῶν ἡῦθέων ἔπλευσε καὶ πάλιν

21 ήθέους ἄγοιτι. πομπών δ' ἐπιμελεί[ται τής τε] τῷ ᾿Ασκληπιῷ 4 γιγνομένης, όταν οἰκουρώσι μύ[σ]ται, καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τών [μεγά]λων μετά των επιμελητών, ους πρότερον μεν ο δημος

> 22 FIN (K-W). μ . K-W, -> μ . H-L. ηιθέους K.

§§ 4—7 Pollux viii 89: ὁ δὲ ἀρχων διατίθησι μὲν Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια "μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν," δίκαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λαγχάνωνται "κακώσεως," "παρανοίας," "εἰς δατητῶν (διαιτητῶν codd.) αἴρεσιν," ἐπιτροπῆς ὀρφανῶν, ἐπιτρόπων καταστάσεως, "κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων ἐπιδικασίαι. ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ" "τῶν γυναικῶν" αὶ ἀν φῶσιν ἐπ' ρων και έπικλήρων έπιδικασίαι. έπιμελείται δὲ και" "τῶν γυναικῶν" at ἀν φῶσιν ἐτ΄ ἀνδρὸς τελευτῆ κύειν, και τοὺς οίκους ἐκμισθοῖ τῶν ὁρφανῶν. § δ Lex. rhet. Cantab. ἐπώνυμος ἀρχων:...λαγχάνονται δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν (Dobree: cod. παρὰ αὐτῶν) και γραφαί και δίκας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγει. Βεκκ. Απ. 310: πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα καιώσεως ελαγχάνοντο γραφαί και τῶν γονέων, εἰ τούτους τις αἰτιαν έχοι κακοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὁρφανῶν (ið. 269). ἔτι δὲ παρανοίας καὶ ἀργίας, (κλήρων add. κ-w) ἐπιδικασίαι καὶ ἐπικλήρων γυναικῶν. Phot. ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου: τοῖς ἀρχουσιν οὐ πάσας πᾶσιν ἐφεῖτο δίκας εἰσάγειν ἀλλά τῷ μὲν ἀρχοντι τὰς τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς παρανοίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐπικλήρων ἐπιδικασίας. Harp. ἡγ. δικ.: ... πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀρχοντα αὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων (ἐλαγχάνοντο δίκαι). Frag. 381³, 420².

ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον. Cf. Boeckh, Seeurkunden, pp. 76-79; A. Mommsen, Heortologie, p. 402. In the Class. Rev., v 123 a, τριακοντόριον is described as an 'entirely new word'; but it is actually found in a contemporary inscr. of B.C. 325/4, CIA ii 811, p. 261, col. 2, 180, τριαορίων κώπας.

jibious] trisyllabic in Attic, Eur. Phoen. 945, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄθεος, and Eupolis Incert.
332 Kock, el μη κόρη δεύσειε τὸ σταῖς [θεος. The Homeric form ἡίθεος is retained by editors in Plat. Leg. 840 D,

§ 4. τῷ ᾿Ασκλητιῷ κτλ.] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. iv 18, τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόρ-ρησίν τε καὶ Ιερεῖα δεῦρο μνεῦν ᾿Αθηναίοις πάτριον τε και εερεία δευτέρα, τουτί δ' ένόμισαν 'Ασκληπιοῦ Ενεκα, ὅτι δη ἐμύησαν αὐτὸν ῆκοντα Ἐπιδαυρόθεν ὀψὲ μυστηρίων. The night of the 18th Boedromion, the eve of the festal march to Eleusis, was probably spent by the devout in sleeping in the temple of Asclepius, S. of the Acropolis (Mommsen, Heortologie, p. 253, ap. Dict. Ant. i 718 b).

Διονυσίων] The πομπή was on the 9th of Elaphebolion (about March 28). In it the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus was carried from his temple in Limnae to another of his sanctuaries, near the Academy (Paus. i 29, Philostr. Vit. Soph. reactions (raus. 129, Philostr. VII. 30px. ii 15); and then brought back again and placed in the theatre. The procession included the priests and civil officials, the knights and the citizens in their tribes, as well as the ephebi, and the canephori (Schol. Arist. Ach. 242). Daremberg and Saglio, iii 242.
τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν] εc. τῆς πομπῆς. In

Dem. c. Mid. 15, they are described as elected by open voting, (Meidias) κελεύων έαυτον els Διονύσια χειροτονείν έπιμελητήν. In Phil. 1 § 35, Dem. implies that the functionaries concerned with the Dionysia were appointed by lot: τὴν μέν τών Παναθηναίων έορτην και την τών Διονυσίων del τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι αν τε δεινοί λάχωσιν αν τε ίδιωται οί The first τούτων έκατέρων έπιμελούμενοι. Philippic falls in the first half of B.C. 351. The speech against Midias is assigned by Dionys. Hal. Epist. Ammon. i 4, 4 (A. Schaefer, Dem. ii 103) to B.C. 349/8; the Dionysia at which Midias insulted Dem. fell two years before, early in April 351 or 350; and Midias must have been elected ἐπιμελητής either for 352/1 or 351/0. As the appointment of the ἐπιμεληταί by lot had come into force in the first half of 351, Midias must have been elected exquentis for 352/1, and the change was probably made between the Dionysia, early in April, and the end of the civil year, about June.

After the time when the text was written, the appointment by lot was appaten, the appointment by iot was apparently given up. In B.C. 281/o ('Aθήν, vii 480, no. 3) we have 10 ἐπιμεληταί τῆς πομπῆς τῷ Διονύσφ representing only 6 or 7 of the tribes, and therefore probably elected out of the whole body of citizens, instead of being taken by lot, one from each tribe. After B.C. 265 (CIA ii 420) each tribe. After 8.0. 205 (CIA II 420) they are described as ol χειροτονηθέντει επιμεληταί τῆς πομπῆς and their number is 24 (two for each of the 12 tribes of that time). Daremberg and Saglio, s. v.

iii 682-4.

έχειροτόνει δέκα δυτας, [καὶ τὰ] εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀναλώματα παρ' αύτων ήν[εγκ]ου, νῦν δ' ἔνα τῆς φυλ[ῆς ἐκά]στης κληροῖ, καὶ 25 5 δίδωσιν είς την κατασκευην έκατον μνάς. επιμελ[είται] δε καί της είς Θαργήλια καὶ της τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτηρι. διοικεί δὲ καὶ τὸν άγωνα τω[ν Διον]υσίων οὖτος καὶ <τὸν> των θαργηλίων. ἐορτων 6 μεν οὖν ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων. γραφαί δ[ε καὶ δ]ίκαι λαγχάνονται προς αὐτόν, ᾶς ἀνακρίνας εἰς τ[ο δι]καστήριον εἰσά[γει, γο]νέων 30 κακώσεως (αὖται δέ εἰσιν ἀζήμιοι τῷ βουλομένφ δ[ιώκ]ειν), όρφανῶν κ[ακώ]σεως (αὖται δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων), ἐπι-

25 HN[E[K]ON? (K, H-L), ANHAICKON? (K-W), [d] pri $\lambda[i\sigma K]$ σv B. 28 $\tau \tilde{\omega}[v]$ $\lambda(i\sigma v)$ H, K-W, B: $\tau \delta[v]$ $\tau \tilde{\omega}v$ $\lambda(i\sigma v)$ H-L sed spatium non sufficit. $\langle \tau \delta v \rangle \tau \tilde{\omega}v$ θ . K-W. 30 $el\tau'$ [els] K; $el\tau'$ [els] K; $el\tau'$ [els] K; $el\tau'$ [els] K-W, H-L; els $\tau[\delta]$ K-W (B): scriptura incerta. $\gamma \sigma[v]$ ν Wyse, Blass, K-W, H-L, K³.

έκατὸν μνᾶς] Probably the sum granted

to the whole body.
§ 5. τῆs els Θαργήλια] sc. πομπῆs.
On the second day there was a proces-

sion, as well as a cyclic chorus.

τῆς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι] This festival,
which included a public sacrifice, was held on the 14th day of Scirophorion, the last month of the Attic year, either in Athens in the Cerameicus (so Hermann-Stark, Gottesdienst. Alt. § 61, 21; Boeckh, ii 117, 125 Frankel; A. Schaefer, Dem. iii 337, n. 2; A. Mommsen, *Heortol.* p. 453), or in the Peiraeus (see esp. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, ii 143). The text does not help to decide the dispute as to the place where the festival was held. It should where the lesival was field. It should probably be distinguished from the θυσία to Zeor Σωτήρ on the last day of the year (Lys. 26 § 6), which was also superintended by the archon. Shortly before B.C. 268 the sacrifice of the elσιτήρια for the βουλή and δημος was offered not by

the archon, but by the priest of Zevs Σωτήρ (CIA ii 325—6).

§ 6. γραφαί ετλ.] The archon eponymus succeeded to many of the judicial functions of the ancient kings, and was spensors of the archon expensions. cially regarded as the public protector of those who were unable to defend them-selves. This is shewn by the duties here assigned to him. Cf. Dem. 25 Lacr. 48, έπικλήρων και δρφανών και τών τοκέων τώ άρχοντι προστέτακται έπιμελείσθαι, and the Law quoted in Dem. 43 Macart. 75. In the following list we have no clear distinction drawn between ypapal and olkai.

ἀνακρίνας] Dem. Οίχηρ. 31, ὁ ἄρχων ἀνέκρινε τᾶσω ἡμῶν τοῦς ἀμφισβητοῦσω. Μεier and Schöm. pp. 43, 823 Lips.; Dict. Ant. s. v. Anakrisis.

γονίων κακώσιως κτλ.] In Bekker's Anecd. p. 269, s. v. κακώσεως, the three kinds of κάκωσις are all mentioned in the same order, and in the same terms, as in the text: ή τοιαύτη δίκη οθτως άπεφέρετο γονέων κακώσεως, δρφανών κακώσεως ή οίκου δρφανικοῦ κακώσεως. On the various forms of rdrwois cf. Meier and Schom.

p. 353—360 Lips. κάκωσις γονέων was committed by those who struck or reviled their parents, or even were disobedient to them; by those who refused them the means of support... or did not bury them after their death and pay them proper honours (Dict. Ant. s. v.); Xen. Mem. ii 2, 13, έδυ τις γουέας μη θεραπεύη, τούτω δίκην τε έπιτίθησι και άποδοκιμάζουσα οὐκ έᾶ άρχειν τοῦτον... έάν τις τῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τους τάφους μη κοσμή, και τοῦτο έξετάζει ή πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχώντων δοκιμασίας. Dem. Timocr. 107, (the laws) of καὶ ζῶντας ἀναγκάζουσι τοὺς παίδας τοὺς γονέας τρέφειν, και, έπειδαν αποθάνωσιν, όπως των νομιζομένων τύχωσιν. Diog. Laert. i 55 (lex Solonis), έαν τις μή τρέφη τούς γονέας, άτιμος έστω. Isaeus 8 § 32, (the law of κάκωσις) κελεύει τρέφειν τούς γονέας. Hyperides, pro Eux. c. 21, φαθλός έστι πρός τους έαυτοθ γονέας ό άρχων έπλ τούτου κάθηται.

dζήμιοι] Dem. 37 Pant. 46 (in a case of ἐπικλήρου κάκωσις), τῷ ἐπεξιόντι μετ'

οὐδεμιᾶς ζημίας ή βοήθεια. ὀρφανῶν κακώστως] committed those who wronged orphans. Dem. Macart. § 75, ὁ ἄρχων ἐπιμελείσθω τῶν ὁρ-φανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων. Schol. ad Dem. Timocr. ὁ ἄρχων ἐπεμελεῖτο...τῶν δρφανών.

κλήρου κακώσε[ως] (αὖται δέ εἰσι κατὰ [τῶν] ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τῶν συνοικούντων), οίκου δρφανικού κακώσεως (είσὶ δὲ καὶ [αύται κατὰ 35 των] $\dot{\epsilon}$ πιτρό $[\pi]$ ων), παρανοίας, $\dot{\epsilon}$ άν τις αἰτιᾶταί τινα παρανοούντα τὰ [ὑπάρχοντα ἀ]πολλύν[αι], εἰς δατητών αἵρεσιν, ἐάν τις μὴ 'θέλη [κ]οινά [τὰ ὄντα νέμεσθαι], εἰς ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασιν, εἰς έπιτροπής διαδικασίαν, είς [έμφανών κατάστασ]ιν, †έπίτροπον

36 τὰ [ἐαυτοῦ κτήματα] Κ, decem tantum litterarum spatium relictum confessus; τὰ [πατρῷα] Wyse (H-L), τ[ὸν οἶκον] Κ-W, sed plures litterae flagitantur et τὰ fortasse legi potest; fortasse recte igitur τὰ [ὑπάχοντα] Β. ΔΙΔΙΤΗΤωΝ: δατητῶν κ (κ-w, h-l, b) ex Harp. et lex. Cantabr. 38—39 el [πλείονες τῆς αὐτῆς

36 *Lex. rhet. Cantab. εἰς δατητών <αἴρεσιν> :...ἐπὶ τῶν διανεμόντων τὰ κοινά τισιν, ὡς ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῷ ᾿Αθ. πολ. ''δίκαι λαγχάνονται πρὸς'' τὸν ἄρχοντα ἄλλαι τε (Dobree; άλλ' el τις cod.) και "els δατητών αιρεσω," όταν "μή θέλη κοινά τὰ όντα νέμεσθαι. άλλ εί τις cod.) και "είς δατητων αιρεσι»," όταν "μη θέλη κοινά τα δυτα νέμεσθαι. *Etym. Μ. δατητής: παρ' Αττικος διανεμητής. 'Αριστοτέλης. * Ηατρ. δατεισθαι...τό δε είς δατητών αιρεσιν είδός τι δίκης έστιν. όπότε γάρ κοινωνοίεν τινες άλλήλοις και οι μεν βούλομενοι διανέμεσθαι τὰ κοινά, οι δε μή, εδικάζοντο οι βουλόμενοι τας μή βουλομένοις προσκαλούμενοι είς δατητών αιρεσιν. Λυσίας εν τώ πρός 'Αλεξίδημον εί γνήσιος, και 'Αρ. εν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. (Frag. 383², 422³). Addit Suidas, s.v. δατεισθαι: δατηταί κυρώς οι τὰ κοινά διανέμοντες τος μή βουλομένοις.

38 aut hic aut alibi in eodem capitulo (velut v. 37, ante els ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασι») excidit els ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν. Cf. * Harp. s.v. infra exscriptum (Frag. 382², 421²).

ἐπικλήρου κακώσως] committed by the guardians of poor heiresses; or by their nearest relatives, who either declined to marry them or give them a dowry, or who kept them out of their wedded rights. Law in Dem. Macart. 54, 75. Isaeus 3 § 46, οὐκ αν εἰσηγγελλες πρός του άρχουτα κακούσθαι την έπί-κληρου...άλλως τε και μόνων τούτων τών δικών άκινδύνων τοίς διώκουσιν ούσών καί έξον τῷ βουλομένω βοηθεῖν ταῖς έπικλη-ροις; and ib. 47 (cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 333 Lips.).

ката тŵν етигротым ктл.] These are

the ordinary cases, but the statement is not exhaustive. Dem. 37 Pant. 45, ήτιάσατο ἐκείνον—ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους είσελθεῖν

και την μητέρα την αύτου.

οίκου όρφανικοθ] 'an orphan's estate,' the regular technical sense of οίκος, Xen. Oec. i 5, = δσα τις έξω της olklas κέκτηται, and vi 4,=κτήσις ή σύμπασα. Thus, in Dem. 27 § 15, olkor μισθοῦν is 'to let the orphan's estate,' whereas in § 16 we have οίκῶν οἰκίαν in a different sense.
παρανοίας] This suit might be insti-

tuted by a son (or other relative acting on his behalf), against one who had become mentally incapable of managing his own affairs. Plat. Leg. 928 D; Arist. Nub. 844 ff.; Xen. Mem. i 2, 49; Aeschin. c. Ctes. 251. Meier and Schöm. p. 566

είς δατητών αίρεσιν] If, in a business

held in partnership, any one or more of the partners wished to retire, and the partners could not agree, those who insisted on the winding up of the concern might bring an action for the appointment of liquidators (Harpocr. s. v. δατείσθαι). It has been conjectured that δατηταί might be appointed even in cases not involving partnership in business, e.g. in disputes as to the division of an inheritance, and that this was the original object of the legal process (Meier and Schöm. p. 483 Lips.). This is confirmed Schöm. p. 483 Lips.). This is confirmed by the context, which refers to matters of family property and the duties of guardians. Probably it was only in the case of the inheritance of a citizen that the archon eponymus was the responsible official. Daremberg and Saglio, s. v.

ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασιν] 'constituting a wardship.' In the absence of directions by will, the next of kin acted as exirpora if authorised by the archon (e.g. the elder brother, Lys. c. Theoms. 1 5; or the uncle, Isacus, Cleonym. 8 9). Failing relatives suitable for the duty, the archon selected some one from the general body of citizens. Dict. Ant. Epitropus, i 751 b; Meier and Schöm. p. 552.

***TPOWT'S SIABLEAU deciding be-

tween rival claims to a wardship.' and Schöm. p. 471 ff. Lips.; and Lipsius, Leipzig Verhandl. p. 50.
els ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν] This clause

7 αύτον εγγράψαι , κλήρων και επικλήρων επι[δικασίαι. επιμελεῖτ]αι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ὀρφ]ανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, καὶ τῶν 40 γυναικών δσαι άν τελευ[τήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρ]ὸς σκή[πτω]νται κυείν καὶ κύριός έστι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιβάλ[λειν, ἡ εἰσάγειν είς] τὸ δικα[στή]ριον. μισθοί δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπι[κλήρων, ἔως ἄν τις τετταρ]ακαιδε[κέ]τις γένηται,

θέλωσ]ιν έπιτροπον αὐτὸν έγγράψαι Κ²; έὰν πλείους αμα έθέλωσ]ιν έπιτροπον <τὸν> αυτών έγγράψαι H-1: έ[άν τις άμφαβητη δε[ίν Lipsius (Poland). els [έμφανῶν κατάστασ]ω ex Harp., ἐπίτρ[ον]ω αὐτὸν έγγράψαι K-W, K³, verba tria ultima non intelligi posse confessi (Β); εl fere certum, etiam els vix ambiguum.

39 εΝΓΡΑΨΑΙ.

42 η εἰσάγειν Lipsius, K-W, K³, Β: ζημίαν η άγειν Κ¹ (H-L) sed spatium vix sufficit.

44 post ἐπικλήρων lacunam indicant K-W. AKAIA ... TEIC; of arn the K; 8 ... The K-W; ελν μη αυτος ο ενίτροπος διοικητής γένηται aut simile aliquid expectabat Herwerden. [εως αν τις τετταρ]ακαιδε[κε]τις γένηται optime B.

is suggested by Harpocr. s. v., δ δε 'Αρ. έν τη 'Αθ. πολ. προς τον άρχοντά φησι λαγχάνεσθαι ταύτην την δίκην, τον δέ άνα-els έπιτροπης κατάστασιν, and filling up the lacuna with words that agree with the sequel, έπιτροπον αυτον έγγράψαι.

Isaeus, 6 § 31, ἀπήτει τὸν Πυθόδωρον τὸ γραμματείον καὶ προσεκαλέσατο εἰε ἐμφανών κατάστασιν. καταστήσαντος δέ έκείνου πρός τον άρχοντα κτλ. Dem. 53 § 14, έξ έμφανῶν καταστάσεως. A man in possession of goods or documents, which another person either owned or had a legal right to inspect, might be required by the latter to produce them, euparn καταστήσαι. If he refused, he might be fined; on the other hand, the party summoned might disclaim possession of the things required or decline to admit the obligation of producing them. In either case the person demanding their production might bring an action els έμφανῶν κατάστασιν. Meier and Schöm. p. 478

Lips.
In the present context, the phrase can

The present connected, the phrase can only refer to procedure connected with cases of inheritance (ib. p. 59).

κλήρων και ἐπικλήρων ἐπιδικασίαι]

Dem. 43 Macart. 16. When a person claimed an inheritance or heiress adjudged to another, the former summoned the latter before the archon, who brought the case into court. Meier and Schöm. pp.

603—617 Lips. § 7. τῶν δρφανῶν κτλ.] The archon is ἐπικλήρων καὶ ὀρφανῶν κύριος (Lysias, 26 Evand. 12). Cf. Dem. 43 § 75 (lex), δ άρχων έπιμελείσθω των δρφανών και των έπικλήρων και των οίκων των έξερημου-μένων και των γυναικών, όσαι μένουσιν έν τοις οίκοις των ανδρών των τεθνηκότων φάσκουσαι κυείν. τούτων επιμελείσθω και μή έάτω υβρίζειν μηδένα περί τούτους. έαν δέ τις ύβρίζη ή ποιή τι παράνομον, κύριος έστω έπιβάλλειν κατά το τέλος. [Dem.] 35

§ 48; Aesch. I § 158. μυθοί] Isacus 3 § 36, μισθοῦν ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀρχοντα τοὺς οίκους ὡς ὀρφανῶν ὅντων, δπως ... τὰ ἀποτιμήματα κατασταθείη καὶ όνως... τα ανοτιμηματα καταστάνετη και όροι τεθείεν, 2 § 9, μετασχών τοῦ οίκου τῆς μισθώσευς τῶν παίδων τοῦ Νικίου, and 11 § 34, Lys. 32 c. Diog. 23, ἐξῆν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν... μισθώσαι τὸν οἰκον. Dem. 27 Αρλοό. Α 58, έξῆν (τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ) μηδὲν ἔχειν τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων μισθώσαντι τὸν οἶκον, and 29 § 60. The income was often more than

The lessees had to give security (dwortμημα) for the property leased to them. The archon sent certain persons (ἀποτιunral) to value the security and determine whether it was a fair equivalent for the property leased (Harpocr. s. v. amoriμηταί· οἰ μισθούμενοι τοὺς τῶν ὀρφανών οἰκους παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐνέχυρα τῆς μισ-θώσεως παρείχοντο· ἔδει δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα έπιπέμπειν τινάς αποτιμησομένους τα ένέχυρα. τὰ μὲν οδν ἐνέχυρα τὰ ἀποτιμώμενα ἐλέγοντο ἀποτιμήματα κτλ.). On land thus offered as security a ὅρος was placed, with an inscr. stating the person for whose property it served as security, CIA ii 1135, δρος χωρίου και olκίας άποτίμημα παιδι δρφανώ Διογείτονος Προβα[λισίου]. Meier and Schöm. p. 362-3 Lips.; Schulthess,

Vormundschaft, pp. 139-173.

Terrapakausekeris If this restoration is correct (and none better has been pro45 καὶ τὰ ἀποτιμήματα λαμβάν[ει' καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους], ἐὰν μ[ή] άπο δωσι τοις παισίν τον σίτον, ούτος είσπράττει.

57. καὶ ὁ [μὲν ἄρχων ἐπιμελείτ]αι τούτ[ων, ὁ δὲ] βασιλεὺς πρώτον μεν μυστηρίων επιμελεί[ται μετά των επιμελητών ους] ό δημ[ος χ]ειροτονεί, δύο μεν έξ 'Αθηναίων άπάντων, ενα δ' <έξ> [Εὐμολπιδών, ἔνα] δ' ἐ<κ> Κηρ[ύκω]ν. ἔπειτα Διονυσίων τών ἐπὶ

45 και τους έπιτρόπους Ε Η Brooks (K-W, H-L, B); και οι έπίτροποι (hiatu admisso) quondam conieci. ελΝ (Κ, Κ-W, Β) : ol δω (ex ol ἐδω) van Leeuwen (H-L).

46 [ἀπο]δῶσι et Wysio et mihi olim placuit (κ³) : [δι]δῶσι Κ-W, Β, ἀποδιδῶσι Η-L.

LVII 1 ὁ μὲν ἀρχων Blass et Herwerden (Κ-W, Η-L, Κ³) : οὖτοι μὲν οδν Κ¹.

8 έχειροτόνει Harp. (Κ¹).

4 Εὐμολπίδων Κ ex Harp.: ἐξ Εὐμολπίδων—ἐκ Κηρόκων Gertz (K-W, H-L, B).

ΤΕ ΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LVII § 1 * Harp. ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων: παρ' 'Αθηναίοις ὁ λεγόμενος βασιλεός...'Αρ. ἐν' Αθ. πολ. φησίν οῦτως' "ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς...τῶν μυστηρίων... χειροτωνεῖ (Bekker et Müller; ἐχειροτόνει codd.) ἔνα δ' ἐξ Εὐμολπίδων, ἔνα δ' ἐκ Κηρόκων. Suid. et Etym. Μ. τέσσαρες δὲ ἡσαν, δύο μὲν ἐξ...είς δὲ ἐκ...καὶ είς ἐκ (Frag. 386³, 425³). Pollux viii 90: ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς μυστηρίων προέστηκε "μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν" καὶ Ληναίων καὶ ἀγώνων τῶν ἐπὶ λαμπάδι (cf. Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 11) καὶ (add. Schol. Pl. Euthyphr. p. 325) τὰ περί τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεί (cf. Heraclidis epitom., Rose Frag. 611, 8, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς τὰ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας διοικεί. Schol. in Plat. Phaedr. 235 D. δ δέ βασιλεύς μυστηρίων προνοείται και τας θυσίας τας πατρίους διοικεί). Bekk. An. p. 210, 14: ... δ δὲ βασιλεὺς "μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οὖς δ δῆμος" ἐχειροτόνησε. Phot. ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου, ad fin. ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἄμα τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς προϊσταται. Cf. Frag. 385³, 422³.

posed), we here have the age at which the επίκληρος ceased to be under the care of the archon. Nothing has hitherto been known on this point (Schulthess, p. 177). Isaeus (6 § 14) simply tells us that one Callippe would naturally have ceased to be under an extrpoxos at the age of 30 (TPICKONTOUTIS).

dποτιμήματα] here of lands offered as security by persons who had the estates of minors leased to them. The term is also applied to the security which a husband gives the κύριοι of his wife as a guarantee that her marriage-portion (of which he has the usufruct) will remain intact (Meier and Schöm. p. 518). [Dem.]
49 § 11, δ...έν πεδίω άγρδι άποτιμημα
τῷ παιδί τῷ Εὐμηλίδου καθειστήκει. Cf. Schulthess, I.c. p. 157, and see note on μισθοί, above.

στου] Pollux viii 33, σίτος δέ έστιν al δφειλόμεναι τροφαί. Cf. Harp. in Testim., and Meier and Schöm. p. 525—6 Lips.
LVII. The archon basileus.
§ 1. βασιλεύς] The archon basileus

succeeded to the religious duties of the ancient kings. Gilbert i 241; Meier and

Schöm. p. δτ Lips. μυστηρίων] [Lys.] 6 c. Andoc. 4, αν... λάχη βασιλεύς, άλλο τι ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ

θυσίας θύσει και εύχας εύξεται κατά τὰ πάτρια, τὰ μέν έν τῷ ἐνθάδε Ἐλευσινίῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἑλευσινί ἰερῷ, και τῆς ἐορτῆς ἐπιμελήσεται μυστηρίοις;

ἐπιμελητών] sc. των μυστηρίων. Dem. 21 \$ 171, έχειροτονήσατε τοῦτον (Midias) μυστηρίων έπιμελητήν. We have decrees in honour of these excued wrat in CIA ii 315 (= Ditt. 386, 26; B.C. 283/2 or 282/1), and 376 (before end of 3rd cent. B.C.). In each of these decrees the compliment is paid to the two emuely and elected out of the whole body of the citizens, and not to those belonging to the Κήρυκες and Εύμολπίδαι. Cf. CIA ii 741 (= Ditt. 374, 10), B.C. 334/3, [έγ] Διονυσίων των [έπὶ Λ]ηναίω[ι π]αρά μυστηρίων έπιμελητών.

Κηρύκων] CIA ii 597 (a decree of the Κήρυκες, about the age of Alexander): έπειδη Εύθύδημος ὁ πάρεδρος τοῦ βασιλέως καλώς και φιλοτίμως μετά του βασιλέως και τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κηρύκων ἐπεμελήθη τών περί

τὰ μυστήρια κτλ.

τῶν ἐπὶ Ληναίφ] held in the district called Λίμναι, S. E. of the Acropolis, about Jan. 28—31 (Dict. Ant. i 638). It was the festival at which Comedies were generally produced, e.g. the Acharnians, Equites, Vespae and Ranae.

Ληναίω ταθτα δ' έστὶ [πομπή καὶ μουσικής άγών. την] μέν οθν 5 . 29.] πομπήν κοινή πέμ|πουσιν ὅ τε βασιλεύς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα διατίθησιν ὁ βασιλεύς. τίθησι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν λαμπάδων άγωνας ἄπαντας ώς δ' ἔπος είπεῖν [[καὶ]] τὰς πατρίους 2 θυσίας διοικεί ούτος πάσας γραφαί δε λαγχάνονται πρός αὐτὸν άσεβείας, κάν τις ίερεωσύνης άμφισβητή πρός τινα. [διαδι]κάζει 10 δε και τοις γένεσι και τοις ιερεύσι τας αμφισβητήσεις τας ύπερ [τῶν γε]ρῶν ἀπάσας οὖτος. λαγχάνονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τοῦ φόνου δίκαι πάσαι πρός τοῦτον, καὶ ὁ προαγορεύων εἴργεσθαι τῶν

5 ληναίων. [πομπή και ἀγών. τὴν] Η-L, κ³, Β: [πομπή και μουσικῆς ἀγών. τὴν] Κ-W. Supplementum illud parum multas, hoc parum paucas, litteras habere arbitratur κ, sed (nisi fallor) fere viginti litteris spatium aptum est, ut πομπηκμογεικης μπλ litteras undeviginti continere possit. 8 ral del. K-W, H-L. (K, B): <δια>τίθησι Richards, Gertz, K-W, H-L. 9 'quidni οδτος διοικεί?' Β. 10 ιερως lερεωσύνης Κ-W, Meisterhans, p. 36².

ΤΡΟCΤΙΝΑ (Κ-W, Η-L, Κ², Β); διαδικάζει addendum putat Β: προστιμῷ Βεκκ. Απε. (κ¹).

12 γε]ρῶν Κ ε Βεκκ. Απ. 219 (Κ-W, Η-L, Β): lερῶν (quod etiam in ectypo videt Β, coll. Βεκκ. Απ. 310), Richards.

§ 2 Pollux viii 90: δίκαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λαγχάνονται ἀσεβείας, Ιερωσύνης ἀμφισβητήσεως. καὶ τοῖς γένεσι καὶ τοῖς Ιερεῦσι (e schol. Pl. Bekk.: Ιεροῖς libri) πᾶσιν αὐτὸς δικάζει. Βekk. Απ. p. 219, 16: "γραφαὶ δὲ λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας. καὶ ἄν τις Ιερωσύνης" ἀμφισβητήση προστιμᾶ. "διαδικάζει δὲ καὶ τοῖς γένεσι καὶ τοῖς Ιερεῦσι τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν γερῶν. λαγχάνονται δὲ—πρὸς τοῦτον." Phot. ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου:...τῷ μέντοι γε βασιλεῖ τὰς τε φονικὰς καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ ἄν τις Ιερωσύνης ἡμφισβήτει, πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰς περί τῶν γερῶν (Ιερῶν codd., corr. Meier) τοῖς Ιερεῦσιν ἀμφισβήτρεις. προτηρόρευς δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων εξηγεσθαι τοὺς ἐν αἰτία. Pollux τὰς το σοσκοροιές δὲ τοῦς ἐν αἰτίας ἀπένεσβαι ματστοίας καὶ τῶν δλευν κουμίων τὰς κουμίνους τὰς δεροῦς ἀλλουν κουμίνων τὰς κουμίνους τὰς δικαί τῶν κουμίνων τὰς κουμίνους και δεροῦς κουμίνων τὰς κουμίνων τὰς κουμίνων του κουμίνους κουμίνους και δεροῦς κουμίνων του κουμίνους και δεροῦς κουμίνων το κουμίνους και δεροῦς κουμίνων και και δεροῦς κουμίνους και δεροῦς κουμίνων του και δεροῦς κουμίνους και δεροῦς και δεροῦς κουμίνους και δεροῦς και δεροῦς κουμίνους και δεροῦς viii 90 προαγορεύει δε τοις εν αίτια απέχεσθαι μυστηρίων και τών άλλων νομίμων κτλ. Bekk. Απ. 310, 6: δ βασιλεύς είσαγει τὰς φονικὰς ἀπάσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ προαγορεύει τὰν ἀνδρόφονον εἴργεσθαι τῶν νόμων (leg. νομίμων), καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰερῶν (leg. γερῶν) καὶ τοις γένεσι δικάζει.

πομπή κτλ.] 'law of Euegoros' in Dem. c. Mid. 10, ή έπι Ληναίφ πομπή και οι τραγφδοί και οί κωμφδοί. Cf. Plat. Protag. 327 E, and Schol. Arist. Eq. 547. The mistake in the MS (Ληναίων for Ληναίω) possibly arose out of such phrases as evina dis ent Annalon (Schol. Aeschin. 2 § 15).

Suarionor ... rionor] See note on 54 8 2,

καταγιγρώσκουσι...τὸ γρωσθέν.
λαμπάδων ἀγώνας] At the Panathenaea (Mommsen, Heortol. p. 169 f.) and Thesea (ib. 282), and the festivals of Hephaestus (ib. 311 f.), Prometheus and Pan. Plut. Sol. 1 ad fin. The expenses connected with the torch-race were borne by a γυμνασίαρχος. In CIA ii 606 we have a decree in honour of a γυμνασίαρχος reciting the names of certain λαμπαδηδρόμοι (about 350 B.C.). Law-suits concerning the γυμνασίαρχοι came before the archon basileus (Dem. 35 § 48).

Cf. 49 § 5; and 2 § 3, ws elwew, with οὐδενός.

πατρίους θυσίας] Pol. 1285 b 16, al πάτριαι θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοίς βασιλείδει μόνου, Plat. Politicus, 290 Ε, τῷ λαχόντι βασιλεῖ φασι τῆθε (at Athens) τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ μάλιστα πάτρια τῶν ἀρχαίων θυσιών αποδεδόσθαι. Athen. 234 F, κάν τοις του βασιλέως δε νόμοις γέγραπται θύειν τῷ 'Απόλλωνι τοὺς 'Αχαρνέων παρα-

 § 2. γραφαλ κτλ.] Meier and Schöm.
 p. 61—64 Lips.
 dσαβείαε] Hypereides, pro Eux. c. 21,
 dσεβεῖ τις περὶ τὰ ἰερά; γραφαὶ ἀσεβείας elol mods row Basiléa. Meier and Schöm. pp. 62, 367 Lips.

ιερεωσύνης] a hereditary priesthood. Cf. c. 42, 36, καν τινι κατά τὸ γένος ιερεωσύνη γένηται.

τῶν γερῶν] Bekk. Anec. 219, 16 (τῶν lepῶν, ib. 310, 6, and Photius), quoted in Testim.). Cf. Aeschin. c. Ctes. 18, τους ίερεις τους τα γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας.

elpyerdai tûr voulum] inf. § 4, elpyetai tûr lepûr. Soph. O. T. 236 ff.; Dem.

νομίμων οὖτός ἐστιν. εἰσὶ δὲ φόν[ου] δίκαι καὶ τραύματος, αν μὲν ς 15 εκ προνοίας αποκτείνη ή τρώ[σ]η, εν Αρείφ πάγφ, καὶ φαρμάκων, έὰν ἀποκτείνη δούς, καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς [ταῦ]τα γὰρ ή βουλή μόνα δικάζει των δ' ακουσίων και βουλεύσεως, κάν οικέτην αποκτείνη

14 đày H-L. 15 $\eta \tau \rho \omega [\sigma] \eta$ K-W, quod fortasse legi posse recte (ut videtur) censet K: εΝΓΡ ? έγγρ[άφεται] K; <τις>, γράφεται Η-L. Β): φαρμάκων K-W Pollucem secuti. 16 πυρκαᾶς Β. **DAPMAKON (K. H-L.** μόνη van Leeuwen (H-L).

§ 3 Pollux viii 90: και τας τοῦ φόνου δίκας els "Αρειον πάγον elσάγει. ib. 117 "Αρειος πάγος: έδικαζε δε φόνου και τραύματος έκ προυοίας, και πυρκαίας, και φαρμάκων, εάν τις άποκτείνη δούς. Bekk. An. 311, 9 περί 'Αρείου πάγου: αυτη κρίνει τὰς φονικὰς δίκας

αποιτευη σους. Dekk. Aπ. 311, y περι Αμείου παγού. αυτη προτικά αρμάχων καὶ πυρκαίας.
17—18 "Harp. ἐπὶ Παλλαδίφ...δικαστήριον οδτω καλούμενον, ὡς καὶ 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ., ἐν ῷ δικάζουσιν ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται. Hesych. δικαστήριον ἐνθα ἐδίκαζον οἱ ἐφέται τοῖς ἀκουσίων φόνων δικαζομένοις. Eust. in Od. p. 1419, 53: ἐδίκαζον δὲ κατὰ Παυσανίαν ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται Bekk. Απ. 311, 8: δικάζουσι δὶ ἐν τούτω οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς κατὰ Παυσανίαν ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱ ἐφέται τοῦς ἀκουσίου ἐκοῦς ἀκουσίου φόνου οἱς ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἀκοῦς ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἀκοῦς ἀκουσίου ἐκεῖ ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίου ἐκε εκεί ακουσιου φωνου δεφεταί. Βεκκ. Απ. 311, ο επιστού το το τουτώ ο εφεταί (Frag. 4173, 4573). Schol. in Aeschin. 2 § 87: έπε τούτω έπριστο οι άκούσιοι φόνοι. οι δέ ἐν τούτω τῷ δικαστηρίω δικάζοντες έκαλοῦντο ἐφέται, ἐδικαζον δὲ ἀκουσίου φόνου και βουλεύσεως και οικέτην ἡ μέτοικον ἡ ξένον ἀποκτείναντι. Cf. Poll. viii 118.

17 "Harp. βουλεύσεως, infra exscriptus (Frag. 4183, 4583).

Lept. 158, (Δράκων) γράφων χέρνιβος είρ-γεσθαι τον ἀνδροφόνον, σπονδών κρατήρων lepών ἀγορᾶς, Ant. de Chor. 34, 40, Herod. 10. Pollux viii 66, εξογονται Ιερών και άγορας οι έν κατηγορία φόνου, άχρι κρίσεων και τοῦτο προαγόρευσις έκαλείτο. Dem. Μααατί. 1069, προειπεῦν. The text shews that we are not justified in restricting the πρόρρησιs to the next of kin, to the exclusion of the archon basileus (as urged

by Philippi, Areop. p. 70).
§ 3. φόνου δίκαι] Pol. 1300 b 24, φονικοῦ μὲν οῦν είδη, ἀν τ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς άν τ' έν άλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περί των ακουσίων και όσα όμολογείται μέν άμφισβητείται δὲ περί τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δε δσα τοις φεύγουσιν έπι καθόδφ έπιφε-ρεται φόνου, οίον Αθήνησι λέγεται και τό έν Φρεαττοί δικαστήριον. Meier and Schöm. p. 376-387 Lips.

p. 370—387 Lips.

τραύματος] Dem. p. 1018, 9, τραύματός με είς Αρειον πάγον προσεκαλέσατο, 54 § 18, τραύματος γραφαί. Aeschin. F. L. 93, Cles. 51 and 212, τραύματος έκ προνοίας γραφάς γραφόμενος. It was only 'wounding with intent to kill' that was classed with $\phi \delta r \sigma s$; in the absence of proof of such intent, the case was one

of unlawful wounding (alkela, 52 § 2).

ἐκ προνοίας κτλ.] Dem. 23 c. Aristocr. 24, γέγραπται γὰρ έν μὲν τῷ νόμφ τὴν βου-λὴν δικάζειν φόνου και τραύματος έκ προvolas και πυρκαίαs και φαρμάκων, έαν τις άποκτείνη δούs. Lucian, Anacharsis 19. φαρμάκων] Philippi, Areop. pp. 41, 51. Meier and Schöm. p. 382 Lips.

dav dποκτείνη δούς] Ant. de Chor. 17,

el τον δόντα το φάρμακον φασιν αίτισο είναι, έγω ούκ αίτισο. It was probably essential that actual death should ensue, and that the poison should have been administered by the person charged before the Areopagus: 'etenim qui per alium curasset ut venenum daretur, eum oportuit βουλεύσεως accusari' (Forch-hammer, de Areop., p. 30). Similarly Antiphon, Or. 1, κατηγορία φαρμακείας, is really a case of βούλευσες, which would be tried by ol έπὶ Παλλαδίψ.

έκ προνοίας applies to φαρμάκων as well as to φόνου κ.τ.λ.: Magn. Mor. i 16 (17), φασί ποτέ τινα γιναϊκα φίλτρον τινί δούναι πιείν, είτα τον άνθρωπον άποθανεϊν ύπο του φίλτρου, την δ' άνθρωπον έν 'Αρείφ πάγφ άποφυγείν' ου παρούσαν δι' ούθὸν άλλο απέλυσαν ή διότι ούκ έκ προνοίας.

жиркайая] Meier and Schöm. p. 387 Lips.

άκουσίων κτλ.] Schol. Aeschin. F. L. § 87, έδικαζον δ' άκουσίου φόσου και βουλεύσεως και οικέτην η μέτοικον ή ξένον άπο κτείναι (MSS; αποκτείναντι Sauppe; κεί τις οίκέτην- αποκτείνειε Wyse).

βουλεύστως] 'conspiracy (against life).'

Harpocr. (and Suidas) s. v.— δταν έξ έπιβουλής τις τινι κατασκευάση θάνατον, έάν τε άποθάνη ὁ επιβουλευθείς εάν τε μή. — μάρτυς Ίσαιος εν τῷ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην, ἐπὶ Παλλαδίω λέγων είναι τὰς δίκας, Δείναρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου ἐν ᾿Αρείψ πάγψ. ᾿Αριστοτέλης δ᾽ ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. τῷ Ἱσαίψ συμφωνεί. Hesych. το επιβεβουλευκέναι θάνατον οδτως 'Αθήνησιν ελέγετο. And de Myst. 94, Ant. de Chor. 16. Meier τις η μέτοικον η ξένον, [οί ἐπὶ Π]α[λλ]αδίφι ἐὰν δ' ἀποκτείναι μέν τις δμολογή, φή δὲ κατά τους νόμους, ο[ΐον] μοιχὸν λαβών ή έν πολέμφ άγνοησας ή έν άθλω άγωνιζόμενος, τού[τω] έπί 20 Δελφινίω δικάζουσιν έὰν δὲ φεύγων φυγήν ὧν αἴδεσίς έστιν, αἰ[τίαν ἔχη] ἀποκτείναι ἡ τρῶσαί τινα, τούτω δ' ἐν Φρεάτου δικάζουσιν· ὁ δὲ [ἀπολογ]εῖται προσορμισάμενος ἐν πλοίφ.

18 Οιεπιπαλλαδι ωι? Κ versus prioris parte ultima litteris evanidis scripta. τούτ[φ μεν έπί] Π. K-W, sed neque spatium sufficere neque litteras τουτ cerni posse censet K. [ol ἐφέται ἐπὶ Π.] Brooks, H-L, sed ne his quidem verbis satis spatii relictum.

20 τού[τψ ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ Κ¹; τού[τψ] ἐπὶ Brooks, H-L, K³, B: τούτ[ψ] δ¹ [ἐπ]ὶ Lipsius (K-W), sed neque λ cerni posse neque spatium litterae aptum superesse putat K.

21 λιλ(supra scr. p)ecic.

22 αἰτίαν ἔχη ἀποκτεῦναι Κ-W (κ³, B, coll. Dem. 23 \$ 77): alrias προσλάβη κτώναι Κ¹ (H·L). Φρεωτογ Κ·W, Β coll. Dem. 23 \$\$ 77, 78, ubi φρεωτου pr. S; nomen ἀπό τινος Φρεωτου ἦρωος, καθά φησι Θεφφραστος, deducit Harp.; Φρεωτοὰ Harp., Ar. Pol. 1300 b 29 codex Ambrosianus, Helladius in Phot. Bibl. 535 a 28, Suidas; ès Φρεώτου et ἐν Φρεώτ. Hesychius: Φρεωτοῦ Pollux, Bekk. Anec. 311, 20 (K, H-L).

18—21 * Harp. ἐπὶ Δελφινίφ:...δικάζονται δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες μὲν ἀπεκτονέναι δικαίως δὲ πεποιηκέναι τοῦτο λέγοντες, ὡς $\Delta ημ$. ἐν τῷ κατ' ᾿Αριστοκράτους δηλοῖ κτουναι οικαίων σε πεποτηκεντι τουτο λεγωντει, ωι Δημ. εν τη και ΄ Αριστοκρανού σηλαι καὶ 'Αρ. εν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. Pollux viii 119:...οῦς ωμολόγει μεν ἀποκτεῦναι, δικαίως δ' ἐφη τοῦτο δεδρακέναι. Eustath. in 17. p. 1221, 30: δικαστήριον 'Αθήνησιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογούντων φασὶ δεδρακέναι μεν φόνον, κατὰ νόμους δέ. Bekk. Απ. 311, 13. Suid. ex Phot. ἐπὶ Δ., Hesych. (Frag. 419², 459²).

22 ἐν Φρεάτου. Cf. Poll. viii 120 infra exscriptum.

and Schöm. p. 384—6 Lips.; Philippi, Ατεοράς, p. 20—50; Dict. Ant. s. v. επί Παλλαδίφ] Dem. 23 § 71, δικαστήριον το τών άκουσίων φόνων... το έπί Παλλαδίω... ένταιθό' ὑποκείται πρώτου μεν διωμοσία, δεύτερον δὲ λόγος, τρίτον δὲ γνώσις τοῦ δικαστηρίου... τον άλδντ' έπὶ ἀκουσίω φόνω ἐν τισω είρημένοις χρόνοις ἀπελθεῦν τακτὴν όδον καὶ φεύγευ ἔως αἰδέσηταί τινα τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπουθύτος. αίδέσηται τινα των έν γένει τοῦ πεπονθότος.

alδέσηταί τινα τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπονθότος.
Paus. i 28, 8. Philippi, Areopag, p. 23.

The Palladium and the Delphinium were probably S. E. of the Acropolis, near the Olympieum (Milchhöfer in Baumeister's Denkm. p. 179 f.).

μοιχὸν λαβών κτλ.] Dem. 23 § 55, ἀν τις ἐν ἄθλοις ἀποκτείνη τινά, ἀν ἐν πολέμφ ἀγνοήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ δάμαρτι ἢ ἐπὶ μητηὶ θνιγατρί, ἢ ἐπὶ παλλακῆ ἢν ἀν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισίν ἔτη. Cf. Lys. 1 § 21. Philippi. παισίν έχη. Cf. Lys. 1 § 31. Philippi,

p. 55.
ἐπὶ Δελφινίφ] Dem. 23 § 74, ἄν τις
ὁμολογή μὲν κτεῖναι ἐννόμως δὲ φη δεδραΠολίου στὶ 110. κέναι. Paus. i 28, 10, Pollux viii 119, lδρῦσθαι ὑπὸ Αἰγέως λέγεται ἀπόλλωνι

Δελφυίω.

ἐὰν δὲ φεύγων—τινα] Dem. 23 § 77, δικαστήριον το έν Φρεαττοί. ένταθά... κελεύει δίκας ύπέχειν ο νόμος, έαν τις έπ' άκουσίω φόνω πεφευγώς, μήπω των έκβαλλόντων αὐτὸν ἦδεσμένων, altlar ἔχη ἐτέρου φόνου ἐκουσίου. Meier and Schöm. p.

379 f.

to Ppedrou] l.c. § 78, ent baldry (near the harbour of Zea). Paus. i 28, 11, fort de rou Песрацов проз валату Фреаттог. Philippi, Arcop. p. 48. There can be little doubt that the place derived its name from φρέαρ, and was so called long before the invention of the eponymous hero Ppearos. Ulrichs puts it west of the entrance to the harbour of Zea, at a point where there is a very small bay with a landing-place to the S.W.; near the latter is an oval depression, resembling a slipper-bath, hewn out of the rocky shore, with a small round pit in front of it, both of them filled by a spring of fresh water, called το Τζιρλονέρι (Reisen, ii 173). Milchhöfer, with perhaps more probability, prefers assigning it to the southern extremity of the tongue of land east of Zea

24 δικάζουσι δ' οἱ λαγόντες τα[ῦτα ἐφέται], πλην τῶν ἐν ᾿Αρείω 4

24 τα[ῦτα ἐφέται] ex Harp. K, K-W: τα[ῦτα δικασταί] Paton (H-L, B); τα[ῦτα πάντα] Lipsius.

24 Harp. ἐφέται infra exscriptus.

αίτια προσπλεύσαντα της γης ου προσαπτόμενου από της νεώς έχρην απολογείσθαι, μητ' αποβάθραν μητ' άγκυραν els την γην βαλλόμενου. Helladius in Photius, Bibl. 535 α 28,...έν Φρεατοί — (ὁ κρινόμενος) έπλ νηδε έξωθεν του Πειραιώς απολογούμενος νηὸς έξωθεν του Πειραίω, άγκυραν καθίει. Bekker, Anecd. 311, 17, τοπος εστι παραλίος. ενταυσα κρίνεται ό έπὶ ἀκουσίω μέν φόνω φεύγων, αlrias δὲ ἔχων ἐφ' ἐκουσίω φόνω φεύγοντες, ἐπ' ἀλλῳ δὲ τυν κρινόμενοι οὶ ἐπὶ πλοίω έστωτες άπολογούνται.

έφέται] Harpocr. s. v. ol δικάζοντες τὰς φό αίματι κρίσεις έπὶ Παλλαδίψ καὶ έπὶ Πρυτανείψ καὶ έπὶ Δελφνίψ καὶ έν Φρεατοῦ (φρεάτοις libri; Φρεατοῦ Ερίτοπε) έφέται έκαλοῦντο. It is agreed that έφέται έκαλοῦντο. It is agreed that Harpocr. derived his information from this treatise (Philippi, Arcopag, p. 210), and this is the only passage where the term can be inserted.

The eperal were 51 in number (law in Dem. Macart. 57); they were more than 50 years of age and were selected from noble families, ἀριστίνδην αίρεθέντες (Pollux viii 125). The ἐφέται and the Areopagus were probably among the primitive institutions of Attica, certainly earlier than Solon (Plut. Sol. 19) and perhaps earlier than Dracon. According to Lange, die Epheten, the 51 eperas and the 9 archons formed the preepera and the 9 archons formed the pre-Solonian Areopagus. But (as has been shewn by Mr J. W. Headlam, Class. Rev. vi 249—253) all our evidence respecting the epera is derived from legal and judi-cial documents, and there is no proof that they ever held any constitutional position outside the law-courts. The έφέται are named in CIA i 61 (B.C. 409), in a quotation from a law of Dracon incorporated in those of Solon: ἐὰμ μὴ 'κ προνοίας κτ[είνη τίς τινα, φεύγειν. δι]κά-ξειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αίτιῶν φόνου ἡ [ἐαν τις αίτιᾶται τὸν βου]λεύσαντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐφέ-τας διαγνῶναι (cf. Dem. Macart. 57 and Aristocr. 37). Solon reserved the φονικαί δίκαι for the Areopagus, leaving the ἐφέ-ται το preside in the four courts held in rau to preside in the four courts held in the precincts of the Palladium, Delphinium and Prytaneum, and 'in Phreatto.'

One of Solon's laws quoted in Plutarch's Solon 19, runs as follows:—ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλην ὅσοι ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου

ή όσοι έκ των έφετων ή έκ του πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ύπο των βασιλέων έπι φόνφ ή σφαγαίσιν ή έπι τυραννίδι έφευγαν. Here έπι φόνφ refers to cases under the cognisance of the Areopagus, σφαγαίσιν to those under that of the exercu, int ruparrio to those under that of the court sitting in the Prytaneum to try offences against the Constitution. law is incorporated in the decree of Patrocleides (Andoc. de Myst. 78) after the time of the 400, where we find excluded from the privilege of does all the names όπόσα έν στήλαις γέγραπται τών μη ένθάδε μεινάντων ή έξ 'Αρείου πάγου ή τών έφετών ή έκ πρυτανείου δικασθείσιν ύπο των βασιλέων έπι φόνω τις έστι φυγή ή σφαγαίου ήτυραννίδι. (So Droysen and Lipsius. The MSS, followed by Blass, have: η ἐκ πρυτανείου ή Δελφινίου εδικάσθη ή ύπο τών βασιλέων, ή επί φόνω τις έστι φυγή, ή θάνατος κατεγνώσθη, ή σφαγεῦσω ή τυ-ράννοις. But η Δελφωίου must have been added by some one who confused the court for trial of Constitutional offences held in the Prytaneum, with that for trial of inanimate things held in its pre-cincts; and, since the archon basileus presided in the Areopagus and Prytaneum, as well as in the four courts, the Basileis cannot be contrasted with these courts as is implied by n.) In Dem. Aristocr. 38 it is stated that, in the event of a banished manslayer being killed, the effect were to have cognisance of the matter, διαγιγνώσκειν, -a term not necessarily implying that they acted as judges, but not inconsistent with it.

In Isocr. c. Callim. §§ 52, 54, a trial for homicide, held ἐπὶ Παλλαδίω, is stated to have come before a tribunal of 700 dicasts: (μάχης γενομένης) έκ τοῦ τραύματος φάσκοντες ἀποθανεῖν την δυθρωπον λαγχά-νουσιν αὐτῷ φόνου δίκην ἐπὶ Παλλαδίφ. Similarly in [Dem.] c. Neaeram § 10 a trial έπι Παλλαδίφ came before 500 dicasts. Hence it has been inferred that the effect at had been deprived of their jurisdiction in that court (Gilbert, i 360 n). speech of Lysias is connected with a case of justifiable homicide, but there is nothing to shew whether it was delivered before & kaoval (Schömann, Scheibe, Frohberger, Blass, Philippi), or before energy (Forchhammer and others) in the court of πάγ φ γυγνομένων· εἰσάγει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δικάζουσι $[v * \hat{\epsilon} v _{25}$ ήλι]αί $[a]^*$ καὶ ὑπαίθριοι. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅταν δικάζη περιαι-

25 [N].... λι[O]ι κ³: δικάζουσι σκοταῖοι olim conieci (H-L), coll. Luciani locis infra exscriptis. Ceterum σκοταῖοι cum litterarum evanidarum vestigiis non congruere nunc confiteor, et hac certe in clausula Areopagitarum iudicium excludi videtur. τριταῖοι Lipsius; cf. Schol. Aeschin. 1 § 188, τρεῖι που τοῦ μητὸς ἡμέρας τὰς φονικὰς

§ 4, 26 Pollux viii 118 ("Αρειος πάγος): ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἐδίκαζον. 26—27 Pollux viii 90: και τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς δικάζει.

the Δελφίνων. The text implies that the ἐφέται had not lost the privilege of trying such cases; possibly they retained it only in a formal sense as a kind of presiding committee, while the actual voting was in the hands of the dicasts. This is consistent with the statement of Pollux viii 125, κατά μικρὸν δὲ κατεγελάσθη τὸ τῶν ἐφετῶν δικαστήριου.

Suadlows κτλ.] To restore the missing word is a difficult task. According to Lucian, one of the courts of homicide, that of the Areopagus, held its sittings during the night:—Hermotimus 64, 'Αρεοπαγίται ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότω δικάζουσιν, and de Domo, 18, εἰ τις...ἐν νυκτὶ ώστερ ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλή ποιοῖτο τὴν ἀκρόασιν. This suggests the emendation σκοταῖοι, proposed by me in the Academy, Feb. 6, 1891, and accepted in the Dutch edition; but this proposal assumes either that the writer now reverts to the description of the procedure before the Areopagus, or that, if (as is more probable) he refers to all the courts of homicide, this particular detail in the trials before the Areopagus was also adopted in the three courts which have just been mentioned.

Again, if we refer to the account in Pollux viii 117, we find that the court of the Areopagus sat for three consecutive days before the last day in each month, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐδἰκαζω ἐφεξῆς, τετάρτη φθίνοντος, τρίτη, δευτέρα (cf. Schol. Aeschin. I § 188). Then (after a sentence stating that the court of the Areopagus was composed of those who had been archons) he continues: ὑπαίθριοι δ΄ ἐδίκαζω. This suggests τριταῖοι, which has independently occurred to Lipsius and Mr T. Nicklin: the sense would then be 'they give sentence on the third day'; but δικαζων naturally means 'to try a cause' and not 'to pass a sentence,' ψηφίζεσθαι.

Both the above suggestions are open to the objection that they do not suit the faint traces still visible in the Ms. These traces point to some word beginning with αλ or ελ followed by something resembling 17 preceding the termination. Such a word is άλεεινοι (from άλέα). Hdt. ii 25, άλεεινῆς τῆς χώρας ἐούσης, opp. to ψυχεινῆς Χεπ. Cyr. x 6; epithet of ἐσθης in Pol. ii 8, 1, ἐσθητος εὐτελοῦς μὲν άλεεινῆς δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι μόνον άλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινούς χρόνους. Cf. Hesych. ἀλεάζω (ἀλίζω Kuster) ἀθροίζω. ἀλεάζων δικαζόμενος, and ἡλιαία either from ἀλεάζεσθαι (ἀθροίζεσθαι) or from ὅπαιθρον είναι τὸν τόπον καὶ ἡλιοῦσθαι. This assumes that an epithet usually meaning 'lying open to the sun, warm, hot,' can here be applied to a tribunal holding its meetings in the sunlight, as well as in the open air. If so, the three courts are contrasted in this respect with the court of the Areopagus. But such an application of the epithet is quite unprecedented.

As a better alternative one might suggest & ħλιαίρ, [ενηλι]α[α], which is found without the article in Arist. Eq. 897 & ħλιαίρ, Posidippus ap. Athen. 591 C els ħλιαίαν ħλθε, and Diog. Laert. i 66. If this is right, the collocation of ὑπαίθριοι supports the view of those who connect ħλιαία with ħλιοι: Et. Mag. s. v. 1: els το ὑπαίθριον προσκαθημένων τῶν δικαστῶν ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὑπαίθριον καὶ προϋποτίθεται πλιον εἶναι παρὰ τὸ ἡλιοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐκεὶ ἀθροιζομένους, and at end of art. 2: ἡλιά-ξεθαι καὶ ἡλίασις ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν ἡλιαίρ δικά-ξεω (Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre, i 403, and Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, p. 90). The term ἡλιαία is indeed suggestive of a large body of δικασταί, and it is so explained by the grammarians. Harp. s.v. mentions 1500 or 1000; and Pollux, 500 (at least). Cf. Paus. i 28, 8, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἐς δ πλεῦστον συνίασιν Ἡλιαίαν ἐκά-λουν, where it is contrasted with the courts for the trial of homicide. But we know of trials ἐπὶ Παλλαδίφ coming before 500 to 700 dicasts (p. 214 ὁ); and such a tribunal may well be called 'a heliastic

υπαθριοι] Antiphon, de caede Herodis, II, άπαντα τὰ δικαστήρια ἐν ὑπαίθρφ δικάζει τὰς δίκας τοῦ φόνου. ρεῖται τὸν στέφανον. ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχων τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰργεται τῶν ἰερῶν, καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν δ[ίκαιον ε]μβαλεῖν αὐτῷ· τότε δ' εἰς τὸ ἰερὸν εἰσελθὼν ἀπολογεῖται. ὅταν δὲ μὴ 30 εἰδἢ τὸν ποιήσαντα, τῷ δράσαντι λαγχάνει. δικάζει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ φυλοβασιλεῖς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων.

δίκας ἐδίκαζον. Sed exspectares potius τριῶν ἡμερῶν (Poll. viii 117) vel τριῶν ἡμέραις, aut τετάρτω μηνὶ (Ant. De Chor. 42) vel denique ἐν μηνὶ τετάρτω (εναμνιλ΄). Litteram secundam z vel ἔ fuisse suspicantur κ-w, sed in papyro litterae neutrius apparet vestigium. Δλιμ νεὶ ελιμ aegre discerni posse putat G F Warner; post δικάσουσίν] litterarum vestigia evanida hanc fere speciem habere testatur Kenyon:—ελιιι..Δι.ι, prima praesertim littera obscure scripta. Legendum fortasse ἐν ἡλιαία sc. [εν ηλι]α]α]ι.

28 ἐἰργεται μ-L. οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν Wyse, Blass, van Leeuwen, Hartman, coll. Dem. 23 § 80 et 24 §§ 103, 165 (κ-w, μ-L): οὐδεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν κὶ. δ[ίκαιον] van Leeuwen (κ²), vel potius ἐξεστιν (Wyse): δ[ίναται] κὶ; δ[έδοται) Gertz (κ-w, μ-L, Β). εμβάλειν (κ, μ-L, Β): ἐμβάλλειν κ-w.

29 μηδεὶς μ-L, sed spatii non satis est.

30 εἰδῆ Wyse (κ-w, μ-L, κ², β). Post λαγχάνει ἐιπιετειὰιί fere ὁ προσήκων ἐπὶ πρυτωνείψ κ-w.

31 Ζωων. Desiderantur οὖτοι δικάζουσι καὶ τὰ καταγνωσθέντα ὑπεροῦμζουσι, coll. Poll. viii 120, κ-w.

29-81 Pollux viii 120 infra exscriptus.

τὸν στέφανον] characteristic of the office of archon. Aeschin. 1 § 19, ἄν τις Αθηναίων έταιρήση, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ τῶν εννέα ἀρχύντων γενέσθαι, ὅτι οἶμαι στεφαγρόρος ἡ ἀρχή, and Schol. ad loc., οἰ γὰρ εννέα ἀρχοντες στέφανον ἐφόρουν μυρρίνης, with Hesych. s. v. μυρρινῶν, and Pollux viii 86, μυρρίνη δ' ἐστεφάνωντο. Hence in Photius, s.v. ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου ad fin., (of the archon βασιλεύς), ἐχει δὲ μόνος καὶ στέφανον should be corrected into ἐχει δὲ μυρρίνης στέφανον. Cf. Lys. 26 § 8 (of the archon), [Dem.] 58 § 27 (of the θεσμοθέται). Hermann, Staatsalt. § 124, 12.

είργεται] § 2.
 ούδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κτλ.] Aeschin. 1
§ 164, ἐπειτα ἐμβάλλεις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡμῶν;
δ. Δ. 148, οὐ καθαρὸς ὧν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλεις. Lycurg. Leocr. 5, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλοντα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἰερῶν μετέχοντα. Dem. 24 c. Τὰποcr. 103, ἐὰν ἀλοὺς τῆς κακώσεως τῶν γονέων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλη, and 165, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φορῶν ἐμβάλλη, alo 165, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φορῶν ἐμβαλεῖν, also iò. 60 and Ανατοί. 77.

έὰν άλούς τής κακώσεως των γονέων είς τήν άγορὰν ἐμβάλλη, and 165, εἰς τήν ἀγορὰν φοβοῖτ' ἐμβαλεῶν, also ἰδ. 60 and Απατοί. 77. ὅταν δὲ μή εἰδῆ κτλ.] [Dem.] 47 c. Εμετχ. 69, συμβουλεύομέν σοι... ὀνομαστὶ μὲν μηδεῦι προαγορεύειν, τοῖς δεδρακόσι δὲ καὶ κτείνασιν. Plat. Leg. 874 λ, ἐὰν δὲ τεθνεώς μὲν αῦ τις φανῆ καὶ μὴ ἀμελώς ζητοῦσιν ἀνεύρετος γίγνηται, τὰς μὲν προρρήσεις τὰς αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ τοῖς ἀλλοις, προαγορεύειν δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι καὶ ἐπιδικασάμενον ἐν ἀγορᾶ κηρῦξαι τῷ κτείναντι τὸν καὶ τὸν καὶ ἀφληκότι φόνον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἰερῶν' (Wyse). Pollux, viii 120, τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείω δικάζει περὶ τών ἀποκτεινάντων καν ώσιν άφανείς.

δ βασιλεύς και οι φυλοβασιλείς] Pollux, viii 90, says (of the βασιλεύς), δικάζει τὰς τῶν ἀψύχων δίκας. In § 120 he says (of the φυλοβασιλείς), προειστήκεσαν δε τούτου τοῦ δικαστηρίου φυλοβασιλείς, οθς δεῖ τὸ ἐμπεσὸν ἀψυχον ὑπερορίσαι. These statements have hitherto been regarded as inconsistent with one another, and it has been supposed by Philippi, Arκορ, p. 18, that the duty of the φυλοβασιλείς was simply to cast the condemned object beyond the bounds of Attica. The text shews both the statements are correct and that the βασιλεύς and the φυλοβασιλείς jointly presided over this court.

The trial was held in the precincts of the Prytaneum. Dem. Aristocr. 76, ἐἀν λίθος ἢ ξόλον ἢ σίδηρος ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἐμπεσόν πατάξη, καὶ τὸν μὲν βαλόντα ἀγνοῦ τις, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰδῃ καὶ ἔχῃ τὸ τὸν φόνου εἰργασμένον, τούτοις ἐνταῦθα λαγχάνεται. εἰ τοίνυν τῶν ἀμόχων κτλ. Pollux, viii 120, τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείψ δικάξει... περὶ τῶν ἀμόχων τῶν ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων. In the ceremony of the βουφόνια, the priest who slew the οχ fled after flinging away the axe, οὶ δὲ ἀτε τὸν ἀνδρα δς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οῦκ εἰδότες ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν (Paus. i 24, 4, cf. 28, 11 and vi 11, 6).

καί τῶν ἄλλων ζώων] Plat. Gorg. 473 C, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων (Kühner § 405 ὁ n. 1).

The fact that animals could be tried has been hitherto unknown. But the

58. ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τήν τε τη Αρτέμιδι τη άγροτέρα και τφ' Ενυαλίφ, διατίθησι δ' άγωνα τον επιτάφιον [[καὶ]] τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμφ, καὶ 'Αρμοδίφ καὶ 'Αριστο-2 γείτονι έναγίσματα ποιεί. δίκαι δέ λαγχάνονται πρός αὐτὸν ίδιαι μέν, αί τε τοις μετοίκοις και τοις ισοτελέσι και τοις προξένοις κ γιγνόμεναι καὶ δεῖ τοῦτον λαβόντα καὶ διανείμαντα δέκα μέρη, τὸ

LVIII 1 OYEIMEN? (K3, K-W, B): TIOIEITAI? K^1 (H-L). The TE $\tau \hat{y}$: $\tau \hat{y}$ TE K-W.

2 ΕΝΥΑλΙωΙΕΝΥΑλΙωΙ? Ένναλίφ Κ (K-W, B): Ενναλίφ την ένιαυσίαν H-L. secl. K (H-L, B); retinent K-W, commatis signo post έπιτάφιον, non post πολέμφ τŵ: τω Rutherford 'vix recte.' 5 M(EN) K, H-L, B: μόνον K-W. posito. 6 FINOMENAI (adscr. OIC).

TESTIMONIA. LVIII § 1 Heraclidis epitom. (Rose, Frag. 611, 8): καὶ τὰ πολέμια.
Pollux viii 91: "ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύοι μὲν" Αρτέμιδι "ἀγροτέρα καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίφ, διατίθησι" δὲ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμιφ ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ οιατισησεί σε των επεταφείον αγωνα των εν πολεμφ αποσανόντων, και τοις περε *Αρμόδιον έναγεζει. (§ 2) δίκαι δέ πρός αὐτόν λαγχάνονται μετοίκων, ίσστελών, προξένων. και διανέμει τό λαχὸν έκάστη φυλή τι (τό? Bekk.: sine dubio leg. τῆ φυλή) μέρος, τό μὲν διαιτηταῖς παραδιδούς, (§ 3) είσάγων δὲ δίκας ἀποστασίου, ἀπροστασίου, κλήρων

case is provided for in Plato's Laws, 873 E, έων δ' άρα υποζύγιον ή ζώον άλλο τι φονεύση τινά... ἐπεξίτωσαν μέν οί προσήκοντες τοῦ φόνου τῷ κτείναντι, διαδικαζόντων δέ των άγρονόμων οίσιν αν και όπόσοις προστάξη ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ δφλον έξω τῶν όρων της χώρας αποκτείναντες διορίσαι. Then follows the case of things without life: ἐὰν δὲ ἄψυχόν τι κτλ. LVIII. The Polemarch.

§ 1. Tokhpapxos] Hermann, Staatsalt. 138, 8—10; Gilbert, i 242.

§ 138, 8—10; Gilbert, i 242.

θόα—Επυαλίφ ετλ.] a survival of the duties performed in early times by the military capacity. 'Αρ-Polemarch in his military capacity. 'Apin memory of the battle of Marathon on the 6th day of Boedromion, Xen. Anab. iii 2, 12; Plut. de malign. Her. 26; Aelian, V. H. ii 25 (wrongly ascribed to the 6th of Thargelion); Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 660 (Hermann, Gottesdienst. Alt. § 56,

3 and 5; Mommsen, Heartol. p. 213).

αγώνα τον ἐπιτάφιον] Plat. Menex.
249 Β, ἀγώνας γυμνικούς καὶ ἐππικούς—καὶ μουσικής πάσης, [Lys.] 2 § 80; Philostr. νει. Soph. ii 30 ad fin. èr τη άκαδημία, οδ τίθησι τον άγωνα έπι τος έκ των πολέμων θαπτομένοις δ πολέμαρχος. Cf. Suidas, s. v. Θεμματοκλέους παίδες. See Mommsen, Heortologie, p. 281, and Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. Epitaphia, iii 727, where this commemorative festival is connected with the Θησεία and assigned to the 7th of Pyenepsion (end of October), cf. CIA ii 471, 22, ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις δρόμον εν δπλοις-και απεδείξαντο εν τοίς δπλοις τοις τε θησείοις και έπιταφίοις. In this part of his duties the Polemarch was assisted by the orparnyol; Gilbert, Bai-

träge, p. 61.

trage, p. 61.

trage, p. 61.

(of Achilles); and ii 10, 1 (of Heracles). 7 (of Achilles); and it is, to a serior of the offerings consisted of libations of wine, oil, milk and honey. Hermann, willer's Gottesdienst. Alt. § 16, 14; Müller's

Handbuch, v 3 p. 98. § 2. δίκαι... ιδιαι Meier and Schömann, pp. 64—70, 619; Lys. 23 § 2, προσεκαλεσάμην αυτόν πρός τον πολέμαρχον νομίζων μέτοικον είναι.

mpofévois] the addition of févur, after *pocetum, proposed by Meier in the corresponding passage of Pollux, is proved by the text to be unnecessary. Econ who were not resident in Attica, could only be concerned in δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων or δίκαι ἐμπορικαί. By πρόξενοι we must here understand the privileged class of foreigners presented by Athens with rights such as those of εγκτησιε, ἀτέλεια and wpoedpla.

The privilege of the Polemarch's protection is expressly granted to a πρόξενος in CIA ii 42, πρόσοδον αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον καθάπερ τοις άλλοις προξένοις. In 131, we also have the grant of ἀτέλεια και γης και olklas έγκτησις. Meier and

Schöm. p. 70 Lips. λαβόντα] τὰς δίκας. Siavelpayraμέρη] 21 § 4.

λαγον έκαστη τη φυλή μέρος προσθείναι, τους δε την φυλην δικάζοντας το[ες] διαιτηταις αποδούναι αὐτὸς δ' εἰσάγει δίκας τάς τε 3 [[τοῦ]] à[ποστασ]ίου καὶ ἀπροστασί[ου] καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων το τοις μετοίκοις, και τάλλ' όσα τοις πολίταις ό άρχων, ταθτα τοις μετοίκοις ὁ πολέμαργος.

59. οί δὲ θεσμοθέται πρώτον μὲν τοῦ προγράψαι τὰ δικαστήριά είσι κύριοι, τίσιν ήμέραις δεί δικάζειν, [ἔπ]ε[ιτα] τοῦ δοῦναι

> 7 μέρος secl. K-W. 9 700 secl. K-W; habet Harp.

μετοίκων (Frag. 387², 426³). Bekk. Απ. 290, 28: "παὶ τῷ Ένυαλί φ διατίθησι" τὸν "άγ $\hat{\varphi}$ να τὸν ἐπιτάφιον."

"άγωνα τον επιτάφιον."
§ 3 "Harp. πολέμαρχος:...'Αρ. δ' έν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. διεξελθών ὅσα διοικεῖ ὁ πολέμαρχος, πρὸς ταθτα, φησίν, αὐτός τε "εἰσάγει δίκας τάς τε τοῦ ἀποστασίου καὶ ἀπροστασίου καὶ κλήρων—ταθτα τοῖς μετοίκοις ὁ πολέμαρχος." "Harp. ἀποστασίου:...'Αρ. δ' έν 'Αθ. πολ. περί τοῦ πολεμάρχου γράφει ταυτί· "οὖτος δὲ εἰσάγει δίκας τάς τε τοῦ ἀποστασίου καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων." Bekk. Απ. 310, 9: ὁ πολέμαρχος (εἰσάγει δίκας) ἀποστασίου "καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων τοῖς μετοίκοις καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοῖς" ἀστοῖς ὁ ἄρχων, οὖτος τοῖς μετοίκοις παρέχεται (Frag. 388², 417²). Phot. ἡγεμωνία δικαστηρίου :...τῷ πολεμάρχω δὲ ὅσαι ἀποστασίου γραφὴν ξφερον' ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὅσα ὁ ἄρχων ἐν τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὁ πολέμαργος τοῖς μετοίκοις διήτα. πολέμαρχος τοις μετοίκοις διήτα.

TESTIMONIA. LIX Pollux viii 87 : § 1 ίδία δε οί μεν θεσμοθέται προγράφουσι πότε δεί

ΤΕ ΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LIX Pollux viii 87: § 1 ίδια δε οι μέν θεσμοθέται προγράφουσι πότε δεί δικάζειν τὰ δικαστήρια, (§ 2) καὶ "τὰς είσαγγελίας είσαγγελλουσιν είς τὰν δῆμον καὶ τὰς" χειροτονίας "καὶ τὰς προβολάς" είσ άγουσι καὶ τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφάς, καὶ εί τις μἡ ἐπιτήδειον νόμον γράψειεν, "καὶ στρατηγοῖς εὐθύνας" (cf. Schol. Aeschin. I § 1, p. 253 Schultz, ἡ δὲ εὐθυνα—οἰον πρεσβείαν, στρατηγίαν κτλ.).

"Ήατρ. θεσμοθέται :... ὁ δὲ 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ (ā addit codex Angelicanus) 'Αθ. πολ. διέρχεται ὅσα οὖτοι πράττουσιν. Phot. θεσμ.:...τὰς εἰσαγγελίας εἰσήγγελλον εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ τὰς προβολάς ἀπάσας καὶ γραφάς παρανόμων... Schol. in Plat. Phaedr. 235 D εἴχον δὲ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ὑπογράψαι τὰ δικαστήρια, καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας εἰσῆγγε καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ προβολάς καὶ γραφάς παρανόμων καὶ ἀλλων τινῶν. Cf. Schol. in Aeschin. I § 16 in p. 210 a exscriptum. Schol. in Aeschin. 1 § 16 in p. 219 a exscriptum.

Tous The hundre Sundfortas] i.e. the four δικασταί assigned to each tribe, who introduce private actions concerning members of that tribe. As resident aliens are not members of any tribe, the lawsuits in which they are concerned are distributed by lot among the ten groups of four δικασταί each. This shews that μέ-TOLKOL were in no way enrolled in any particular deme, as once suggested by Wilamowitz, Hermes, xxii 211. Cf. 53

The quotation of this passage in Pollux is unintelligible, and none of the various Corrections (enumerated in Hubert de Arbitris Atticis, p. 29 f.) are satisfactory (Lipsius, Leipzig Verhandl., p. 55).

§ 3. dworwolov kal dwpoorwolov!

The former designation was applied to the case in which a uéroixos deserted (or acted without the sanction of) the $\pi \rho o$ στάτης under whom he had been enrolled; the latter, to that in which he had no προστάτης. Dem. 35 Lacr. 48, άλλ' δ πολέμαρχος είσάξει. ἀποστασίου γε καὶ

άπροστασίου.
On the δίκη ἀποστασίου, see Meier and Schöm. p. 619—623 Lips.; on the γραφή ἀπροστασίου, iδ. p. 388—391.

κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων τοξε μετοίκοις]

[Dem.] 46 § 22, enidikadlat elvat Tu έπικλήρων άπασων και ξένων και άστων και περί μέν των πολιτών τὸν άρχοντα εἰσάγειν και έπιμελείσθαι, περί δε των μετοίκων τον πολέμαρχον. Poliux, vii. y., μετοίκων, corrected by Meier into κλήρων μετοίκων,. The πολέμαρχον. Pollux, viii 91, has κλήρων general purport of this correction is confirmed by the text.

LIX. The Thesmothetae.

LIX. The Thesmothetae.
§ 1. Georgeoffras] Meier and Schöm.
72—81 Lips.; Gilbert, i 243; and

Dict. Ant. s. v. Archon.

Toru ήμφαις δεί δικάζειν] c.g. Dem. c.

Mid. 47 (of a γραφή θβρεως), οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται εἰσαγώτων εἰς τὴν ήλιαιαν τριάκοντα ημερών κτλ. (Meier and Schöm., p. 006 Lips.).

ταις άργαις καθ' δ τι γάρ αν ούτοι δώσιν, κατά τούτο γρώνται. 2 έτι δὲ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας εἰσαγγέλλουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὰς καταχειροτονίας καὶ τὰς προβολάς ἀπάσα[ς] εἰσάγουσιν οὖ[τοι], καὶ 5 γραφάς παρανόμων, καὶ νόμον μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θεῖναι, καὶ προεδρικὴν

LIX 4 εἰσαγγέλλουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον secl. K-W; retinent K, H-L, Β; εἰσαγγέλλουσιν defendunt Pollux et Photius: εἰσάγουσιν Schol. ad Plat. Phaedr. 235 et ad Aesch. i 16 6 <τοῦ > νόμον J B Mayor (H-L). (Gomperz).

§ 2. elσαγγελίαε] The statement of Pollux, viii 87, that it was the θεσμοθέται who laid eloayyellas before the popular assembly was doubted by Boeckh (Kleine Schriften, v p. 163); but it is now clear that the ultimate authority for the statement was the present passage. Cf. Schol. Aeschin. 1 § 16, οι θεσμοθέται άλλα μέν ποιούσι κοινή, ιδία δέ, πότε δεί δικάζειν τά δικαστήρια και τάς είσαγγελίας είσαγειν είς τον δήμον, και τας χειροτονίας και τας προβολάς είσαγουσι και τάς των παρανόμων γραφάς και έτερα.

катахаротомаs] they bring forward karaxesporovas] they bring forward all cases of 'removal from office by the votes of the people.' In Dem. c. Mid. 6, the noun is applied to the preliminary vote of condemnation called προβολή: καταχειροτονίαν ὁ δήμοι ἐποιήσατο, and similarly with the verb in §§ 2, 199 and twice in § 175. In 51 § 8, in a speech before the βουλή, it is applied to π case of προβαία: παρεβώκατε είς τὸ δικαστήρουν. προδοσία: παρεδώκατε είς τὸ δικαστήριον, καταχειροτονήσαντες προδεδωκέναι τὰς ναῦς και λελοιπέναι την τάξιν. In the text the reference is to sentences passed by the έκκλησία on the occasion of an είσαγγελία, and then referred to a court of law (Lip-

sius, Leipzig Verhandl. p. 48).

προβολάς] c. 43 § 5. Preliminary decisions of the ἐκκλησία directing public prosecutions to be instituted, Dem. c. Mid. §§ 9, 11. Isocr. 15 § 314, προβολάς ἐν τῷ δήμω ἐποίησαν.

προβολαί were only resorted to in case of offences against religion (Dem. c. Mid.), complaints against magistrates (Harpocr. s. v. καταχειροτονία), and against συκο-φάνται (43 § 5). Meier and Schöm. p. 335—344 Lips. The supposition that προβολαί could only be brought against magistrates at the ἐπιχειροτονίαι (Schömann, de Comit. p. 231 f.) is founded on passages of grammarians connecting *po-Bodal with Karaxeipororla, and this supposed connexion may have originated in a misunderstanding of the present passage. The statement that the ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου belonged to the θεσμοθέται is confirmed by Dem. c. Mid. 32, Two θεσμοθετών τούτων.

γραφάς παρανόμων] c. 29 § 4, Hyperides, pro Ευχεπιρρο, c. 21, 27, παράνομά τις έν τῆ πόλει γράφει; θεσμοθετών συνέδριον έστι. Dem. Lept. 98, 99. νόμον μη ἐπιτήδειον θείναι] It has sometimes been supposed that a γραφή

παρανόμων could be directed against ψηφίσματα, as well as against νόμοι, on the ground of inexpediency, as well as

on that of illegality.

This opinion rests on passages such as (1) the spurious law quoted in Dem. c. Τίπος. 33, έὰν δέ τις λύστη των τών νόμων τῶν κειμένων ἔτερον ἀντιθῆ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'λθηναίων ἢ ἐναντίον τῶν καιμένων ἐπερον ἀντιθῆ και ἐπιτήδειον τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'λθηναίων ἢ ἐναντίον τῶν καιμένων. των κειμένων τω, τὰς γραφάς είναι κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον δς κείται, ἐάν τις μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θη νόμον. (Here inexpedient and contradictory laws are confusedly blended together.) (2) Pollux viii 56, υπωμοσία δε έστιν, δταν τις ή ψήφισμα ή υπωμοσία σε εστιν, σταν τις η ψηφισμα ή νόμον γραφέντα γράφηται ως άνεπιτήδειον, and 44 (in a γραφή παρανόμων) διήλεγχεν δτι έστι παράνομον ή άδικον ή άσύμφορον. It was urged by Madvig (Kleine Schrif-ten, p. 378 ft.) that, in the case of νόμος, then in the case of νόμος.

no less than in that of ψηφίσματα, the argument from inexpediency was really irrelevant, the only legitimate ground of attack in both cases being that of illegality. This opinion has, however, been contested by Schöll (Sitsungsber. d. k. b. Akad., München, 1886, p. 136). Relying partly on the passage in Pollux viii 87, which proves to be quoted from the text (see Testimonia), he contends that, under a γραφή παρανόμων, a ψήφισμα could only be impugned on the ground of illegality, whereas a vous might be formally attacked on the ground of inexpediency, as well as on that of illegality (Dem. c. Timocr. 61, 68, 108). Cf. Gilbert, 1284, n. 1; Meier and Schöm. p. 431 Lips.; Dict. Ant. ii 340 a.
Lipsius, who formerly supported Mad-

vig, now holds that the text confirms Schöll's view (*Leipzig Verhandl.* p. 48). But it will be observed that in the text the reference to inexpedient laws is introduced by kai, which (unless it is merely epexegetic) makes the following clause an additional item in the enumeration.

και έπιστατικήν και στρατηγοίς εὐθύνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γραφαί] 8 πρός αὐτοὺς ὧν παράστασις τίθεται, ξενίας καὶ δωροξενίας, ὧν τις δώρα δούς ἀποφύγη τὴν ξενίαν, καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ δώρων καὶ

8 'ξενίας μέν, έάν τις κατηγορήται ξένος είναι, δωροξενίας δέ lex. Cant.—άν τις—ξενίαν glossa?' K-W. 9 rip ferlas Meier, Att. Pro. p. 73, H.L.

§ 3 "Harp. παράστασις:...'Αρ. δ' εν 'Αθ. πολ. περί θεσμοθετῶν λέγων φησὶν οῦτως
"εἰσὶ δὲ γραφαὶ—τὴν ξενίαν," "καὶ ψευδεγγραφῆς—μοιχείας." "Harp. δωροξενία:...καὶ
'Αρ. δ' ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. περί τῶν θεσμοθετῶν λέγων γράφει ταυτι "εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ—
ἀποφύγη τὴν" συκοφαντίαν ('ex sequentibus errore arreptum pro ξενίαν' Rose).

*Lex. rhet. Cantab. ξενίας γραφή καὶ δωροξενίας διαφέρει. 'Αρ. ἐν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. φησὶ περί
τῶν θεσμοθετῶν διαλεγόμενος "εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πρός (περί cod.) αὐτοὺν ῶν παράστασις
(περιστάσεις cod.) τίθεται, ξενίας καὶ δωροξενίας." ξενίας μὲν ἐὐν τις κατηγορῆται ξένος
εἶναι, δωροξενίας δὲ "ἐὰν τις δῶρα δοὺς ἀποφύγοι (Hesych. δωροξενία: τὸ ἐπὶ ξενίαν
καλούμενον ἀποφυγεῶν δῶρα δόντα). Ηαιρ. ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίουπρὸς δὲ τοὺς θεσμοθέτας οἱ τῆς ξενίας τε καὶ δωροξενίας (ἐλαγγάνοντο δίκαι) καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ δώρως μοθέται al της ξενίας τε και δωροξενίας (έλαγχάνοντο δίκαι) και συκοφαντίας και δώρων και ψευδεγγραφής και δβρεως και μοιχείας και βουλεύσεως και άλλων. Bekk. Απ. 310, 12: οί θεσμ. είσηγον ξενίας και συκοφαντίας και δώρων και ψευδεγγραφής και δβρεως 12: οι δεό μ. ειστήγον ξενιάς και συκοφαντίας και συμών και μοιχείας και βουλεύσεως. Phot. ήγεμ. δικαστ.:...οί θεσμ. συκοφαντίας και δώρων και βρεων και μοιχείας και βουλεύσεως (cf. Frag. 379², 418³). Pollux viii 87: γίνονται δέ γραφαί πρός αὐτούς ξενίας, δωροξενίας, δώρων, συκοφαντίας, ψευδοκλητείας, ψευδεγγραφής, βουλεύσεως, άγραφίου, μοιχείας. Cf. etiam Bekk. An. 238, 24 δωραξενία; 240, 33 δωροξενίας δίκη.

This fact is in favour of a separation of legal proceedings on the ground of inexpediency from the strict procedure of the γραφή παρανόμων. We may accordingly suppose that the γραφή παρανόμων was originally intended to be directed against signary interted to be directed against σ μπρίσματα, as well as σ μμοι, on the sole ground of illegality; and that, subsequently, fresh powers were granted for the institution of formal proceedings against σ μποι alone, on the sole ground of inexpediency. This new kind of procedure is the subject of the additional clause και νόμον μη έπιτηδειον θείναι.
προεδρικήν] the later form of the γραφή

mpurarish which is mentioned together with the γρ. ἐπιστατική by Harpocr. s. v. ρητορική γραφή.—ή κατά ρήτορος γράψαν-τός τι η είποντος η πράξαντος παράνομον, ώσπερ λέγεται και πρυτανική ή κατά πρυτάνεως, και έπιστατική ή κατ' έπιστάτου. Cf. c. 44.

στρατηγοίε εὐθύνας] Lys. 9 § 11; 14 § 38; [Dem.] 49 § 25. Generals might even be called back to give account before the expiration of their office (Lys. 28 8 5). Meier and Schöm. p. 263 Lips.; Gilbert, Beiträge, pp. 26—28; Schöll, de Synegoris, pp. 12, 14; Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, p. 62; Hauvette-Besnault, les Stratèges Ath. pp. 56—63.

§ 3. ypadal] Meier and Schöm. p. 437ff. Lips.

παράστασιε] the fee (probably a

drachm) paid to the state by the prosecutor in certain public causes. present passage (as quoted by Harpocr. s. v.) has been the authority for the causes in which it was paid; but the list is probably not exhaustive. The fee was not paid in an είσαγγελία κακώσεως έπιschöm. pp. 799 f., 813—4 Lips.

ξevias] a prosecution for usurping the rights of citizenship. Meier and Schöm.

pp. 437—442 and 95—98, Lips.; Dict. Ant. s. v.

The Lex. Rhet. Cant. adds the needless explanation : έάν τις κατηγορήται ξένος

δωροξενίαs] If a person tried on the charge of ξενία was 'acquitted by fraudulent collusion with the prosecutor or witnesses, or by any species of bribery, he was liable to be indicted afresh by a yp. δωροξενίας' (Dict. Ant. s. v.; Meier and

Schöm. p. 441 Lips.).

Sukoparias kal Supur] omitted by
Harpocr. and the Lex. Rhet. Cant. in
their list of causes in which rapdorasis was paid. Lipsius (Att. Proc. p. 73) was led to propose the addition of these causes by Bekker's Anecd. p. 310, 14, where συκοφαντίας, δώρων, δβρεως are inserted. On the yp. συκοφαντίας, see Meier and Schöm. p. 413 Lips.; on the yp. δώρων,

ψευδεγγραφής καὶ ψευδοκλητείας καὶ βουλεύσεως καὶ ἀγραφίου 10 4 καὶ μοιχείας. εἰσάγουσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς δοκιμασ[ία]ς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς άπάσαις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεψηφισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, καὶ τὰς 5 καταγνώσεις [τ]ας έκ της βουλης. εἰσάγουσι δὲ καὶ δίκας ἰδίας, έμπορικάς καὶ μεταλλικάς καὶ δούλων, ἄν τις τὸν έλεύθερον κακῶς λέγη. καὶ ἐπικληροῦσι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οῦτοι τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ ἴδια 15 6 καὶ τὰ δημόσια. καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις οὖτοι κυροῦσι,

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

11 και δβρεως ante και μοιχείας ins. Harp. s.v. ήγεμονία δικαστηρίου (cf. Bekk. An., Phot.); non inserit Harp. s.v. mapdorasis. είσάγουσι Η-L. 14 éár H-L. 15—16 και ἐπικληροῦσι—δημόσια secl. K-W; defendit Pollux viii 87. 15 OYTOITA (K-W, K³, B): πάντα K¹, πάντα τὰ H-L. Pollux: <κατα>κυροῦσι Wyse (H-L). 16 KYPOYCI (K, K-W, B); idem habet

§§ 4-6 Pollux viii 87: (§ 4) elσάγουσι δὲ καὶ δοκιμασία» ταῖε ἀρχαῖε, καὶ τοὺε άπεψηφισμένους, και τὰς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καταγνώσεις. (§ δ) και δίκας ἐμπορικὰς και μεταλλικάς, και ἐὰν δοῦλος κακῶς ἀγορεύη τὰν ἐλεύθερον, και ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐπικληροῦσι τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ ίδια και τὰ δημόσια. (§ 6) και τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς πόλεις κυρούσι, καὶ δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ συμβόλων είσάγουσι και τὰς τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν τῶν ἐξ' Αρείου πάγου.

ψευδεγγραφής] a prosecution against a public officer for making a false entry in the list of debtors to the state. Meier and Schöm. p. 415 Lips.; Dict. Ant. s. v.

ψευδοκλητείας] a prosecution for falsely appearing as witness to a summons. Meier and Schöm. p. 414 Lips., and Dict. Ant. s. v.

βουλεύσεως] a prosecution instituted by one who was wrongfully inscribed as a state debtor against one who had so inscribed him. The distinction between this kind of yp. Boulevoews and the cognate γρ. ψευδεγγραφής is stated as follows by Boeckh, p. 390 Lewis: 'whoever falsely declared that another had been registered was liable to the action for false registration (ψευδεγγραφή). If, on the other hand, a man who had been a state debtor had paid all that was due, but his name was not erased, or, having been erased, was re-entered, the action for conspiracy applied (βουλεύσεως).' Meier and Schöm. p. 415 Lips.; Dict. Ant. i p.

314 α.

dγραφίου] a prosecution for non-registration of a name in the list of state debtors, instituted in the event of the name being improperly erased before the debt was paid. This action might be brought either against the person whose name was improperly erased, or against the officer who omitted to register the debt. If the name of a debtor had not been registered at all, he could only be proeeded against by Erbeiges, and was not liable to the appaplou ppaph (Dem. c.

Theocrin. 67), Meier and Schöm. p. 447—9 Lips.; and Dict. Ant. s. v.

μοιχείαs] Meier and Schöm. p. 402—9 Lips.; Dict. Ant. i 29 b. § 4. δοκιμασίαs] 55 §§ 2—4. Gilbert,

i 210.

dπeψηφισμένους κτλ.] Those whose claims to citizenship were rejected at the diathpuris, held by the members of the deme, might appeal to a law-court. 13 § 5; 42 § 1; Meier and Schöm. p. 989 f. Lips.

καταγνώστας] 45 % 1, τὰς καταγνώστις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰσ τὸ δικαστήριου.

§ 5. ἐμπορικάς] commercial law-suits heard during the winter, when the sea was closed to mercantile enterprise. These, as well as the μεταλλικαί belonged to the class of ξμμηνοι δίκαι, which were decided within a month. Meier and Sch., p. 635 Lips.; Dict.

Ant. i p. 730 a.

µeraλλuds] mining suits, Dem. Pant.
35. Boeckh, On the Silver Mines of Laurium, § 12; Meier and Sch., p. 634

Lips.
δούλων] It was only in the event of a δίκη κακηγορίας being brought by a free-man against a slave that the θεσμοθέται In other cases, presided over the court. In other cases, it came before the Forty. Meier and Sch., pp. 80, 628 Lips.
ἐπικληροθοι—δικαστήρια] CIA ii 567 δ

(in a decree in honour of a θεσμοθέτης) έπιμελείται δὲ καὶ τῆς κληρώσεως τῶν δικαστηρίων. Meier and Sch., p. 160 Lips.

§ 6. The σύμβολα The mpds The models

καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων εἰσάγουσι, καὶ τὰ Ψευδομαρτύρια <τὰ> ἐ[ξ] ᾿Αρείου πάγου. τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς κληροῦσι τ πάντες οι εννέα ἄρχοντες, δέκατος δ' ο γραμματεύς ο των θεσμοθε-20 τῶν, τοὺς τῆς αὐτοῦ φυλῆς ἔκαστος.

60. τὰ μὲν οὖν περί τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας τοῦτον ἔχει. τὸν κληρούσι δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτας δέκα [ἄ]νδρας, ἔνα τῆς φυλής έκάστης. οὖτοι δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἄργουσι τέτταρ[α ἔ]τη,

17 τὰ ψ. ΤὰC mutatum in τὰψ.
18 < τὰ > Bernardakis, K-W, H-L, B coll. Poll.
τῶν ψ. τῶν Κ-W.
18—20 τοὺς δὲ—ἔκαστος secl. K-W, cf. 63 § 1; defendit τὰς τῶν ψ. τῶν Κ-W. Schol. Arist. Vesp. 775. 19 MANTAC K-W: # dates cort. K, H-L, B.

17 *Bekk. Απ. 436 dπδ συμβόλων δικάζει iníra exscriptum (Frag. 380*, 419*); cf. Harp. infra laudatum.

18-20 Schol. Ar. Vesp. 775: θεσμοθέται καὶ δέκατος ὁ γραμματεύς κληροῦσι τούς

δικαστάς τούς της αύτης φυλης έκαστος.

TESTIMONIA. LX § 1 Pollux viii 93: άθλοθέται δέκα μέν είσιν, είς κατά φυλήν, δοκιμασθέντες δε άρχουσω έτη τέτταρα έπι τώ διαθείναι τα Παναθήναια, τόν τε μουσικόν «add. άγωνα» "και τον γυμνικόν" "και την Ιπποδρομίαν." εδ. 87 (οι έννέα αρχοντες... έχουσιν έξουσίαν) κληρούν δικαστάς και άθλοθέτας, ένα κατά φυλήν έκάστην.

'international contracts.' Such agreements were finally ratified by a heliastic court. In [Dem.] 7 § 9, Philip claims that they shall be ratified our exceder er τῷ δικαστηρίω τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν κυρωθἢ ὧσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει. Cf. [Andoc.] in Alcib. 18. They secured to the citizens of the contracting states the reciprocal right of suing and being sued; Pol. 1275 a 8, (among those who are not citizens are) οι των δικαίων μετέχοντες οθτως ώστε και δίκην υπέχειν και δικάζεσθαι. τοθτο γάρ υπάρχει καί τοις άπο συμβόλων κοινωνούσι. decision was given in the court of the defendant's city, and in accordance with laws agreed upon in the σύμβολα.

τας δίκας τας από τών συμβόλων] These were mainly commercial suits; but while, in the ordinary δίκαι ἐμπορικαί, the suit was tried in the state where the contract was made, and in accordance with the laws of that state; in the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, it was tried in the defendant's state and in accordance with the laws agreed upon in the σύμβολα. Thus, on the reduction of Chalcis in B.C. 446/5, the inhabitants retained their own jurisdiction except in the case of offences punishable by disfranchisement, exile, or death. These were to be sent to Athens for trial: περί δε τούτων έφεσιν είναι 'Αθή-

ναζε els την ήλιαΙαν των δεσμοθετών.
In Bekker's Anecd. i 436 we read: 'Αθηναΐοι άπό συμβόλων έδικαζον τοις ύπηκόοις ούτως 'Αριστοτέλης, and similarly (so far as regards the first statement)

Hesych. s. v. άπὸ συμβόλων δικάζειν; but it will be observed that the text says nothing of virthcool. Cf. Pollux viii 63, άπο συμβόλων δέ, δτε οι σύμμαχοι έδικαζοντο. Harpocr. σύμβολα: τὰς συνθήκας ås αν al πόλεις άλλήλαις θέμεναι τάττωσι τοις πολίταις ώστε διδόναι και λαμβάνειν τὰ δίκαια, and similarly Phot. and Etym. M. On this subject of Meier and Schöm. pp. 994—1006 Lips.; Goodwin in American Journal of Philology, i 1880, p. 1—16;

Dict. Ant. ii 734—6.
τα ψευδομαρτύρια] this form has hitherto been found only in Plat. Theaet. 148 B, ένοχος τοις ψευδομαρτυρίοις. In the case of δίκαι ψευδομαρτυριών in general, the management of the suit was in the hands of the same authorities as the trial at which the alleged false witness was tendered: it was only in the event of false witness before the Areopagus, that the with the three case came under the cognisance of the θεσμοθέται. Meier and Schöm. p. 485 f. § 7. τοὺς δὲ δικαστάς κληρούσι] 63 § 1.

Meier and Sch., p. 160 Lips.
δ γραμματεύς] 55 § 1; 63 § 1.
LX. The Athlothetae.
§ 1. dθλοθέτας] The lists of payments from the treasures of Athena for public purposes include the following items: CIA i 183 (Hicks, no. 53), 7 (in the British Museum), dθλοθέταις ές Παναθήναια, in B.C. 415, 9 talents; ib. 188 (Ditt. no. 44), 5 (in the Louvre), δθλοθέταις ές Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα, in B.C. 410, 5 talents, 1000 drachmae.

καὶ διοικοῦσι τήν τε πομπην των Παναθηναίων καὶ τὸν ἀγωνα τῆς μουσικής καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγώνα καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν, καὶ τὸν 5 πέπλον ποιούνται, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορείς ποιούνται μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, 2 καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἀποδιδόασι. συλλέγεται δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον

LX 6 AMΦΟΡΕΙC ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ (K): αμφορείς Gennadios, (K-W, H-L); ποιούνται retinet B, commatis signo post prius moiovirai addito, et coll. c. 49 § 3. 7 Che-ΓΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΔ΄ ΕλΑΙΟΝ: συλλέγεται δὲ τὸ έλαιον Gennadios, Richards, Gertz, H-L, K-W1, K3, B; τὸ δ' έλαιον συλλέγεται R D Hicks (K-W3).

§ 2 *Schol. Soph. O. C. 701: δ δè 'Ap. καὶ τοῖς νικήσασι τὰ Παναθήναια έλαἰου τοῦ έκ τῶν μοριῶν γινομένου δίδοσθαὶ φησιν. Cf. Phot. s.v. μορίαι (Frag. 345^3 , 383^3). Schol. Arist. Nub. 1005.

πομπήν τῶν Παναθηναίων] Thuc. vi

56—58. Μίς μουστική Β΄ Ριτ. Ρετ. 13, φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλής τότε τρώτον έψηφίσατο μουσικής άγώνα τοίς Παναθηναίοις άγεσθαι και διέταξεν αὐτὸς άθλοθέτης αίρεθείς, καθότι χρή τούς άγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ή άδειν ή κιθαρίζειν. Phrynis of Mytilene won the prize with the κιθάρα in B.C. 456. The prizes for κιθαρφδοί were a crown, together with 500, 300, 200, or 100 dr. (schol., Arist. Av. 11); and for the ανδρες αυλωδοί, a crown and 100 dr. This competition is mentioned in Plut. ii 1134 A, de Musica, 8, έν άρχη γάρ ελεγεία μεμελοποιημένα ol αυλωδοί ήδου: τοῦτο δε δηλοι ή των Παναθηναίων γραφή ή περί τοῦ μουσικοῦ άγωνος. The prize for the ανδρες κιθαρισταί was a crown, or 200 or 100 dr.; there was also a prize for the αὐληταί, probably a crown (Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 322). A crown won at a μουσικός άγων is represented in an inscr. published in Έφημ. Άρχ. 1862,

219 (copied ib. p. 318).
γυμνικόν dyava] mentioned in documents quoted in Dem. 18 § 116 and Hippocrates iii 830 Kühn, also in CIA ii 331, 177 (c. B.C. 270), Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι. The contests included running, wrestling, boxing, and the πέν-ταθλον and παγκράτιον (Michaelis, l. c.

p. 323).
iπποδρομίαν] The horse-races were held at Echelidae (τόπος 'Αθήνησι σταδίων δκτώ, έν ώ αι Ιπποδρομίαι, Etym. Μ.). The race is mentioned in Xen. Symp. i 2.

Cf. Athen. p. 168, νικήσαντος Ιπποις Παναθήγαια (cf. Michaelis, pp. 324—5).
πέπλον] 49 § 3. Schol. Arist. Αυ.
826, τῆ ᾿Αθηνὰ πολιάδι οδοχ πέπλος ἐγίνετο παμποίκιλος, δυ ἀνέφερου ἐν τῆ πομπῆ τῶν Παναθηναίων. Among the mythological subjects represented on it was the battle of Athene with the Giants. Michaelis, l. c. p. 328.

άμφορείε] In the athletic contests the prize was a garland from the sacred olivetrees, together with a vase filled with oil from the same. Pindar's ornate description of the prizes is well known: Nem. x 62—66, άδεῖαι γε μέν ἀμβολάδαν ἐν τελε-ταις δις Αθαναίων μιν όμφαι κώμασαν γαια δὲ καυθείσα πυρί καρπός έλαίας ξμολεν "Ηρας τον εθάνορα λαόν έν άγγεων έρκεσυ παμποικίλοις (with Schol.). Cf. Simonides in Anth. Pal. xiii 19, 3, και Παναθηναίοις στεφά-νους λάβε πέντ' ἐπ' ἀέθλοις ἐξῆς (i.e. in the

Pentathlon) ἀμφιφορείς <τ'> έλαίου.

Many of the Panathenaic vases have been found in Italy, Sicily, Greece, and at Cyrene. They have the figure of Athene on one side, and a representation of the contest for which they were awarded on the other. The earliest Panathenaic vase, now extant, known as the "Burgon Vase" in the British Museum (Vase Room II B 1), is ascribed to the 6th century B.C., and there are 14 others in the same room; in Room IV there are 10 of the 4th century, to which the majority of such vases belong, varying in date from 368 to 313 B.C. One of those in the Museum, bearing the inscr. των 'Αθήνηθεν άθλων, belongs to B.C. 328, about the date when the text was written. Many of these vases are reproduced in colours in Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch. x; and single vases in Birch's Ancient Pottery, p. 430, Duruy, Histoire des Grees, i 762, and Murray's Handbook of Gk. Archaeology, p. 104.—A Panathenaic amphora, with a spray of olive rising out of it and with three crowns beside it, may be seen on a table in front of a gnarled olive-tree, represented in relief on the outer side of several marble stalls found at Athens (see cut in Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 29).

§ 2. Όλαιον μοριών κτλ.] Arist. Nub. 1005, άλλ' είς 'Ακαδήμειαν κατιών ύπό ταις μορίωις αποθρέξει, and Schol. περί αὐτὸν δ'

[å]πὸ τῶν μοριῶν' εἰσπράττει δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἐν οίς αἱ μορίαι εἰσὶν ὁ ἄρχων, τρί ἡμικοτύλια ἀπὸ τοῦ στελέγους το έκάστου. πρότερον δ' έπώλει τὸν καρπὸν ή πόλις καὶ εἴ τις έξορύξειεν έλαίαν μορίαν ή κατάξειεν, ἔκρινεν ή έξ Αρείου πάγου βουλή, καὶ εἴ του καταγνοίη, θανάτφ τοῦτον εζημίουν. Εξ οὖ δὲ τὸ έλαιον ὁ τὸ χωρίον κε κτημένος ἀποτίνει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ [લ κρίσις καταλέλυται. τὸ δ' ἔλ[αιον] ἐκ τοῦ κτήματος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν (15 στελεχών, έστὶ τῆ πόλει. συλλέξας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων τὸ ἐφ' ἐαυ[τοῦ] 3 γιγνόμενον, τοῖς ταμίαις παρ[αδίδ]ωσιν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ οὐκ έστιν αναβήναι πρότερον είς [Αρε]ιον πάγον πρίν αν απαν παραδώ τοις ταμίαις. οι δε ταμίαι τον μεν άλλον χρόνον τηρουσιν εν άκρο-

9 ΤΡΙ ΗΜΙΚΟΤΥλία (Β); τρία ήμ- Κ, Η-L; τριημικοτύλιον Κ-W. del. Rutherford, éldar (deleto µoplar) H.L. élalar (K, K-W); éldar B; élala habet Soph. O. C. 701; élda Aristophanes, cf. Eustathium p. 84, 9 thr élalar éldar dittiκωs; formam utramque defendunt tituli (Meisterhans, p. 242). 12 TOY (H-L, K1, B), omiserat K¹; [µèv?] K-W. 14 <τὸ> ἐκ τοῦ H-L. ATTO (correctum in EK) TOY KTHMATOC (K-W, B): KAHMATOC legerat K (H-L). 16 FIFN (edd.).

ήσαν al δυτως lepal έλαιαι της θεού, at καλουνται μορίαι εξ ών το έλαιον τών Παναοργαίων. Lucian, Anach. 9; Schol. Plat. Parm. 127 A; Suidas s. v. μορίαι (Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 322).

εἰσπράττει—κεκτημένους κτλ.] Schol. Arist. Νυδ. 1005, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις: διὰ τὸ

πάντα άνθρωπον κεκτημένον έλαίας άναγκάζεσθαι μέρος τι παρέχειν είς τὰ Παναθήναια rτλ.

τρί' ήμικοτύλια] ‡ pint; the κοτύλη

being about & pint.
πρότερον δ' ἐπάλει τὸν καρπὸν ή πόλιε] Lysias 7 de Olea Sacra § 2, τους έωνη μένους τους καρπούς τῶν μοριῶν. Τhe speech is not earlier than B.C. 395 (Blass, Att. Ber. i² p. 591): thus mporepow here refers to a time not earlier than the archonship of Eucleides.

el τις έξορύξειεν-βουλή] Lys. Or. 7 is addressed to the Areopagus, who (besides attending to the sacred olives every month) sent overseers (γνώμονας) to examine them sent overseers (γνωμονας) to examine them every year (§ 25). In § 7 the speaker states the charge on which he is being tried: την δὲ < μίαν > μορίαν, ην ούχ οδόν τ' ην λαθεῖν ἐξορύξαντα, ώς ἀφανίζων νυνὶ κρί-

θανάτω] The terms used in Lys. 7 § 3. περί πατρίδος και περί της ούσίας άγωνίσασθαι, and § 41, πατρίδος—στερηθείς, imply that the penalty at that time was (as in other cases of dσέβεια) banishment with confiscation of property. This shews that, even before the time when the state, instead of selling the olives,

exacted from the tenant the delivery of a certain quantity of oil, the capital penalty had already become obsolete.

now become a regular tax on the property, i.e. either on the χωρίον or on the store of oil manufactured by the proprietor. The alternative reading κλήματος draws a distinction between the 'fresh shoots' (Xen. Occ. 19, 8, τὸν βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος), and the trunk of the tree, implying that the state insists that the oil supplied to it shall be from the former. But this proviso, even if intelligible in theory, would be difficult to insist upon in practice. Besides orthexos is the ordinary term applied to the tree as a whole.

στελεχών] Dem. 43 Macart. 69, ταύτας (τὰς ἐλάας) ἐξώρυττον καὶ ἐξεπρέμνιζον, πλεῦν ἡ χίλια στελέχη, δθον ἔλαιον πολύ έγίγνετο. Hdt. viii 55, βλαστον έκ τοῦ στελέχεος.

έφ' ἐαυτοῦ] 'in his own year of § 3.

Taplais] 4 8 2; 7 8 3; 8 8 1; and esp.

30 § 2 and 47 § 1. ούκ ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι κτλ.] the archon could not take his place among the members of the Areopagus at the close of his year of office until he had handed over to the treasurers (of Athene) the full amount of olive-oil due for the year. For dvaβηναι cf. [Dem.] c. Neaer. 80, έγένετο τὰ ἰερὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀνέβησαν els "Αρειον πάγον οι έννέα άρχοντες ταις καθηκούσαις ημέραις.

πόλει, τοις δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἀπομετροῦσι τοις ἀθλοθέταις, οἱ δ' άθλοθέται τοῖς νικώσι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν. ἔστι γὰρ ἄθλα τοῖς μὲν 20 την μουσικήν νικώσιν αργύρια και χρυσία, τοις δέ την εὐανδρίαν ασπίδες, τοις δε τον γυμνικον αγώνα και την ιπποδρομίαν έλαιον. -

61. χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, στρατηγούς δέκα, πρότερον μεν άφ' < εκάστης της > φυλης ενα,

21 ΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΚ ΧΡΥCΑ (Κ¹): ἀργύρια και χρυσία (Η-L, K³, Β); ἀργύριον και χρυσία (Κ·W), ἀργυρά και χρυσία (Rutherford).

23 'interciderunt magistratus creati in quadriennium, cf. cap. 18' K-W; idem coniecerat Weil; c. 43 § 1 et c. 61 § 1 (χειροτ. δὲ και) confert B, qui addit tamen nihil amplius Polluci notum fuisse.

LXI 2 $\lambda(\epsilon)$ K(λ I) K^I; $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha$, Richards, Gertz, K-W, H-L, B, K³. érágynt add. K

(K-W, H-L); exactns the B.

ΤΕΝΤΙΜΟΝΙΑ. LEI Pollux viii 87 (οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες...ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν), (§ 1) στρατηγούς χειροτονεῖν ἐξ ἀπάντων, (§ 2) καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν ἐπερωτᾶν εἰ δοκεῖ καλῶς ἀρχειν ἔκαστος (τὸν δ' ἀποχειροτονηθέντα κρίνουσιν), (§ 4) καὶ ἰππάρχους δύο, (§ 5) καὶ

φυλάρχους δέκα, (§ 3) και ταξιάρχους δέκα.
2 *Harp. στρατηγοί :...οί καθ' έκαστον ένιαυτον χειροτονούμενοι στρατηγοί δέκα ήσαν,
ώς μαθείν έστιν έκ τε τών 'Υπερίδου κατ' Αὐτοκλέους και έκ της 'Αθ. πολ. 'Αριστοτέλους

(Frag. 3902, 4303).

την μουσικήν νικώσιν άργόρια καλ χρυσία] The prizes recorded in inscriptions are crowns and sums of money varying from 100 to 500 dr. (Dittenberger, no. 305: Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 322). apyripus, in pl. of 'sums of money,' Arist. Av. 600.

evarbplav] This contest is mentioned in Andoc. 4 § 42, νευκηκώς εὐανδρία, Xen. Mem. iii 3, 12, Athen. 565 F; also in Harpocr. s. v. and Bekker's Ance. p. 257, 13. Cf. Thumser, de Civium Ath. Mu-13. Cf. Thumser, de Civium Ath. Muneribus, pp. 81, 97—9. dowless] In the early part of the fourth century the prize was an ox; CIA ii 965 (Ditt. 395, 75), evan option when the ox was superseded by the portable prize mentioned in the text. The 'shields' are not named elsewhere.

γυμνικόν άγωνα και την ίπποδρομίαν] In the above inscr. ll. 23—70 we have the record of the number of authopins chains awarded (1) to the boys, and (2) to the youths, who were victorious in running, wrestling, boxing, or in the pentathlum or pancratium; and (3) to the victors in the horse-races. The part enumerating the prizes given to the men is lost.

LXI. Officials elected by open voting

(Military Officers).

§ 1. χειροτονούσι—τὰς πρός τὸν πόλε-μον ἀρχάς] 43 § 1 ad fin. ἀφ' ἐκάστης—φυλής ἔνα] This was the case on the occasion when Cimon and his

colleagues were called upon to act as judges in the dramatic contest of B.C. 468, when Sophocles gained the prize against Aeschylus: Plut. Cimon 8, describes the generals as δέκα όντας, ἀπὸ φυλής μιας έκαστον. At some later date, which is not specified, the generals were chosen out of all the citizens (ef androw) without distinction of tribe.

It was held by Schömann (Ant. p. 420), Boeckh (on Antig. 190, and CIG pp. 294, 906), Sauppe and others, that the generals were elected by the several tribes alone. A. Schaefer (*Dem.* ii 182) held that they were elected έξ ἀπάντων (as attested by Pollux). The view that in earlier times the generals were elected κατά φυλήν, and afterwards it and row, was held by Bergk, Lugebil, Müller-Strübing and others (see Gilbert, i 220, and Beiträge, pp. 16—20). This is proved by the text to be right.

Gilbert (Beiträge, pp. 21—23) accepts the narrative in Plutarch's Cimon, but does not admit that on that occasion the 10 generals belonged to the 10 different tribes, although this is the obvious meaning, as in the phrase in Pollux viii 94, ol φύλαρχοι δέκα, είς από φυλής μιας ξκαστος. In 440/39 two of the 10 generals, Pericles and Glaucon (FHG iv 645), belonged to the same tribe, Acamantis; this is our earliest evidence for a departure from the older system; possibly the change was due to a desire to elect the ablest men,

νῦν δ' έξ ἀπάντων καὶ τούτους διατάττουσι τῆ χειροτονία, Ένα μέν έπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας, δς ήγειται τῶν ὁ[πλι]τῶν, αν ἐξίωσι, ἔνα δ' ἐπὶ ε την χώραν, δς φυλάττει, καν πόλεμος εν τη χώρα γίγνηται, πολεμεί ούτος δύο δ' έπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα, τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν Μουνιχίαν, τὸν δ'

4 0...τ(ωN) ὁπλιτῶν H-L (K^3 , B): λ (?)...τ(ωN) π [ολι]τῶν K-W; δ [ημο]τῶν K^1 . πολεμει: ήγειται κ-W. 6 TEIPAIEA (K. K-W. éàn H-L 5 FIN (K-W). B): Heipaiâ H-L. MOYNYX.

such as Pericles, independently of the tribe to which they belonged. But, even after the change, nearly all the tribes were in practice represented on the board. Thus in B.C. 433/2 out of seven generals, six belonged to different tribes; in 424/3, out of six whose demes are known, five; in 418/7, all the six whose demes are given; in 417/6, all the five; and in 357/6, six out of the seven. There is no example of more than one tribe being represented by two στρατηγοί in starders atheries, pp. 24—29).

Starders Atheniess, pp. 24—29).

Starders of the στρατηγοί were

distributed over several members of the board was already known. The five officers charged with specific duties had already been identified, but it was not known that there were only five. date of this change was supposed to fall between 334 and 325. In 334 B.C. (CIA ii 804 A 63) the στρατηγοί are still acting as a body in reference to the συμμορίαι, as a body in reference to the συμμορία, whereas in 325/4 we hear of a στρατηγός έπι τος συμμορίας. Cf. Hauvette-Besnault, Les Stratèges Ath., pp. 159 ff. (Gilbert, i 220, and Busolt in Müller's Handbuch, IV i 162). The latest date actually mentioned in this treatise is B.C. 329; but it does not follow that the change in question took place earlier than that date, as the treatise may have been written in

σύλλου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν (Β.C. 410); and we know that Thrasyllus was elected a στρατηγό: in the spring of 411 (Thuc. viii 76) and held office for 410/9 (iδ. 104); but the words του έπι are omitted in two MSS, Florentinus and Ambrosianus, and the construction is parallel to καταλεγείς

τριηράρχων in Isaeus, de Apoll. her. 5.
The decrees in the De Corona mention ό έπι των όπλων στρατηγός (§ 38), τον έπι των όπλων (115) and ὁ έπι των όπλιτων (116), but these are forgeries of a later

date (Hauvette-Besnault, p. 160 f).
In CIA ii 302 (c. 294/3 B.C.) Philippides is described as [χειροτονη]θεί[ε στρατ]ηγός [έ]πὶ το[ὑε ὁπλίτας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου]. In ii 331 the career of Phaedrus is described: in 296/5 he was twice elected στρατηγό έπι την παρασκευήν, and was often elected στρ. έπὶ τὴν χώραν and thrice έπὶ τοὺι Eérous. It was probably after 272 B.C. that he was elected έπὶ τὰ ὅπλα στρατηγόι and was afterwards χειροτονηθείς έπι τὰ δπλα πρώτος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στρατηγός. After the end of the fourth century this στρατηγός was the foremost member of the board. Ultimately in the theatre of Dionysus the only stall reserved for any Dionysus the only stall reserved for any of the στρατηγοῦ was inscribed with the title of στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα.—The στρ. ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας probably acted as president of the στρατηγοῦ (cf. Gilbert, i 222). ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν] Plut. Phocion, 32, Δερ. κύλλου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοῦ (B.C. 317). CIA ii 331 (quoted above), and 1195 (towards the end of the 3rd cent.). ψυλάττα] The φυλακὴ τῆς νώρας in-

φυλαττα] The φυλακή τῆς χώρας in-volved placing patrols at important points in the interior and along the coast; Thuc ii 24, φυλακάς κατεστήσαντο κατά γῆν καὶ κατά θάλασσαν. In Xen. Mem. iii 6, 10, περί φυλακής τής χώρας, mention is made of φυλακαι and φρουροί. In B.C. 445 this φυλακή extended as far as Euboea; CIA iv 27 α, περί δε φυλακής Εύβοίας τους στρατηγούς επιμελείσθαι κτλ. In B.C. [Dem.] 7 88 14, 15, it has expanded into a τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν φυλακῆς in a still wider sense. About B.C. 265, CIA 334, we find a decree in honour of those who ἐπέδωκαν els the σωτηρίαν της πόλεως και την φυλακην της χώρας. In the time of the text this duty, which had once been shared by all the στρατηγοί, was apparently divided all the στρατηγός, was appearently turned between the στρατηγός έπὶ τὴν χώραν for the interior, and the two στρατηγοί ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα for the coast,—assuming that φυλακήs is the right reading in the passage referring to the latter.

ent row Hesparka] In B.C. 324/3, CIA

ii 811 c 434, Δικαιογένης ο στρατηγός is

είς την 'Ακτήν, οι της φ[υ]λακης επιμελούνται και τών εν Πειραιεί' ένα δ' έπὶ τὰς συμ[μο]ρίας, δς τούς τε τριηράρχους καταλέγει καὶ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰς διαδικασίας α[ὐτ]οῖς εἰσάγει. 2 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐκπέμπουσιν. ἐπιγει- 10

7 Φ.λΗC: Φ[ν]λης (vel φυλακης) κ¹, φυλακης κ-w et B deleto και (φυλης et φυλακης Thucydidis in codicibus saepe confusa esse monet Wardale, Class. Rev. v 273). [[kal]] K-W (B), fortasse recte. χηλη̂s Torr (H-L, κ³). 9 alterum aurois secl. K · W2. 10 πράγματα supra scriptum delent H-L.

8-9 Phot. ήγεμ. δικ.: τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ ἀντιδόσεως.

mentioned in the same context as the overseer of the reword. Between B.C. 318 and 229 the Peiraeus and Salamis were under an officer called the στρατηγός έπλ τοῦ Πειραιέως και των άλλων των ταττομένων μετά τοῦ Πειραιέως (Bull. Corr. Hellén. vi 526). About 100 B.C. we read of three στρατηγοί έπὶ τὸν Πειραιά (CIA ii 1207), and the archon of B.C. 97/6 is described as 'Aργείοι 'Αργείου Τρικο[ρύσιος] στρατηγήσας έπὶ τὸν Πειρα[ια], ib. 1206.

els The Mourix(av] In B.C. 325/4 we find Philocles mentioned by Dinarchus, 3 § 1, as στρατηγός ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν και τα νεώρια κεχειροτονημένος. On

Munichia, cf. 19 § 2; 42 § 3.
els την Ακτήν] possibly identical with
the officer called the στρατηγός έπὶ την χώραν την παραλίαν in CIA ii 3, 1194 (the son of an official of B.C. 382/1), and 1195 (B.C. 241). The latter inscr. was found

at Sunium. On 'Aκτή cf. 42 § 3.

φυλακής] sc. τής χώρας τής παραλίας,
the rest of the φυλακή being assigned to

the στρ. έπι τὴν χώραν.

ἐπι τὰς συμμορίας] Β.C. 325/4, CIA
ii 809 α 205-210, ὅπως δ' ἀν αι σκήψεις
εἰσαχθώσι, τοὺς θεσμοθέτας παρα[πλ]ηρώσαι δικαστήρια els ένα και διακοσίους τῷ στρα-τηγῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας ἡρημένω. The σκήψεις mentioned in this inscr., and in c. 56 § 3, are the pleas put forward by one who maintains that another is better able to bear the expense of a trierarchy and who therefore challenges him either to undertake it or to exchange properties. It may also refer to any plea of exemption. It is used elsewhere (CIA ii 804) of the reasons pleaded by a trierarch for being unable to restore to the state the vessel confided to his care (Hauvette-Besnault, p. 143). For the relations of the board of στρατηγοί to the συμμορίαι and the τριηραρχία before the distribution of offices among the members of the board, cf. Dem. 39 § 8, τίνα δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ τρόπον ἐγγράφουσιν, ἀν εἰς συμμορίαν ἐγ-γράφωσιν, ἢ ἀν τριήραρχον καθιστώσιν, and 35 § 48, (οι στρατηγοί) τριηράρχους καθισ-

deriboses — ποιεί] [Dem.] 42 § 5, (on the 2nd of Metageitnion, August) έποίουν οι στρατηγοί τοις τριακοσίοις τὰς ἀντιδόσεις.

οι στρατηγοί τοις τριακοσιοίς τας αντίσσεις.

Suad. s.v. ήγεμονία δικαστηρίου.

διαδικασίας] ε.g. [Xen.] de Rep. Ath.

3, 4, διαδικάζειν, εξ τις την ναῦν μὴ ἐπισκευάζει. CIA ii 795 f 39, τριήρεις αξ ἐπὶ Διοτίμου ἀρχοντος (B.C. 354/3) διεδικάσθησαν καὶ ξόραν κατὰ χειμώνα διαφθαρήνας. ib. l. 60, άριθμος τριήρων και σκευών τών διαδεδικασμένων. Boeckh, Seeurkunden, 214; Meier and Schöm. pp. 467 f. In [Dem.] 47 § 26 (B.C. 339) we read of the anostoleis and the rewplus έπιμεληταί, that these were the officials who ela inyon τότε (c. B.C. 344) τὰς διαδικασίας περί τῶν σκευῶν. Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 475. τοὺς δ' ἀλλους] This shews that the

above list of special posts is complete by the time when the treatise was written.

In the spurious decrees quoted in Dem. de Cor. §§ 38, 115 an officer called δ έπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως is mentioned (in the former decree immediately after δ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγός, in the latter after τον έπι των όπλων). It was once supposed that this was the title of one of the στρατηγοί, but it is now agreed that this was not the case (Boeckh, note 322 Frankel; Schömann, p. 421 n. 3). Again, in CIA ii 331 Thymochares, the father of Phaedrus (who held office between B.C. 296 and 272) Was χειροτονηθείς στρατηγός ύπο τοῦ δήμου έπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. In the same inscr. Phaedrus is described as στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν and ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους. The στρ. ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν is mentioned in CIA ii 403—405 in connexion with melting down the τύποι dedicated to the ήρως laπρός (2nd century B.C.); also ib. 839. The decree in Pseudo-Plutarch ii p. 852 describes Lycurgus as χειροτονηθείε έπί της του πολέμου παρασκευής, but this does not prove that he was a στρατηγός; and, in any case, these last titles belong to a later date than the text.

§ 2. emixeiporovia] 43 § 4, at the kupla

ροτονία δ' α[ύ]των έστι κατά την πρυτανείαν έκάστην, ει δοκούσιν καλώς ἄρχειν' κάν τινα άποχειροτον[ή]σωσιν, κρίνουσιν έν τώ δικαστηρίφ, κάν μεν άλφ, τιμώσιν ο τι χρη παθείν ή άποτ[είσ]αι αν δ' αποφύγη, $[\pi]$ άλ[ιν] αρχει. κύριοι δέ είσιν, ὅταν ἡγῶνται, καὶ 15 δήσαί τιν' ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ <ἐκ>[κη]ρῦξαι καὶ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβάλλειν οὐκ εἰώθασι δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν.

χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τα ξ[ιά]ρχους δέκα, ἔνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης: ; ούτος δ' ήγειται τών φυλετών, και λοχαγούς καθίσ[τ]ησιν.

χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων οὖτοι δ'4

11 δοκούσι Η-L. 18 $\Delta\lambda\lambda$ (supra scr. ω) ω 1. 14 éàr H-L. #dlu ? K-W (K³, B); τὰ [λοιπὰ] K¹; [ἔτι] H-L. 15 TIN: τιν' K, B : τὸν K-W, κύριοι δ' Η-L. KHPYZAI (K): < ἐκ > κηρῦξαι Blass, Lipsius (K-W, H-L). 16 8 H-L.

§ 8 Bekk. An. 306, 12 ταξίαρχοι—: άρχοντει ήγούμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ φυλήν, χειροτονητοί, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἰς ὑπετέτακτο τὸ πλήθος κατὰ φυλήν.

§ 4 Pollux viii 94 Ιππαρχοι δε δύο εξ άπάντων 'Αθηναίων αίρεθεντες επιμελούνται των πολέμων. "Harp. Ιππαρχος:...λέγεται δε παρ' 'Αθηναίοις Ιππαρχος καὶ δ των ιππέων άρχων δύο δ΄ ήσαν οθτοι, ώς Δημ. ἐν δ Φιλιππικών φησί και 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. Phot. ἐππαρχοι: δύο ήσαν, οὶ τών ἰππέων ἡγοῦντο, "διελόμενοι τὰς φυλλς" ἐκάτερος ἀνὰ πέντε ἐπιμεληταί δέ εἰσι τῶν ἰππέων <οὶ φύλαρχοι additum ex Poll. viiì 94 > καθάπω οἱ ταξίαρχοι δέκα ὅντες εἰς ἐφ ἐκάστης φυλής τῶν ὁπλιτῶν (Frag. 391², 431²).

έκκλησία, έπιχειροτονείν εί δοκούσι καλώς άρχειν. This procedure must have been instituted with special reference to military officials; hence the fulness with which it is treated here in comparison with 43 § 4 (Lipsius, Leipzig Verhandl. p. 49).

τιμώσιν] It was a δίκη τιμητός (Meier

and Schöm. p. 213 f, Lips.).
890as] During the Sicilian expedition Lamachus put to death a soldier who was caught signalling to the enemy, Lys. 13 §67; and Iphicrates at Corinth transfixed with his spear a sentinel whom he found asleep at his post (Frontinus iii 12, 2). asicep at his post (rendinus in 12, 2).

In Dem. 50 § 51 even a trierarch fears he may be put into bonds by a στρατηγός:

φοβούμενος μὴ δεθείην. Cf. Xen. Mem.

iii 5, 19, τους ὁπλίτας καὶ τους ἰππεῖς άπειθεστάτους είναι πάντων.

έκκηρῦξαι] One Simon, who arrived too late for the battle of Corinth and the march to Coroneia, had a scuffle with the taxiarch and struck him, και πανστρατιά των πολιτών έξελθόντων, δόξας άκοσμότατος είναι και πονηρότατος, μόνος Αθηναίων ύπο των στρατηγών έξεκηρύχθη. This implies that the offender was expelled from the army, after being publicly proclaimed unworthy to serve as a soldier. Lys. 3 § 45. ἐπιβάλλαν] [Lys.] 15 § 5, ἐχρῆν γὰρ

αὐτοὺς (τοὺς στρατηγοὺς) είπερ άληθη λέγουσεν άνακαλειν μεν Πάμφιλον ότι άφαιρων

τον Ιππον Ιππέως απεστέρει την πόλυ, έπιβάλλειν δὲ τῷ φυλάρχω, ὅτι ἐξ-ελαύνων Αλκιβιάδην ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἄκυρον έποιει την τούτων τάξιν, κελεύειν δε του ταξίαρχον εξαλείφειν αυτόν εκ του των όπλιτών καταλόγου.

§ 3. rafiapxovs] commanders of the 10 rafess of hoplites corresponding to the 10 φυλαί. They were instituted after 490 B.C. Dem. 4 § 26, ουκ έχειροτονείτε δ΄ έξ υμών αυτών δέκα ταξιάρχους και στρατηγούς και φυλάρχους και Ιππάρχος δύο: each of the taxiarchs commanded § 17, ταξιάρχων τῆς φυλῆς, Aeschin. F.L.
169, Τεμενίδου τοῦ τῆς Πανδιονίδος ταξιάρ χου. ἡγεῖται τῶν φυλετῶν] As a rule the taxiarch was a member of the tribe which he commanded, Thuc. viii 92, ό `Αριστοκράτης ήν ταξιαρχών και την ξαυτοῦ φυλην έχων, CIA ii 444, 446 (Gilbert, i 225).

λοχαγούς] Isocr. 15 § 117, Isaeus 9
14. The text shews that they were appointed by the ratiapxos, and not, as has been supposed (Gilbert i 225), by the

στρατηγοί.
§ 4. ἐππάρχουs] Their importance is implied by Lys. 26 § 20, ἀντὶ τούτων αὐτοὐτ δ δήμος ταις μεγίσταις τιμαις τετίμηκος, Ιππαρχείν και στρατηγείν και πρεσβείου ύπερ αύτων αίρουμενοι. δύο] Dem. 4 § 26 supra, CIA ii 445, 15.

ήγοῦνται τῶν ἱππέων, διελόμ[ενοι] τὰς φυλὰς πέντε ἐκάτερος 20 κύριοι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσὶν, ὧνπερ οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὁπλι[τῶν. έπιχειρο]τονία δὲ γίγνεται <καὶ> τούτων.

- χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυλάρχους <δέκα>, ἔνα τῆς φυλῆς, τὸν ήγ[ησό]μενο[ν] <των ίππέων>, ώσπερ οἱ ταξίαρχοι των ὁπλιτων.
- χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Λ ημνον ἴππαρχον, δς ἐπιμ[ελ]εῖται 25 των ίππέων των έν Λήμνο.
- χειροτονούσι δε καὶ ταμίαν της Παράλου καὶ άλλον της [τοῦ "Α]μμωνος.

21 WNTTEPEICIN: elob wreep van Leeuwen (H-L, K-W, K3, B); wreep Gertz. 22 ΓΙΝ (K-W). ΤΟΥΤωΝ Κ: < καl > τούτων Gertz, Lips., K-W, H-L, B. 28 post φυλάρχους add. δέκα Richards, K-W, H-L, B; post δὲ καl excidisse antea putabam. 24 τῶν ἐππέων Pollucem secutus add. K (K-W, H-L, B).

§ 5 Pollux viii 94 οι δὲ φύλαρχοι δέκα, εἶς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, τῶν Ιππέων προϊστανται, καθάπερ οι ταξίαρχοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν. "Harp. φύλαρχος:...ὁ κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκάστην τοῦ Ιππικοῦ ἄρχων, ὑποτεταγμένος δὲ τῷ Ιππάρχω, ὡς ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. φησί

έκάστην τοῦ Ιππικοῦ ἀρχων, ὑποτεταγμένος δὲ τῷ Ιππαρχῳ, ως ᾿Αρ. εν τη Αυ. πολ. ψηνι (Frag. 392², 432²).

8 Τ "Harp. ταμίαι:...εἰσὶ δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν (ἰερῶν) τριήρων ταμίαι, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφὸς (sc. Ατ.) φησιν (cf. Suid. ταμίαι art. 2). Phot. s.v. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ταμίαι, ἀρχοντες χειροτονητοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ δημοσίας τριήρεις, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Πάραλον, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ "Αμμωνος. Pollux viii 116 ταμίας ἐκάλουν τοὺς ταῖς ἱεραῖς τριήρεις λειτουργοῦντας, ἀλλους ἢ τριηρέρχους (cf. Frag. 402², 442²).

Lex. rhet. Cantab. Πάραλος καὶ Σαλαμινία: ταύτας τὰς τριήρεις είχον διὰ παντὸς πρὸς τὰς ἐπειγούσας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐφ᾽ αἶς καὶ ταμίαι τινὲς ἐχειροτονοῦντο... ᾿Αριστοτέλης δὲ ᾿Αμμωνιάδα καὶ Πάραλος οἰδε. Schol. in Dem. p. 636, 16 Dind...καὶ ᾿Αμμωνιάς ἐπειδὴ τῷ «Αμμωνι δι᾽ αὐτῆς τὰς θυσίας ἔπεμπον. Cf. Phot. s.v. Πάραλοι et Πάραλος, Harp. s.v. ᾿Αμμωνίς, Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 150 (Frag. 403², 443²). s.v. 'Aumwis, Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 150 (Frag. 4031, 4433).

τας φυλάς πέντε έκατερος] Χεη. Hipparch. 3 § 11, δταν οι Ιππαρχοι ήγωνται ταις πέντε φυλαίς. κύριοι] The disciplinary powers of the Ιππαρχοι are illustrated by Hesych. s.v.

ιππάρχου πίναξ· έπει οι Ιππαρχοι έν πίναξι τὰ ὁνόματα των ἀτακτούντων γράφοντες παρεσημειούντο.

§ 5. φυλάρχους] In CIA ii 444, 445 the φύλαρχοι belong to the tribes which they

command. § 6. els Δημνον (ππαρχον] This officer was in command of a corps of Athenian cavalry stationed in Lemnos. island had long been in the possession of Athens and was held by Athenian $\kappa\lambda\eta$ ρούχοι. Athens had recovered possession of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros before B.C. 387 and her right was recognised in that year by the 'peace of Antalcidas'. Hyperides, pro Lycophrone, c. 14, ύμεις γάρ με, ω ανδρες δικασταί, πρώτον μέν φύλαρχον έχειροτονήσατε, έπειτα els Λημ. νον ίππαρχον, και ήρξα μέν αύτόθι δύ' έτη τών πώποθ' ίππαρχηκότων μόνος, προσ-κατέμεινα δὲ αὐτόθι τὸν τρίτον ένιαυτὸν οὐ βουλόμενος πολίτας ανδρας έπι κεφαλήν

είσπράττειν τον μισθον τοῖς Ιππεῦσιν ἀπόρως διακειμένους, στεφάνοις δε τρισίν έστεφανώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ἐν Ἡφαιστία καὶ ἐτέροις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μυρίνη. Dem. 4 § 27, εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ ὑμῶν ἴππαρχον δεῖ πλεῦν. CIA ii 14 (B.C. 387/6), [ἰππαρχούντος ἐν Λήμνω. CIA ii 593 (a decree passed by the κληροῦχοι at Myrina after the third Macedonian war), ἐπὶ δὲ Λῆμνον στρατηγοῦντος Φιλαρχίδου Παιανιέως ἰππαρχοῦντος τὸ δεύτερον Τελεσιόημου τοῦ ᾿Λμινίου Ἐκαλῆθεν. Cf. Gilbert, i 424—5; Hauvette-Besnault, pp. 160. 170. φανώθην ύπο τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ἐν Ἡφαιστία

Hauvette-Besnault, pp. 160, 170. § 7. ταμίαν τῆς Παράλου] In Dem. Mid. § 173, Midias is described as saying: ίππάρχηκα, τής παράλου ταμίας γέγονα. Demosthenes adds: τῆς μεν παράλου τα-μεύσας Κυζικηνῶν ῆρπασε πλεῖν ἡ πέντε τάλαντα. § 174, Midias allowed the Paralus to be outstripped in speed by one of the ordinary triremes, ούτως εὐ την lepan τριήρη παρεσπευάπει. The ταμίας Παράλου is mentioned in CIA ii 804 B 66 (B.C. 334/3), and probably also in 808 A 79 (B.C. 326/5). The ramias provided for the sacred trireme at the cost of the state all that, in the case of ordinary vessels,

62. αί δὲ κληρωταὶ ἀ[ρχ]αὶ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν αί μὲν μετ ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐ[κ] τῆς φυλῆς ὅλης κληρούμεναι, αί δ' ἐν Θησείφ

LXII 1 MET (K, K-W, B): $\mu\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ ($\mu\dot{\tau}$) Gennadios, H-L.

was provided by the trierarch himself. The ship was entirely manned by Athenians (Thuc. viii 73, 5) who were paid 4 obols a day (Harpocr. s.v.). Cf. Boeckh, 305 ff. Fränkel. The Paralos and Salaminia are mentioned in Arist. Av. 1207 and Thuc. iii 33, 2: the Salaminia was sent in pursuit of Alcibiades in vi 53, 1 and 61, 4 (cf. Arist. Av. 147). A statement in Photius (s.v. πάραλοι), λέγεται δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ Σαλαμωία, led Boeckh to accuse Photius of confounding the two triremes with one another, which is inconsistent with the same lexicographer's article on πάραλοs. Mr Marindin, in Diet. Ant. ii 827 a, understands ἡ αὐτὴ as meaning 'of a similar character'; but I should prefer attributing the mistake to a careless citation from the Schol. on Av. 1204, where we are told that, if, instead of Πάραλοι τὰ Σαλαμωία: ἐσται ἡ αὐτὴ Πάραλοι καὶ Σαλαμωία: ἐσται ἡ αὐτὴ Πάραλοι καὶ Σαλαμωία.

I. 28. τοῦ "Αμμωνος] It follows from the passages quoted in the Testimonia that the state-trireme, formerly called the Σαλαμινία, was superseded by one named after Zevs 'Αμμων and known as the 'Αμμωνίς (Harpoer.) or 'Αμμωνίς (Lex. Rhet. Cant.). It was specially intended to convey beuplas to the coast of Cyrene, on their way to the shrine of Zevs "Aumur. Cimon sent from Cyprus to consult the oracle shortly before his death (Plut. Cim. 18); in the Aves, 716 and 618, Ammon is mentioned by the side of Delphi and Dodona; and it is therefore possible that θεωρίαι may have been sent there as early as 415 B.C. In [Plat.] Alc. ii 148 E, the Athenians consult the oracle on the question why they were constantly being beaten by the Lacedaemonians. We have a record of a sacrifice to Author on the part of the στρατηγοl in B.C. 333 (CIA ii 741, 32); Boeckh ii 118—121 Frankel. Thus it seems probable that the oracle was originally consulted by Athens in connexion with military undertakings, and this custom may account, not only for the sacrifice offered by the στρατηγοί, but also for the connexion in which the vessel is mentioned in this chapter, at the close of a description of the military officers of Athens.—Hesych. s.v. 'Αμμών ('Αμμώνια?) has ἐορτὴ 'Αθήνησιν ἀγομένη, and it would be natural that the general interest in

the oracle should be increased by the visit paid by Alexander the Great in B.C. 331. The sacred trireme 'Author's was mentioned by Dinarchus in his speech against Himeraeus (Harpocr. s.v. 'Author's), which may be assigned to B.C. 324 (Rose, Ar. Pseud. p. 397).

It has been suggested (by Rose, lc.) that the name of the sacred trireme Salaminia was changed in consequence of the revolt of Salamis in B.C. 318 (Paus. 35, 2; Polyaen. iv 11, 1; Diod. 18, 69; CIG i p. 418), but the text shews that the 'Aumuris superseded it at an earlier date.

The name Salaminia was in itself not uncommon. Thus, in B.C. 357/6 there were two ships bearing the name Salaminia (one belonging to the second class, CIA ii 793 b 33; the other, one of the right example of the right example of the right example of the salaminia foundered at sea shortly before B.C. 325/4 (CIA ii 809 d 29 and 811, 89); and a rerprippy of the same name occurs in an inscr. of B.C. 323/2 or shortly after: CIA ii 812 a 123. In the same inscr. a 25 and 42, there are two triremes named Hapania (not Hapanos). All these, however, are warships. Not one of the sacred triremes is mentioned in the naval archives of Athens. Cf. Boeckh II xvi, vol. 1 p. 306—7, and note 448 Fränkel.

LXII. Salaries.

§ 1. al μέν μετ' ἐννέα ἀρχόντων] It is not known what offices are meant: Mr Kenyon suggests that the phrase included 'all the various boards of ten.' A similar phrase occurs in the δρκος ἡλιαστῶν in Dem. c. Τίποςτ. 150, τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων και τοῦ ἰερομνήμονος καὶ δσαι (ἀρχαί) μετὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων κυαμεύονται ταὐτη τῆ (τῆ αὐτῆ) ἡμέρα, καὶ κήρυκος καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ συνέδρων.

al 8' to Θησείφ κληρουμέναι] 'the offices assigned by lot in the Theseum' (c. 15 § 4). In Aeschines, c. Ctes. § 13 (B.C. 336—330), the offices to which the people elect (χειροτωτέ), such as those of the στρατηγοί and Ιππαρχοι, are contrasted with those ås oi Θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείφ. It might be inferred from this that the Theseum was the only place in which the allotment was held; whereas the text implies that the archons were appointed elsewhere. The place is not known.

κληρούμεναι διηρούντο είς τούς δήμ[ο]υς έπειδή δ' έπώλουν οί δημοι, και ταύτας έκ της φυλης όλης κληρούσι πλην βουλευτών καὶ φρουρών τούτους δ' είς τοὺς δ[ημότ]ας ἀποδιδόασι.

μισθοφοροῦσι δὲ πρώτον [μὲν ὁ δῆμος] ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ἐκκλησίαις δραχμήν, τη δε κυρία εννέα < οβολούς> επειτα τὰ δικ[αστήρια] τρεις όβολούς είθ' ή βουλή πέντε όβολούς. τοις δὲ πρυτανεύουσιν είς σίτησιν [όβολὸς π]ροστίθεται [[δέκα προστίθενται]]. ἔπειτ' είς σίτησιν λαμβάνουσιν ένν[έα ἄρχον]τες τέττα[ρας] όβολοὺς ἕκαστος, 10

3 <al> διηρούντο Gertz, H-L. 7 ἐννέα < δβολούς > K-W, H-L. Blass (et K3), deletis quae sequuntur δέκα προστίθενται: scilicet scriptum erat 1 προc-Τιθεται, ubi i significat els δβολδε, sed male intellectum pro δέκα erat acceptum; inde exortum additamentum δέκα προστίθενται. είς δβολός Rutherford, H-L; satis 10 érréa Gennadios, H-L; érréa spatii relictum si 1080\u00e40c scriptum erat. K, K-W, B, coll. v. 2.

διηροῦντο] 'used to be distributed over' the demes.

πλην βουλευτών] This shews that the preliminary appointment of members of the Council was made by the demes. The fact that the demes lost the preliminary appointment to certain offices, owing to their being corrupt, makes us understand how it was possible for Aeschines to taunt Demosthenes with having secured his appointment as Bovλευτής by bribery and intrigue, Aesch. in Ctes. 62, ούτε λαχών ούτε έπιλαχών άλλ' έκ παρασκευής πριάμενος, 73, βουλευτής ών έκ παρασκευής.

The lists of Prytanies for the fourth century (CIA ii 864-874) prove that the number of members of the Council belonging to each deme varies with the size of the deme, and that the number appointed from the same deme is constant. It was inferred from this that a certain number were appointed from each deme, and not from the whole tribe indiscriminately (Köhler in Mittheil. iv 97; Hauvette-Besnault in Bull. Corr. Hell. v 361; Headlam, On the Lot, pp. 55, 56). inference is confirmed by the text. This bably each deme nominated twice the requisite number; half of these were appointed by lot, and the rest held in serve to take their places if necessary (Headlam, p. 188). Even in the case of offices filled by lot something of the nature of candidature is implied by Lys. nature of candinature is implied by Lys.
31 § 33 (of one who had drawn the lot to be a βουλευτής), προθύμως κληρωσόμενος ήλθε, 6 § 4, ἀν ελθη κληρωσόμενος των έννέα άρχώντων (cf. 20 § 13), and Isocr.
15 § 82, κληροῦσθαι των άρχων ένεκα.
φρουρών] possibly the 500 φρουροί

νεωρίων, mentioned with the 500 βουλευταί

in 24 § 3. § 2. δραχμήν] At the end of c. 41 the highest sum named as the μισθός ἐκκλησιαστικός was 3 obols. The text implies that this sum had been doubled. In Arist. Vesp. 691 and Schol. a drachma is the sum paid at that time to the συνήγοροι, but there is no probability that that is the fee here meant.

τρείς όβολούς] In 27 § 3 the institution of the μισθὸς δικαστικὸς by Pericles is mentioned; but the amount is not named. It was raised to three obols by Cleon. (Schol. Arist. Vesp. 88, 300; Gilbert i 325-6.)

πέντε όβολούς] one obol more is the amount named in Hesych. s. v. βουλη̂s λαχείν το λαχείν βουλευτήν και δραχμήν της ημέρας λαβείν. Hesychius has probably confounded the five obols paid to the ordinary βουλευτής with the six paid to the πρυτάνεις. Thuc. viii 69 mentions the μαθθε without naming the amount.

άρχοντες κτλ.] This shews that the archons, amongst others, actually received something of the nature of a stipend. It was supposed by Schömann stipend. It was supposed by Schomann (Ant. p. 402) that the 'executive functionaries' (ἀρχοντες) as well as the 'commissioners' (ἐπιμεληταί), as contrasted with the 'subordinates' (ὑπηρεταί), 'served without pay.' Boeckh, II xvi p. 304 Frankel, more cautiously describes this as the 'original' distinction between an dρχή and a ὑπηρεσία. c. 24 § 3 mentions the 700 dρχαl ένδημοι as in receipt of pay; and in c. 29 § 5 the board of Thirty appointed in B.C. 411 propose τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους ἄρχειν ἀπάσας ἔως ἄν ὁ πόλεμος ή, πλην των έννέα άρχοντων και των πρυκαὶ παρατρέφουσι κήρυκα καὶ αὐλητήν· ἔπειτ' ἄρχων [εἰς Σαλα]μινα δραχ[μὴν] τῆς ἡμέρας. ἀθλοθέται δ' ἐν πρυτανείφ δειπνοῦσι
τὸν ἐκ[ατομβ]αιῶνα μῆνα, ὅ[τ]αν ἢ τὰ Παναθήναια, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ
τῆς τετράδος ἱσταμένου. ἀμ[φι]κτύονες εἰς Δῆλον δραχμὴν τῆς
15 ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ἐκ Δήλου <λαμβάνουσι >. λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ
ὅσαι ἀποστέλλονται ἀρχαὶ εἰς Σάμον ἡ Σκῦρον ἡ Λῆμνον ἡ Ἦβρον
εἰς σίτησιν ἀργύριον.

ἄρχειν δὲ τὰς μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἔ[ξεσ]τι πλεονάκις, τῶν δ ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν, πλὴν βουλεῦσαι δίς.

12 $<\tau\hat{\phi}>\pi\rho\nu\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\dot{\psi}$ H-L. 13 o[T]an (K-W, K³, B): $\hat{\phi}$ dr K¹, H-L. 15 $<\lambda\alpha\mu$ - β árou σ i> add. K (K-W, H-L): nihil addit B.

τανέων οι ἀν ὧσιν, τούτους δὲ φέρειν τρεῖς όβολοὺς ἔκαστον τῆς ἡμέρας. This implies (as observed by Mr Kenyon) that 'the magistrates named, and others who are not named, received pay.' [Xen.] de Rep. Ath. 1. 3, says that the δήμος is not eager for offices like those of στρατηγός οι ἔππαρχος, — ὁπόσαι δ' elσίν ἀρχαὶ μισθοφορίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἀφελείας els τὸν οίκον, ταύτας ζητεῖ ὁ δήμος ἀρχειν.

κήρυκα και αόλητήν] Both the κήρυξ τώ άρχοντι and the αόλητήν are mentioned in CIA iii 1005 and 1007 (Gilbert i 157 n. 4).

CIA iii 1005 and 1007 (Gilbert i 157 n. 4).

doy, ov de Zalamtva] 54 § 8.

doloftal] 60. exaroufativa] The
principal day of the greater Panathenaea
(54 § 7; 60 § 1) was the third from the
end of Hecatombaeon. Probably the
lesser Panathenaea were also held in the
same month: in Dem. c. Timorr. 28, the
Panathenaea (of Ol. 106, 4, B.C. 353) are
at hand on Hecatombaeon 11th. In the
text the greater Panathenaea alone appear
to be meant.

dμφικτύονes els Δηλον] the Athenian Commissioners of the funds of the Delian temple, called dμφικτύονes because in theory they were the deputies of the 'Ιώνων τα και περικτιόνων νησιωτών (Thuc. iii 104). The 'Sandwich marble,' now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, records their accounts from B.C. 377 to 374. beginning τάδε ἔπραξαν dμφικτύονes 'Αθηναίων. Each Amphictyon administered the temple for one year, beginning with Hecatombaeon, the first month in the Attic civil year (Hicks, Gk. Hist. Inscr. p. 142—148; CIA ii 814). ek Δηλου, from the funds of the Delian

έκ Δήλου, from the funds of the Delian temple.

Σάμον] Athenian κληροῦχοι were settled in Samos after its conquest by Timotheus in B.C. 365. κληροῦχοι were also

sent in 361 and again in 352 (Aeschin. 1 § 53; A. Schaefer, *Dem*. i² p. 99 n. p. 474 n).

p. 474 n).

After the autumn of 322 the Athenians were no longer in a position to send doxal to Samos; at that date the island ceased to be under their control, and the Samians banished by Athens were restored by Perdiccas, Diod. xviii 18 (F. Cauer in Berl. Phil. Woch. 9 April, 1892, p. 458).

Σκύρον .. Αῆμνον .. "Ιμβρον] The γραμματών τοῦ δήμου for each of these islands in motioned in incident.

Σκύρον. Απήμνον. "Τμβρον] The γραμματεύς τοῦ δήμου for each of these islands is mentioned in inscriptions published in Bull. Cor. Hell. 1879 p. 63, CIA ii 592: and Conze's Reise, p. 88, respectively: also, in Scyros, a ταμίας τοῦ δήμου (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1. c.). Cf. Gilbert, i 424.

§ 3. τὰς μὰν κατὰ πόλαμον—πλουνάκε]

§ 3. τds μèν κατὰ πόλεμον — πλεονάκιε]
Thus Pericles was general for 15 years, and Phocion 45 times (Plut. Per. 15, Phoc. 8).—In Pol. 1371 b 24, (it is characteristic of a democracy) τό μὴ δὶς τὸν αὐτὸ ἀρχειν μηδεμίαν ἢ όλιγακι ἢ όλιγας ξὲν τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον. Dem. Procem. p. 1461, 9, δεινότατοι γάρ ἐστ' ἀφελέσθαι μὲν δο' ὑμὶν ὑπάρχει, και νόμους περὶ τούτων θεῖναι, ἄν τις ἀστυνομήση δὶς ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα, στρατηγεῖν δ' ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺν ἐᾶν, c. Τίποςτ. 149 (δρκος ἡλιαστικός), οὐδὲ δὶς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνδρα καταστήσω. Pol. 1299 α 10, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἀπαξμόνον. 1275 α 15, δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ξξεστω άρχειν ἐνίας (ἀρχάς).

The effect of the rule forbidding more than one reappointment to the Council was to give every Athenian citzen at some period of his life a seat in that body. At the time when the number of citizens was at its highest (about 30,000 in 460 B.C.), it is probable that the number who reached the age of 30 in each year, and thus became qualified for the Council, was rather less than 1,000 (Headlam, On the

63. τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια [κ]λη[ροῦσιν] οἱ ἐννέα ἄρ[χο]ντες κατὰ φυλάς, ὁ δὲ γραμματεύς τῶν θεσμο[θετῶν τῆς] δεκάτης φυλῆς. 2 εἴσοδοι δέ εἰσιν εἰς τὰ δικασ[τή]ρια δέκα, μία τῆ φυλῆ ἐκάστη, καὶ κλη[ρωτήρια] εἴκοσι, δ[ύο τῆ] φυλῆ ἐκάστη, καὶ κιβώτια ἐκατόν,

LXIII 1 TA $\lambda(\varepsilon)$ TA corr. K. πληρούσιν Dareste. 2 < τούs> της H-L, 3 δικαστήρια: an κληρωτήρια? coll. c. 59 ult.

ΤΕSTIMONIA. LXIII Schol, ad Arist. Vesp. 775 (v. Testim. c. 59 ult.). Schol, ad Arist. Plut. 277, p. 340 a 21 Diübner: (§ 4) Ερχεται έκαστος είς το <δικαστήριων > πινάκιον έχων "έπιγεγραμμένον το δνομα" αὐτοῦ καὶ "πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμου" "καὶ γράμμα έν" τι "μέχρι τοῦ κ," διὰ το πάλαι δέκα φυλὰς εἶναι Αθήνησι, διήρηντο γὰρ "κατὰ φυλὰς." (§ 1) εἶτα οἱ θεσμοθέται κατὰ φυλὰγν ἔκαστος καὶ δέκατος ὁ γραμματεύς έκλήρουν τὰ γράμματα μέχρι τοῦ κ καὶ τὰ λαχόντα ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖς μέλλουσι κληροῦσθαι δικαστηρίοις, (§ 5) ὑπηρέτης φέρων έτίθει καθ' ἔκαστον δικαστήριον ἔν είτα πάλιν άπεκληρούντο οι τὰ είληχότα γράμματα έχοντες τίνες δικάσουσι και τίνες ου. ib. 972 'Αθηναίοι γὰρ άπο τών φυλών έποιουν τους δικαστάς κατά γράμμα, οιον ή πρώτη τὸ α έσχε σημείον, και ή δευτέρα το β, και αι άλλαι όμοιως έως του κ.

Lot, p. 50 n). Each of these might be a member of the 500 twice in his life, but deme are preserved for more than one year, only one case of reappointment is to be found, viz. Διονόσιος Ηφαιστίωνος of the deme Φιλαίδαι, (in the middle of the fourth century) CIA ii 870, 3, and (in B.C. 341)

872, 17.
Boeckh, ii 515 Frankel, states his conviction that no one could be a member of the βουλή for two consecutive years: the

text proves that it was possible.

As regards other offices, we know the names of a large number of ταμίαι, ελληνοταμίαι and έπιμεληταί; but we never find one man holding the same office

twice (Headlam, p. 91).

LXIII to the end. The Law-Courts.

On the Athenian procedure for the distribution of the dikaoral over the several dikactipia, see Schömann, De Sortitione Iudicum apud Athenienses, Opusc. Acad. i 200-229; Schömann, Ant. p. 475 E. T.; Att. Process, pp. 146-162 Lips.; Fränkel, Att. Geschworenegerichte, 1877, pp. 92 ff.; Gilbert, i 374—7; Busolt in Müller's *Handbuch*, IV i 180; and Caillemer in Daremberg and Saglio's Dict. iii 191.

§ 1. δικαστήρια κληρούσιν] Pollux, viii 87, mentions as one of the duties of the archons, κληροῦν δικαστάς. A distinction must, however, be drawn between «ληροῦν δικαστάς, which refers to the original assignment of dicasts to a heliastic division by means of the lot (c. 59 § 7), and κληροῦν δικαστήρια, which refers to the allotment of the several law-courts to the dicasts so

appointed (ib. § 5). [Dem.] 47 § 17, κληρουμένων των δικαστηρίων, and 37 § 39, των δικαστηρίων έπικεκληρωμένων. φυλάς is not meant to imply that each δικαστήριον was allotted to a different tribe, but that representatives of all the tribes sat in each δικαστήριον. Hitherto it has generally been supposed that the daily allotment was not 'by tribes,' but by heliastic divisions or 'sections' (Schö-

mann, Ant. p. 475). § 2. είσοδοι κτλ.] the separate entrances for the members of the several trances for the members of the several tribes would not only facilitate entrance and exit, but also make it easier to detect personation. It may perhaps be inferred that the members of each tribe sat to-

gether in the court.

It seems premature, however, to mention the entrances to the law-courts at this stage of the description; it may therefore be suggested that δικαστήρια has been written by mistake for κληρωτήρια. The elσοδοs in l. 7 is clearly the entrance into the pair of κληρωτήρια assigned to

κληρυτήρια] either (1) 'vessels for holding lots' (urnes à lots, Reinach); or (2) 'rooms in which the dicasts have their several courts allotted to them' (so Kaibel and Kiessling, Poland, and Haussoullier). Mr Kenyon gives in the text of his translation 'twenty vessels for holding votes,' adding in the note the alternative rendering, 'rooms in which the jurors are elected.

(1) is the preferable sense in Arist. Εςς. 682, ΒΛ. τὰ δὲ κληρωτήρια ποῦ τρέψεις; ΠΡ. ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω κᾶτα στήσασα παρ' 'Αρμοδίψ κληρώσω

5 δέκα τη φυλη έκάστη, καὶ ἔτερα κιβώτι[α δέκα, εἰς α ε]μβάλλεται των λαγόντων δικα[σ]των τὰ π[ινά]κια, καὶ ὑδρίαι δύο καὶ βακτηρίαι παρατίθενται κατά την ε[ἴσοδον] έκάστην ὅσοιπερ οί δικα-[σ]ταί, καὶ βάλανοι εἰς τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐμβάλλονται ἴσαι ταῖς βακτηρίαις, [γ]έγραπται δὲ ἐν ταις βαλάνοις τῶν στοιχείων ἀπὸ τοῦ 10 ένδεκάτου, τοῦ λ [[τριακοστοῦ]], ὅσαπερ ἂν μέλλῃ [τ]ὰ δικαστήρια πληρωθήσεσθαι. δικάζειν δ' έξεστιν τοις ύπερ τριάκοντα έτη γε- ?

5 els d B: ols K etc. 6 BAKTHPIA COTT. K. 7 OYCOITTEP COTT. K. 9 T(ωN) CTOIXEI Blass (K3): [TA] 8 ταις βακτηρίαις: an τοις δικαστηρίοις? CTOIXEIA (K1, K-W, H-L). τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου delet Rutherford (H-L). 10 τριακοστού del. K (K-W, H-L, B). EAN.

awarras (where the Schol, absurdly explains κληρωτήρια as τας κληρωτάς αρχάς). κληρωτρίs means an urn for holding votes in Schol. Arist. Vesp. 674, κληρωτρίδι τών ψήφων, and 752, τοῦ κήρυκος τὴν κληρωτρίδα προσφέροντος, ξβαλον τὰς ψήφους. Both senses are recognised in Pollux x 61, κληρωτήριον εί γάρ και έπι τοῦ τόπου ξοικεν είρησθαι τοθνομα έν τῷ Γήρα 'Αρισ-τοφάνουs, άλλα και έπι τοῦ αγγείου αν έναρμόσειεν. The sense is uncertain in Eubulus ap. Athen. 640 B, κλητήρες .. μάρτυρες .. δίκαι .. κληρωτήρια .. κλεψύδραι, νόμοι, γραφαί, and in CIA ii 441, [άνα]γράψαι δὲ τόδε [τὸ ψήφισμα - -] κληρωτήριον λιθ

(2) is supported by Plut. ii 793 D, Tpeoβύτη έπίπονος καὶ ταλαίπωρος ή πρὸς πῶν μὲν ἀεὶ κληρωτήριον ἀπαντώσα φιλαρχία, παντί δε εφεδρεύουσα δικαστηρίου καιρώ και συνεδρίου πολυπραγμοσύνη, Pollux ix 44, κληρωτήρια ένθα κληροῦνται οἱ δικασταί, 44, κληρωτηρία ενώ κτηρώνται ο οιαντήρια: ενθα κληρωύνται οἱ δικασταί. It certainly has this meaning in col. 31 l. 18, ὁ ἄρχων τὴν φυλὴν κα[λεῖ εἰς τὸ κ]ληρωτήριων, and it therefore seems best to understand it in the same sense in the present passage. It is not obvious why each tribe requires two κληρωτήρια, unless we are to suppose that one of them was merely an antechamber serving as a waiting-room

for the other.

κιβώτια] 'small boxes,' Arist. Plut.

711. The number of the first set of κιβώτια is 100, 10 for each tribe, because the dicasts in each tribe are distributed over all the ten divisions into which all the dicasts are divided. In each tribe, all the tickets (πινάκια) bearing the names of the dicasts in division A are placed in the first κιβώτιον, those of division B in the second, and so on for all the ten divisions. According to the number of dicasts required, an equal number of tickets is drawn by lot from each of the 100 κιβώτια. Each ticket so drawn has a court assigned it by lot; and the tickets are now placed in the second set of 10 κιβώτια, all tickets of dicasts assigned to any given court being placed in the κιβώ-των which bears the letter corresponding to that court. The names of all the dicasts who are selected to serve are thus distributed over the several courts that are to sit on the day in question. The process is described in detail in col. 31.

πινάκια] see note on § 4.

βακτηρίαι] 'bâtons' serving the dicasts as badges of office. The βακτηρία was marked with the same letter and colour as the court assigned to the dicast, who gave it up on entering the court when he received a σύμβολον (or 'token') instead. This σύμβολον enabled him to claim the τριώβολον. See infra col. 32 l. 3—15, and cf. Dem. de Cor. 210, (δεί) παραλαμβάνεω γ' αμα τη βακτηρία και τῷ συμβόλφ τὸ της πόλεως νομίζειν έκαστον ύμων, όταν τά δημόσια είσίητε κρινούντες. Bekk. Anecd. p. 185, βακτηρία και σύμβολον: ράβδον κατείχον οι δικάζοντες, και σύμβολον έλάμ βανον αντιδιδόντες δια το κομίσασθαι το τριώβολον. Pollux, viii 16, σκεύη δε δικαστικά. σύμβολον, βακτηρία, <πινάκιον>, πινάκιον τιμητικόν.

Bahavor] either actual acorns or (more probably) ballot balls of metal shaped like them. In either case the Baharos had the letter of the court scratched upon it.

πληρωθήσεσθαι] to be made up to their full complement of δικασταί. Dem. c. full complement of οικασται. Dem. c. Τίποςτ. 92, δικαστήρια πληρούτε. Mid. 209; Lys. 26 § 6; Isae. 6 § 37; CIA ii 395 (of the θεσμοθέται) όταν πρώτον πληρώσιν δικαστήριον είς ένα καί πεντακοσίον δικαστάς. Cf. Meier and Sch. p. 156, note 18 Lips.

γονόσιν, ὅσοι αὐτῶν [μ]ὴ ὀφείλουσιν τῷ δημοσίῷ ἡ ἄτιμοί εἰσιν ἐὰν δέ τις δικάζη οἷς μὴ ἔξεστιν, ἐνδείκνυται καὶ [εἰς] τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγετ[αι], ἐὰν δ' ἀλῷ, προστιμ[ῶσιν αὐτ]ῷ οἰ δικασταί, ὅ τι ἀν δοκἢ ἄξιος εἶναι παθε[ῖν] ἡ ἀποτεῖσαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀργυρίου 15 τιμηθἢ, δεῖ αὐτὸν δεδέ[σθαι], ἔως ὰν ἐκτείση τό τε πρότερον ὄφλημ[α ἐ]φ' ῷ ἐνεδείχθη, καὶ ὅ τι ὰν αὐτῷ προστιμήση τ[ὸ δικ]αστή-4 ριον. ἔχει δ' ἔκαστος δικαστὴς πινάκιον πύξινον, ἐπιγεγραμμένον

18 OIC: $\dot{\psi}$ Richards (H-L). KAI—EICAFETAI K-W, K³, B: κατὰ τὸ δικαστήρωσ εἰσαγγελία K^1 (εἰσαγγελία Fraenkel, H-L). 15, 16 ΑΠΟΤΙCΑΙ—ΕΚΤΙCΗ. 18 ἔκαστος $<\dot{o}>$ B.

§ 4 Hesych. χαλκοῦν πινάκιον: 'Αθηναῖοι εἶχον ἔκαστος πινάκιον πύξινον ἐπιγεγραμμένον τὸ δνομα τὸ (τοῦ cod.) αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πατρόθεν. Schol. Arist. Plut. 277. Photius πινάκιον: σύμβολον δικαστικόν, χαλκοῦν ἢ πύξινον.

§ 3. τριάκοντα ἔτη] Pollux viii 122, ἐδίκαζον οἱ ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτίμων καὶ μὴ ὀφειλύντων τῷ δημοσίῳ. Cf. Dem. c. Timocr. 123 and Law iδ. 50.

Dem. c. Timocr. 123 and Law ib. 50.

The text lends no support to the opinion that the number of dicasts was limited to 6,000 annually appointed by lot from the general body of duly qualified citizens. On the contrary, it favours Fränkel's view that all duly qualified Athenians might be enrolled on the list of dicasts. At Ardettos, near the Panathenaic stadium, δημοσία πάντες ώμνου 'Αθηναῖοι τὸν δρκον τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν (Harp. s.v. 'Αρδηττόs). Fränkel, Att. Geschworenenger., esp. pp. 14—20. The number 6,000, however, occurs in c. 24, 13 with reference to the previous century.

evolutora | Evolutor was primarily put in force against debtors to the state (Dem. Androt. 33, Nicostr. 14). In Dem. c. Mid. 182 Pyrrhus is prosecuted by Evolutor for acting as dicast. Cf. Dict. Ant.

προστιμώσιν ol δικασταί] In cases where a person illegally acted as dicast, it was left to the court to impose the penalty, Dem. c. Mid. l.c.; similarly in the event of a disqualified person speaking in the ἐκκλησία ([Dem.] Aristog. i § 92).

§ 4. $\pi w d \kappa w v$] All the extant $\pi w d \kappa u$ are of bronze; those of boxwood, mentioned in the text, having presumably perished. The specimens from the British Museum are given in Hicks, Hist. Inscr. p. 202. Out of the 65 collected in CIA ii 875—940, seventeen are mere fragments: the remaining 48 exhibit in the upper left-hand corner one of the first ten letters of the Greek alphabet:—A(4), B(6), $\Gamma(5)$, A(9), E(8), m(4), M(2), $\Theta(6)$, I(3),

K(1). Two of them (914-5) were found in the same tomb, both bearing the same letter and the same name (with a slight difference in spelling). Cf. 917—8. Apparently each dicast remained permanently in the division first assigned him; so that the annual κλήρωσις δικαστών only affected those citizens who on reaching the age of 30 were assigned to a particular division for by Dumont, Rev. Arch. 1868, p. 140; C. Curtius, Rhein. Mus. 1876, 281; Klein, Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinland, 1876, p. 57—; P. Girard in Bull. Corr. Hell. 1878, p. 523 -; Frankel, Att. Geschworenenger. pp. 94, 95, 105; Meier and Schömann, pp. 151-2, Lips.; and Caillemer in Daremberg and Saglio, iii 189 f. The murakuw reproduced (as fig. 1) at the head of the frontispiece bears the name of Διονύσιος Διονυ[σίου] έκ Κοί[λης]; in the upper lefthand corner is the letter of the division, A; below this, an owl between A and Θ , being part of AOH, for 'Abyvalur; towards the right are two owls between A and A, and to the right of this is a gorgon's head (CIA ii 876).

The use of the πυάκιον in drawing lots for certain public offices is mentioned in Dem. 39 (αδυ. Βοεοίυπ δε ποπιπε) § 12, τι δέ, ἄν ἀρα... ἄτερος ἡμῶν πείσας τὸν ἔτερος, ἐἀν λάχη, παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν, οῦτω κληροῦται; τὸ δυοῦν πινακίοιν τὸν ἔνα κληροῦσθαι τὶ ἀλλο ἐστίν; That this πινάκιον was of bronze is proved by § 10, ἄν δ' ἀρχὴν ἡντινοῦν ἡ πόλις κληροῖ, οἰον βουλῆς ἡ θεσμοθέτου ἡ τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ δῆλος ὁ λαχών ἔσται; πλὴν εἰ σημεῖον, ὥσπερ ἄλλω τινί, τῷ χαλκίω προσέσται. Τhe πινάκιον is sometimes called the γράμμα Arist. Plut. 277, ἐν τἢ σορῷ νυνὶ λαχὸν τὸ

τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ γράμ[μα] ἐν τῶν 20 στοιγείων μέγρι τοῦ κ' νενέμηνται γάρ κατά φυλάς δέκα μέρη οί δικασταί, παραπλ[ησί]ως ἴσοι ἐν ἐκάστφ τῷ γράμ[μα]τι. ἐπειδὰν ζ δὲ ὁ θεσμοθέτης ἐπικληρώση τὰ γρ[άμ]ματα, ἃ δεῖ προσπαρατίθεσθαι τοις δικαστηρίοις, επέθηκε φέρων ο ύπηρέτης εφ' εκαστ[ον τὸ δικ αστήριον τὸ γράμμα τὸ λαγόν.

19 ΕΔΥΤΟΥ: τ' αὐτοῦ H-L. 22 προςπ(αρα)τιθέςθαι Blass (K^3): —ΓΙΝΕςθαι K1 (K-W, H-L). 23 ξκαστον τὸ Β.

γράμμα σου δικάζειν, σύ δ' ού βαδίζεις, ὁ δὲ Χάρων τὸ σύμβολον δίδωσιν. Ιδ. 1166, γράμμα is synonymous with the section of dicasts indicated by a particular letter: ούκ έτὸς ἄπαντες οἱ δικάζοντες θαμά σπεύδουσιν έν πολλοίς γεγράφθαι γράμμασιν

Meier and Schöm. p. 150, note 9 Lips.).

πιγεγραμμένου δημού) Cf. Plat. Leg.
753 C (in the scheme for the election of magistrates), els πινάκιον γράψαντα τοδ-νομα πατρόθεν καὶ φυλής καὶ δήμου δπόθεν

αν δημοτεύηται.

νενέμηνται γαρ κατά φυλάς δέκα μέρη] i.e. are divided into ten sections distributed over the tribes. The ten μέρη did not coincide with the ten tribes, but each uépos had a nearly equal number of di-casts from all the tribes. The extant πυάκια prove that members of different tribes belonged to the same section (Benndorf, Götting. gel. Anz. 1870, p. 276—). ἐκάστφ τῷ γράμματι] A, B, Γ, &c

to K.

§ 5. θεσμοθέτης] Pollux viii 88, (ol θεσμοθέται) ταις άρχαις έπικληρούσι τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ ίδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια. CIA ii 567 δ (inscr. in honour of a θεσμοθέτης), έπιμελείται-της κληρώσεως των δικαστήρίων, iδ. 809, 206 (B.C. 325/4), τους θεσμο-θέτας παρα[πλ]ηρώσαι δικαστήρια els ένα και διακοσίους. The θεσμοθέτης draws lots assigning the letters (A, M, N, P, &c)

to the several courts. The letter thus allotted was placed over the entrance of the court. Hence γράμμα is synonymous with δικαστήριον in Arist. Eccl. 683—, κληρώσω πάντας, έως αν είδως δ λαχών duly χαίρων έν όποιφ γράμματι δειπνεί. In the next three lines the letters B, θ and K can only refer to the ten heliastic divisions (A to K) severally marked on the dicast's πυάκιου. In line 688 we have another sense of γράμμα: δτω δέ τὸ γράμμα μή ξελκυσθή ατλ. Here (as in Plut. 277) γράμμα is synonymous with the πυσκιον, which has the letter of the heliastic division stamped upon it.

Even the original allotment of the citizens to the several heliastic divisions was under the superintendence of the θεσμοθέται (cf. 59 § 7). This would involve the use of a set of balloting balls or counters marked with a letter indicating the several divisions (A, B, I, A, E, to K). It is probably specimens of these that have survived in two bronze counters having on the one side four owls arranged diagonally and encircled with the word θεσμοθέτων and on the other the letter A or E (Frankel in Sallet's Zeitschrift f. Numismatik, iii p. 383 f, and Caillemer in Daremberg and Saglio, iii 191). See figs. 2 and 3 in fron-

tispiece.

FRAGMENTA

ex papyri paginis ultimis.

31.] τ]α δε [κιβώτια *ταις φυλ]αις [κατατίθενται* πρόσθεν [*τῶν ἀρχόντων* κ]αθ' ἐκάστην τὴ[ν φυλήν. ἐπ[ι]γέ[γραπται δ'] ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰ στο[ιχεία μέχρι τ[οῦ κ. ἐπ]ειδὰν δ' ἐμβάλωσιν [των δικαστ[ώ]ν τ[ά πινάκ]ια είς τὸ κιβώτι[ον, έφ' οῦ αν ἢ ἐπι[γεγρα]μμένον τὸ γράμ[μα τὸ aὐτὸ \ddot{o} π[ε]ρ $\dot{\epsilon}$ [πὶ τ $\dot{\varphi}$ π]ινaκί φ $\dot{\epsilon}$ στίν, \dot{a} [πὸτων στοιχείω[ν δια]σείσαντος του ύ[πηρέτου έλκει ὁ [θεσμο]θέτης ἐξ ἐκάστου τοῦ κιβωτίο[υ πινά]κιον ἔν. οὖτος δὲ

Fragmentorum in lacunis supplendis post editorem primum multum praestiterunt H-L et Haussoullier (Revue de Philologie, xv, 2); etiam plura contulerunt K-W et B, quem in rebus dubiis plerumque secutus sum; ipse nonnulla olim tentavi, quaedam nunc primum protuli.

Pag. 31, 1 (= pag. 32 K-W; sed non satis causae apparet, cur paginam unam pluresve intercidisse censeamus). Paginae huius partem sinistram et dextram, ectypi in editione prima ordine inverso separatim expressam, coniunxit Κ. τ]à δὲ [κιβώτια K-W. in medio fere versu λλοC H-L; and K-W, B: alc? [ταις φυλ]αις [κατατίθενται] πρόσθεν [των άρχόντων] scripsi, coll. Plat. Rep. 618 A (animarum de sortitione) τὰ των βίων παραδείγματα els τὸ πρόσθεν σφων θεωαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, et pag. 31, 35. 2 προσθεν (sic) Hauss., K³, B, litteris θεν obscure scriptis. 3 ἐπιγέγραπται Κ-W, Hauss., K³; ἐπιγεγραμμένας κ¹, -να H-L. 4 τοῦ κ supplevi coll. 63, 20; λεw

idem suppleverunt ceteri. $\delta \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau [\hat{\omega}] \nu$ H-L, κ^3 , ol $\delta \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau [\alpha t]$ B. supplevi cum K-W (?), H-L, K3, B.

ίλαΒωςιν. [τῶν][[τι]] δικαστ[ῶ]ν Κ-W, [τῶ|ν 6 ἐπι[γεγρα]μμένον Hauss. (edd.). 7 ἀ[πδ] BAABWCIN. 8 diagelgartos K-W (Hauss., H-L, B).

10

col. 81, 1-7. τα δὶ κιβώτια] These are the 100 boxes arranged in sets of ten; the boxes in each set being distinguished by the first ten letters of the alphabet; the first box contains all the tickets of the first heliastic division; the second those of the second, and so on. Each box is shaken in turn by the attendant, and the presiding official, the θεσμοθέτης, draws one ticket out of each box.

2. τῶν dρχόντων] the ten officials mentioned in c. 63, init.

7. dad tov otolyelov, ex ordine litte-

rarum (Blass).

Return (Blass).

8. διαστέσαντο* Cf. the Homeric κλήρους πάλλειν, /Ι. 7, 171—189; 15, 191;
23, 353—4, 861; 24, 400; Od. 10, 206.

9. δικει 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, p. 114, ν.
35, ὁ βασιλεὐτ ἐλκέτω τὸν κ[αττίτε]ρο[ν ἐκάτε]ρο[ν ἐ]μ μέρει. Cf. Eustath. p. 675,
53, (Ερμοῦ κλῆρος) ἡν ὁ ρηθείς κλῆρος
φύλλον ἐλαίας δ κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰώθεσων ἐμβάλλειν καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέλκειν,
also Photius s. v. 'Ερμοῦ κλῆρος (Wyse,
Class. Rev. ν 335 a). Class. Rev. v 335 a).

καλεί[τ]αι ἐμ[πήκτη]ς, καὶ ἐμπήγνυσι
τὰ πινάκια [τὰ ἐκ το]ῦ κιβωτίου εἰς τὴν
κανονίδα, [ἐφ' ἦς τὸ α]ὐτὸ γράμμα ἔπεστιν
ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ [κιβωτίου. κληροῦται δ'] οὖτος, ἵνα μὴ ἀεὶ
15 ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμπ[ηγνύων] κακουργῆ. εἰσὶ δὲ
κανονίδες [δέκα ἐ]ν ἐκάστφ τῶν κληρωτηρίων. [ἐπειδὰν δ'] ἐμβάλῃ τοὺς κύβους ὁ ἄρχων, τὴν
φυλὴν κα[λεῖ εἰς τὸ κ]ληρωτήριον. εἰσὶ
δὲ κύβοι [ξύλινοι, μέ]λανες καὶ λευκοί:
20 ὅσους δ' ἀν δέ[ῃ λαχεῖν] δικαστάς, τοσοῦτοι ἐμβάλλον[ται λευ]κοί, < οἶον> κατὰ πέντε
πινάκια εἶς, οἱ δ[ὲ μέλ]ανες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐ[ξαιρῆ] τοὺς κύβους, καλεῖ

11 εΝ..... C et εΝΠΗΓΝΥCI: ἐνπήκτης Κ-W, Β; ἐμπ. Η-L, Κ³. 18 ἐφ' ῆς scripsi cum H-L, Hauss. (Κ³, Β); ἐφ' ἢ Κ-W. 14 κιβωτίου scripsi cum Hauss., Κ-W, H-L, Κ². κληροῦται δ' propter sententiam addiderunt Κ-W, vocis ante lacunam superscriptae vestigia agnovit Κ. 15 ἐμπ[ηγνύτης ῶν] Κ¹, ἐμπ[ήκτης ῶν] Bywater, (Hauss., H-L, κ²); ἐνπ[ηγνύων] Κ-W, Β. 17 ὅταν δὲ Η-L. 17, 21, 29 εΝΒ (Κ-W, Β). 19 χα[λκοῦ Κ³ litterarum vestigia valde obscura secutus, [ξύλινοι Κ-W (Β), color talorum albus et ater cum ligno magis quam metallo congruit; [πολλοί Η-L, [λίθοι Hauss. 20 λαχεῦν Η-L (Β), ἐκάστοτε Κ (Hauss.), εἶναι Κ-W. 21 < εδον κατὰ πέντε Β. 23 ἐξαιρῆ Β; ἐξέλη Hauss., Κ-W, Κ³; an ἐξέλκη? Wyse, coll. Arist. Εccl. 688 ὅτφ δὲ τὸ γράμμα μὴ ξελκυσθῆ καθ' δ δειπνήσει: ἐμβάλη Η-L.

ΤΕSTIMONIA. Pag. 31, 11 Hesych. ἐμπήκτης: ὁ τὰ δικαστικὰ γραμματίδια (γράμματα διὰ cod., corr. Musurus) παρὰ τοῦ θεσμοθέτου (θεσμοφόρου cod., corr. K-w) λαμβάνων ὑπηρέτης καὶ πήσσων εἰς τὴν κανονίδα (κανευνίδα cod., corr. Iunius). 'errat grammaticus: nam decem sunt e tribulibus ἐμπήκται' Κ-W. Bekk. Απ. 258 ἐμπήκτης ὁ θεσμοθέτης.

22 'hinc nati errores in scholio Iunt. ad Ar. Plut. 277 p. 339 b 47 (Dübner)' K-W:—(44) έθος οὖν ἀπὸ (45) πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν δικαστὰς καθίζειν' εἶτα ἀπὸ (46) μιᾶς ἐκάστης ἐλάμβανον ἄνδρας πέντε τοὺς ἐπισημοτέρους' (47) καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἔνα τὸν κλήρω λαχόντα ἐποίουν δικάζειν.

11. ἐμπήκτης] This designation is here applied, not to the θεσμοθέτης (as supposed by Hesych. and Bekk. An.), nor to the ὑπηρέτης. There is a separate ἐμπήκτης taken by lot from each heliastic division.

13. κανονίδα] probably a wooden frame fitted with a number of 'straight rules' or parallel ledges (κανόνει), stretching horizontally across it. We may suppose that the upper surface of each of these ledges was grooved and that each πινάκιον, as it was drawn, was inserted with its lower edge in the groove. In each κληρωτήριον, or balloting chamber, there were ten of these frames, one for each of the heliastic divisions.

14. κληρούται] not mid. but pass., 'is

chosen by lot.' The object of this, as we are told, is to prevent the jobbery that might arise, if the $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\pi\dot{\eta}\kappa\tau\eta s$ were always the same and were therefore known beforehand.

19. Kéfos] wooden dice (or lots) of two colours, black and white, but differing from ordinary dice by not being marked with any pips. One out of every five lots was white, the rest black. The number of white lots is equal to the number of dicasts required. The archon draws the lots in succession; if the first lot is white, the bearer of the name on the first wirdshow is considered to have drawn the lot to serve as dicast, and so on; the names of these dicasts are then called out.

25

30

35

τοὺς είληχότας ὁ [ἄρχων]. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐμπήκτης είς [ώ]ν [αὐτώ]ν. ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς καὶ $\epsilon i\lambda \eta]\chi [\dot{\omega}\varsigma] \tilde{\epsilon}\lambda [\kappa]\epsilon\iota [\beta \acute{a}\lambda a\nu o]\nu \dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \dot{\eta}\varsigma \dot{\nu}\delta\rho \acute{a}\varsigma,$ καὶ $*[\pi]$ ρο $[\delta \epsilon i]$ ξας αὐτη[v] *ανέχ]ων τὸ γράμμα, $\delta[\epsilon i]$ κυυσιν πρ[οσελθών] τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ϵ[φ]εστηκότι. ὁ δὲ [ἄρχων ἐπειδά]ν ἴδη, ἐμβάλλει τὸ πινάκιον α[ύτοῦ είς τὸ κ]ιβώτιον, ὅπου αν ή επιγεγραμ[μέν]ον τὸ αὐτὸ στοιχεῖον ὅπερ ἐν τῆ βαλ[άνφ, ἵ]ν' εἰς οἶον ἀν λάχη είσίη καὶ μὴ εἰς ο[ίον] ἀν βούληται, μηδ' έ[νη συνάγειν [είς] δικαστήριον οθς αν βούληταί τις. π[αράκει]ται δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι κιβώτια, ὅσ' ἀν ἀεὶ [μ]έλλη τὰ δικαστήρι[α πληρωθήσεσθαι, [έχο]ντα στοιχείον εκαστον, ὅπερ α[ν ή] τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκάσ-12.] TOU] EIX -----

24 άρχων K-W, K², B; ὑπηρέτης K¹, H-L, Hauss., adversante spatio. 25 els [ω]ν [αὐτῶ]ν B; els αὐτῶν vel els αὐτῶν ἀκλήρωτος desideraverat Paton; els τὰν [τόπο]ν Κ. 26 [είλη]χ[ως] B; non χ sed λε legebat K; παρεστῶς fortasse scribendum; omnia incerta putant K-W. Ελκει dubitanter agnoscit κ. 27 καὶ .ρο.ξας Κ³, καὶπρο . Σας Κ-W; fortasse προδείξας scribendum.ων edd.; ἀνέχων supplevi. 28 πρωτίων μέν] Κ, H-L; πρωτ (προτείνας?) Κ-W; πρ[οσελθῶν] Β. 29 τοῦτο ἐπειδάν Hauss., H-L. ενβ (κ-W, Β). 30 ὅποθεν Η-L. 31 restituerunt Hauss., κ-W, κ³, Β. αγτογετοιχείον: αὐτὸ στοιχείον Richards et Herwerden (edd.). 32 ½ν Hauss. (Κ-W, κ³). 33 είοειμ. [οίο]ν ἀν Κ-W (κ³, Β). Βαληταί (suprascr. ογληταί). post μηδὲ ἀἰςιὰι διατίας είν μηδὲ (ἐν]ŷ παὶυί; μηδὲ ἀξ|ŷ Hauss. μηδὲ|ŷ Β. 34 εγναταξείν (supra scr. ΓαΓ); συναγαγεύν Κ¹, Β; συνάγειν Κ-W, κ³. είς η-L, Β; είς τὸ Hauss., κ-W, κ³. 36 ἀεὶ Herwerden, Hauss., (edd.); ὅσαπερ exspectabant κ-W. 37 νταςετοιχείονε.

Pag. 32. Etiam haec pagina in partes duas sinistram et dextram discerpta; in medio litterae complures exciderunt. 1 $\varepsilon_{i\chi}$... $\pi\lambda$. γ (supra scr. ε) κ -w. 2 $\omega \varepsilon$... $\kappa \omega$

26. βάλανον κτλ.] The dicasts having now been determined, it has still to be settled in which court each is to sit; each of them, when called, draws out of the urn a ballot marked with a letter denoting one of the courts and shews it to the presiding official, who now puts the ticket of the dicast concerned into the box marked with the same letter as the ballot which the dicast has drawn. The number of these boxes is as many as the number of courts that are to sit

on the day in question. This ensures the dicast's taking his seat in the court he has actually drawn, and makes it impossible for him to choose his own court or to arrange to sit in the same court with certain others who are drawn as dicasts.

36. δσ' ἄν—πληρωθήσωσθαι] See note on c. 63, 11. These passages shew that (as in Ar.) the future, as well as the present, is found after μέλλειν in the 'Aθ.

. ως ὁ δὲ ὑπηρ[έτης δίδωσιν αὐτῷ βα]κτηρίαν ό]μόχρων τῷ [δ]ικα[στηρίω ἐφ' οὖ τὸ αὐτὸ] γράμμα 5 ὅ]περ ἐν τῆ βαλάνφ, ἵ[να ἀναγ]καῖον ἢ αὐτῷ ε]ίσελθείν είς [τὸ] έαυ[τοῦ δικαστ]ήριον έὰν γὰρ ε]ίς ἔτερον εί[σίη, έξελέγχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ] χρώμα- τ]ο[ς τ]ης βακτηρίας. [τοῖς γὰρ δικαστηρ]ίοις χρώμ]α[τ]α έπιγέγραπτ[αι *πᾶσιν] έπὶ τῷ σφη-10 κ]ίσκω της εἰσ[όδ]ου. [ὁ δὲ λαβών την] βακτηρίαν] βαδίζει εἰς [τὸ] δικα[στήριον τὸ] ὁμόχρων μέν τῆ βακτ[ηρί]α, ἔ[χον δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ] γράμμα $[\delta \pi \epsilon \rho]$ $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \beta a \lambda \dot{a} \nu \phi$. $\dot{\epsilon} \pi [\epsilon \iota \delta \dot{a} \nu \delta' \epsilon \dot{\iota} \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \theta \eta]$, $\pi a \rho a \lambda a \mu$ βάνει σύμβολον δη[μοσία] παρά τοῦ είλη-

8 OC K, K-W (?), H-L. 8-7 restituerunt K-w, coll. Bekk. An. 220. 8 OC K, K-W (f), H-L. 8—7 restituerunt K-W, coll. Bekk. An. 220. 4 [τψ έχοντί] τὸ αὐτὸ γρ[ά]μμα Κ-W; [ἐφ' οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ γρ[άμμα Β suadente spatio. 5 ½: ην Κ. 6 αὐτοῦ Κ-W, ἐαντοῦ Β. 8 "rectissime Hemsterhusius pro χρῶμα rescribi vult γράμμα, id quod vel adiunctum verbum postulat. Quis enim, inquit, Graece sciens dicat ἐπιγράφεν χρῶμα?" Schömann, Opusc. Acad. i 208. 9 M]α[Τ]α: (χρώματα Κ); χρῶμα Κ-W (Β) e schol. Ατ. ἐκάστψ propter spatium K-W (B): ἐφ' ἐκάστφ K e schol. Ar.; propter hiatum scripsi πᾶσυ. 14 CYNBOXON

Pag. 32, 3-15 Bekk. An. 220 βακτηρία: ὁμόχρωμοι τοις δικαστήριοις εδίδοντο βακτηplat, Γνα δ λαβών οἰουδή χρώματος βακτηρίαν els τδ όμόχρωμον elσελθη δικαστήριον και μη els έτερον πλαναται διά το πολλά είναι τὰ δικαστήρια.

Suidas ('e lexico Photiano') βακτηρία και σύμβολον. οι λαχόντες δικάζειν ελάμβανο παρά των δημοσίων ύπηρετών σύμβολον καί βακτηρίαν και οθτως έδικαζον. την χρόαν δέ παρά των σημοτών στηρετών συρμονόν αιε ρακτήριον το σύμβολον μετά την κρίστυ άποδιδόστες δκομίζοντο τριώβολον δπερ και δικαστικόν γέγονεν. Cf. Bekk. An. 185, 4: βάβδω κατείχον οι δικάζοντες, και σύμβολον έλάμβανον άντιδιδόντες διά το κομίσασθαι το τρίωβολον. Lex. Dem. Patm. p. 144. Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1110 έδίδοντο δὲ καὶ βακτηρίαι τοῦς δικασταῖς ὁμόχροοι τοῦς δικαστηρίοις, ὅτου ἔκαστος εἰσελθόντας δικάζειν ἔδει, Γνα τὸν

διαμαρτάνοντα ἀπελέγξη τὸ χρώμα. Pollux viii 16.
Pag. 82, 8—15 *Schol. Arist. Plut. 278 (om. cod. Ravennas et cod. Venetus) περί τοῦ παραδιδομένου τοῖς είσιοῦσιν είς τὸ δικαστήριον συμβόλου 'Αρ. έν τῆ 'Αθ. πολ. οδτω

col. 32, 3. ὁ δὶ ὑπηρέτης] The attendant gives the dicast a small staff of the same colour as that assigned to the court in which he is to sit. The colour on the staff is thus substituted for the letter on the ballot, as it is obviously easier for the doorkeeper to see that each dicast, as he files in, has a staff of the right colour than one marked with the right letter.

Baktnplav] Dem. de Cor. § 210 quoted

on c. 63 § 2.

4. outxperv] Each of the courts is marked outside with the colour corresponding to the colour corre sponding to that on the several staves. We read in Paus. i 28 of two courts that derived their name from their colour: τον (το Schom.) μέν οὖν καλούμενον Παραβύστιον και Τρίγωνον, τὸ μέν ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως όν,—τό δὲ ἀπό τοῦ σχήματος έχα τὸ δνομα Βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ Φοινι-κιοῦν ἀπό χρωμάτων. Cf. Schömann, Opusc. Acad. i 226.

9. σφηκίσκω] 'the lintel,' supercilium januae, Steph. Thesaurus, vii 1606 Paris.

Januae, Stepn. Inesaurus, vii 1006 Paris. Cf. Cla iv 3, 225 c, p. 168, σφηκίσκοι ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς καθηρημένοι (at Eleusis).

14. σύμβολον] Dem. de Cor. quoted on c. 63 § 2 βακτηρίαι, and Arist. Plut. 279 quoted ἐδ. § 4 πινάκιον. Cf. Etym. Mag. s. v. δ ἐλάμβανον οἱ δικασταὶ eἰς τὸ δικαστήριον eἰσιόντες εἶτα τοῦτο δόντες, τὸ δικαστικὸν ἐκομίζοντο.

It has been proposed to identify with

It has been proposed to identify with these σύμβολα certain leaden counters stamped on the one side with a design resembling that used for the reverse of a

15

20

χό]τος ταύτην τὴν ἀ[ρχήν, *κα]τὰ [τ]ὴν τά[ξιν ἀποδοὺ]ς* τὴν βακτηρίαν της [*τὸν α]ὐ[τὸν] τρόπον τεςτοις ... ω — λα]γ[χ]ἀνουσ[ι] λι οικε κπεργκρ — τὰ] πινάκια. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται οἱ δημοσία [*ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς φυλῆς ἑκάστης π[αραδι]δόασιν τὰ κ[ι-βώτια, ἐν ἐπὶ τὸ δικα[στήρ]ιον ἔκαστον, ἐ[ν οἰς] ἐστὶν τὰ α .. [τῆς] φυλῆς τὰ ὄντ[α ἐν ἑκάστ ϕ τ[ῶν δι]κα[στηρί]ων. παραδιδόα[σι δὲ τοῖς εἰληχ[όσιν ἀποδι]δόναι τοῖς δι[κασ-

τον supplevi. 17 versus in initio τον] $α\dot{v}[τον]$ τρόπον... iπε K-W. 18 τολί

 K^3 . Post lacunam οικ.. περ. κ. κ; οικπεπερ κ.w. 19 πινάκια agn. κ.w (K^3). οι δὲ ὑπηρέται Β (K^3). Οιλημοσίαις (deleto a et suprascr. ω?) αι ... Β; δημοσίαις κ.w. Versus in fine ὑπὲρ scripsi, quod manus tertia per compendium ὑ indicat, cf. p. 21, 24, p. 23, 22. 20 π[αραδι]δόσαιν Β; A[moδι]δόσαιν Κ.w, K^3 ; scriptura incerta. 20—21 τὰ κιβώτια Β (K^3): τα[ε̄s]... K^1 , κ.w. 21 ἐν ἐπὶ τὸ Κ.w (K^3 , Β). 21—22 ὁ |πόρ[α] ἐστὶν κ.w. 22 Απ τὰ [πιν] d[κια]? τὰ δντ[α κ.w (K^3 , Β). 23 restituerunt κ.w (K^3 , Β). 24 π]αρ[αδι]δόναι κ.w (K^3); ἀποδιδόναι Β.

γράφει "τοις γάρ—ἀρχήν" (8—15). Frag. 490°, 460°. Cf. Schol. Iunt. ad v. 277, p. 340 α 40 τοις λαχοῦσι δικάσαι εἰσελθοῦσιν ἐκάστω σύμβολον δίδοται δημόσιον παρὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτω εἰληχυίας ἀρχῆς, ϊν' οἱ ἐξιόντες καὶ τοῦτο προσφέροντες λαμβάνοιεν τὸν δικαστικὸν μισθόν, ὁ 4 ἐδίδου δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ αὐτοῖς ῥάβδον, ἤτις ἢν σύμβολον τοῦ δικάζειν, Ινα ἔκαστος καθ' ἐσπέραν ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ πρυτάνει τὴν ῥάβδον τριώβολον λαμβάνη μισθὸν τῆς δικάσεως.

τριώβολω, and on the other with one of the first ten letters of the alphabet (Benndorf, Zeitsch. f. d. Oesterr. Gymn., 1875 p. 601). See figs. 4 and 5, frontispiece. The fact that letters after κ are not

The fact that letters after K are not found on these counters shews that the letters do not indicate the courts, but the heliastic divisions. If the courts had ten entrances each, these would correspond to the heliastic divisions, and all who left the court by the proper exit would receive counters marked with the letters corresponding to their own division. They would take these to the place where they had had their court allotted to them, and there receive payment in the chamber in which the allotment took place (col. 37 ult.).—In c. 63, 3, if the text is correct, the courts are actually described as having ten entrances, each of them, however, corresponding to one of the tribes, and not to one of the heliastic divisions.

15. την ἀρχην] The official's title is not given. According to an inser. of B.C. 341/0 (Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. vii 103), the διάδοσις τῶν συμβόλων in the ἐκκλησία

was entrusted to the συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου (Rose, Frag. ed. p. 299 n). Schömann, Opusc. Acad. i 206, suggests either the κωλακρέται or the officials presiding over the trial, inclining to the latter; but it seems more probable that the σύμβολα were distributed by a person of less importance than the presiding officials, perhaps by a 'public slave' (Att. Proc. p. 162 Lips.). In the time of Aristophanes it was the κωλακρέται who paid the dicasts their fee of three obols: Schol. Av. 1541; Vesp. 695; Bekk. An. 275, 22; lex. rhet. Cant. 672, 15. But there is no proof of the existence of the κωλακρέται after 403 B.C.

after 403 B.C.

16. βακτηρίαν] This line must have stated something about the dicast's delivering up his βακτηρία in exchange for the σύμβολον.

the σύμβολον.

19—24. The tickets belonging to the dicasts in each court have been sorted out into ten boxes; these boxes are taken by the attendants of each 'tribe,' and handed over to the proper officials at the ten entrances of the court, to be re-

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25 ταῖς ἐκάστ\varphi — \alpha — — [\tau]\hat{\varphi} ἀρι\thetaμ\hat{\varphi} \tau[\hat{\omega}]ν
  παρα τφ α . . . τούτου . . . . . γν . . . ς απο[δί-
  δωσι τον [μισ]θόν. γ[ίγνεται] δὲ πάντα [ταῦτα
  κατά δικαστήρια τρ .... εντω — —
  δικαστήριον [\hat{\eta}] δ[\iota]κασ[\tau \hat{\eta}]ρια καὶ — — ωΝ
30 \tilde{\epsilon}[\pi]\epsilon i \tau \dot{\epsilon}\pi i \tau \dot{a} - - - - - \kappa
  καὶ ἔτεροι κύ[βο]ι ἐν οἶ[ς....] τῶν ἀρ[χ]ῶν τι
  τωε - - - - - - - το.. τῶν [θεσμο-
  θετῶν - - - - - - - ογς τοὺς κύ[βους]
  βάλλουσιν δ πεντ . . . . πο — — [δικασ-
35 τήριον. \delta δè τῶν ἀρχ[\delta \nu \tau]ων — —
  — — кнру — . — —
    (a) d\rho \chi \omega \nu \tau - - - - - \rho ... (b)
         δ]ευτερο . καὶ . — — — να . .
         δ]\epsilon μ la ἡμ έρ[a — — — αλ...
         λ]iana . εjeka
                      ----- o\delta\epsilon.
         \mu]\hat{\eta} \hat{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota ... N — — — \sigma\iota\nu.
5
         δταν η αρχη α.α — — κλη[ρω-
         τηρί\varphi έκάστ\varphi — — — \kappaι\beta[\omega-
         τίου πινάκιον -- -- εις [έ-
         κάστης της φυ[λης - - - - μα...
         ἔτερον κενόν — — — — του . .
10
         τους πρώτους δ — — — ετο [υ-
         δωρ τέτταρας — — — ους . .
```

25 εκαστωι νει εκαστων. 26 παρὰ τῷ α...τούτου....υν... $κ^3$; ταρὰ τῶν....τρ. το...ουν..ν (suprascr. c) K-W; versum intactum reliquit B. 27 τὸν μασθόν K-W ($κ^3$, B). post πάντα τ K-W, π $κ^1$. 28 versus in fine N dispexit K; 29 versus in fine K (K). 30 κευν εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὰ K; εἰσιττεπίτα K-W; εἶ[π]ειτ' ἐπὶ τὰ B. ...ται (και K-W)....ε...καὶ.....Κ. 31 τῶν ἀρχῶν τι. $κ^3$ τὰν ἀρχῶν τ... $κ^3$ το ε...ξ. ετα....το..τῶν [θεσμο|θετῶν K; 36 ...δαν... τηα....ν ἀρχῶν K; .ιλα...θha....ων αρχωνε K-W.

Pag. 33. Fragmenta a et b una collocarunt K-W; in nonnullis certe versibus (6, 7, 18) litterae extremae cum subsequentibus congruunt.

5 init. ω s K^3 .

6 TACITAPANAM K-W; τ au $\dot{\eta}$ $d\rho\chi\dot{\eta}$ K.

12 $\delta\omega\rho$ τ $\dot{\tau}$ τ $\dot{\tau}$ $\dot{\tau}$

turned by them to the dicasts to whom they belong.

they belong.

26, 27. dποδίδωσι τὸν μισθόν] At this point we have mention of the official paying the τριώβολον.

paying the τριώβολον.

27, 28. γίγνεται—δικαστήρια] Dem.

23 § 63, ταθτα πάντα ἐπὶ πέντε δικαστηρίοις
γίγνεται προστεταγμένα τοῦς νόμοις (Blass).

31. **repot κύβοι] The purpose of this fresh set of 'dice' or 'lots,' as distinguished from those of col. 31, 10, is not clear. Possibly they were used to distribute the superintendence of the courts among the thesmothetae (or some other officials).

15 ...ητα..αρεσ Κ, ...Ητα. Παρ. Ca (vel τα) Κ-W.

Δια. λ. Διοπ Κ-W (litteram tertiam et quartam inductam putat Β, qui δια τον κδ; τοῦ τε συνηγόρου ? Κ-W.

23 ταγταγποτογ Κ-W; ταῦτα ὑπὸ κδ.

Pag. 34. Fragmentum a paginae 33 fragmento b adhaeret. Frustulum b ex incerta coniectura adiunxit B. 15—28 (B)=p. 78, col. 34 b 18—25, et p. 79 b 1—9 (K-w): illud non descripsit K; hoc dedit in p. 199, col. 34, frag. 2 (K³).

col. 38 a 17—19. Cf. col. 37 ult.

27. els αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα] Dem. 57 Ευbul. 7, els αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα πώτα λέγευ,
and 60, ἐρῶ δ' els αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα. As
the archon βασιλεὸs is apparently mentioned in the next line, the present passage refers to the procedure before the
Areopagus, in which irrelevant matter was
excluded: Κλελ. i 1, 5, κωλόσυσω ξέω τοῦ
πράγματος λέγευ, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν 'Αρείω

πάγω, Lycurg. Leocr. 12, 13, μη ἐπιτρέπεω τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγουσω (with Rehdantz, p. 126 and Meier and Schöm. p. 933 Lips.). On the other hand, the mention of ὅδωρ in ll. 12, 14 suggests that the text may refer to the procedure in a γραφή παρανόμων, Aeschin. 3, 197, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ΰδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφήν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα λέγουσω.

		(b)
	(a)	$\tau\hat{\varphi}$ $\delta\iota\kappa \mid a\sigma\tau\eta ho[\iota\varphi \longrightarrow \longrightarrow$
		διαστά γτες — — — —
		ε]ίσι MHT — — —
		$\dot{a}\pi\lambda[\hat{arphi}]\mid\dot{\epsilon} u o \chi\ldots$
20		καλ οῦσι το — — (c) [ἀναγ-
		κάζως ι τούς λ-
		σταν [τ δ]ν δικ[αστήν — N.N
		— — · wók — — — · · ой
		lblov
25		
•		en
		δè τὰ δημό-
		σια] — — — — . κλικ —
		áχους [δ]è
30		CΟΔΕΙ . ΤΕΔ
•		— — — — нсү т . о́тер
		ἐπτάχους δὲ
		ωη καὶ δίχους
		καὶ δίχο[υ]ς εξάχο[υ
35		ερον λόγ[ο]ς οχώς
•		ως ἐπιλαμβάνει
(a) τ	ον α[ὐλίσκον, ἐπειδὰν δέη μεταξὺ τῶν λ]όγων (δ)
`		μαρ[τυρίας ἡ νόμους ύπὸ τοῦ γραμμ]ατέως
	a 18	ωCIK K-W. 20 ΔΕΚΑΛ K-W. 21 AZHM K-W. 6 18 MHTE K-W.
_		mentum c cohaeret cum p. 35 frag. d. 34, c 20—36 (B)=35, 1—16 (K-W)=34
	ag. 4 (K ³). c 28 γCωN K-W, το jbs δas K ³ , versus in fine suprascripto ΔΔC (N) vel AC (R) 24 /δίους Κ. /διώίτ Jrs. K-W. 25 (ANTANA K-W.

(K, K-W) vel ΔC (B). 24 lölovs K, lötú[7]ης K-W. 25 ωΝΤωΝ K-W, ωντ[ω]ν Κ. 26 λ...οι Κ². 29 'suprascriptum ε, legendum igitur χόες' κ-W. 30 ὁ δ' εἶς τοῦ Κ-W; ΤΟΥ pr., ΤΕΔ superscr., inducta illa, Β. 31 εις υ...περ Κ²; γις ὑπέρ ? Β. 34 εξάχους Κ, Κ-W. 35 ὕστ]ερον λόγος οῦ ὡς ? Κ-W. 36 an WCIETTI ? B.

Pag. 35, 1—37 (B)=36 a+b, p. 80, + fragmentum incertum p. 79 a (K-W)=34 (3) nil+34 (1) (K). a 1 \in NA K-W; \neq a K. 1—4 supplevit B. b 1 N]OMON (ap. B). a 2 μ ap[τ v ρ lat] vel μ d ρ [τ v ρ es] K-W. + nil + 34 (1) (K). K³ (ap. B).

col. 34, 32—34. The terms ἐπτάχους, δίχους, ἐξάχους refer to different intervals of time as measured by the κλεψύδρα. The word δίχους is quoted from Posidonius by Athenaeus, Παναθηναϊκά μέγιστα τὰ μὲν δίχοα τὰ δὲ μείζονα (p. 495 A), and ἐξάχους is found in Plutarch (Sol. 23).

36. ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸν αὐλίσκου] The αὐλίσκος is the short neck of the κλεψύ-

δρα. The attendant could stop the flow of the water by placing his hand on the top of this. At. Probl. 16, 8, p. 914 b 12, μη εἰσιέσαι τὸ δδωρ ἐπιληφθέστοι τῶ αὐλοῦ, and b 14 and 27, ἐπιλαβῶν τὸν αὐλοῦ, p. 866 b 13, (τὸ πνεῦμα) κωλόει ἐξιέναι, ώσπερ τὸ δδωρ τὸ ἐκ τῶν κλεψυδρῶν, δταν πλήρεις οδσας ἐπιλάβη τις.

[Cd

	ἀναγι<γ>ν[ώσκεσθαι . ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἢ πρὸς] διαμε- μετρη[μένην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἀγών, τότ]ε δὲ οὐ[κ] ἐ-	
	πιλαμβ[άνεται — — — — ν ὕδωρ	5
	τῷ τε κα[τηγορ- — — — — — — —	
	διαμετ[ρ — — — — — [Ποσι-	
	δεώνος — — — — — — [μα-	
	κρῶν τῷ[ν — — — — — — — — —	
	. такто — — — — — — — аүра	10
(c)	$\delta i[\kappa] a \iota \epsilon] i \sigma[i] \nu \delta i' [\epsilon -$	
	καστοι λ κατήγ]ορος	

6 τ $\hat{\psi}$ τε κατηγόρ $\hat{\psi}$? K-W. 8 \in suprascr. Ποσιδεώνος K-W. In CIA Ποσιδεών (syllaba secunda brevi) quattuordecim in locis scriptum (Meisterhans, p. 42 2). 9 χρωΝΤ Κ, K-W.

Pag. 35 a 3 * Harp. διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα: μέτρον τί έστιν δδατος πρός μεμετρημένον ἡμέρας διάστημα ρέον. έμετρεῖτο δὲ τῷ Ποσειδεῶνι (melius Ποσιδεῶνι) μηνί πρός δὴ τοῦτο ἡγωνίζοντο οὶ μέγιστοι καὶ περί τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνες. διενέμετο δὲ τρία μέρη τὸ δδωρ, τὸ μὲν τῷ διώκοντι, τὸ δὲ τῷ φεύγοντι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τοῖς δικάζουσι. ταῦτα δὲ σαφέστατα αὐτοί οἱ ρήτορες δεδηλώκασιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αίσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κηφισοφῶντος (§ 126). ᾿Αρ. δ᾽ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αθ. πολ. διδάσκει περί τούτων...(Frag. 423², 463²).

Schol. ad Aeschin. 2 § 126 "πρὸς ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένη τῷ ἡμέρα

Schol. ad Aeschin. 2 § 120 "προς ενδεκα γάρ άμφορέας έν διαμεμετρημένη τη ήμέρα κρίνομαι": φασίν ότι τὰς ήμέρας τοῦ Ποσειδεώνος μηνός ἐπιλεξάμενοι (ἐκλεξ. Κ.-W) οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ὡς συμμέτρους καὶ δυναμένας κατέχειν ἔνδεκα ἀμφορέας, πρὸς αὐτὰς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις (τὰς άλλας ἡμέρας cod., cott. Sauppe) ἐσκεὐαζον τὴν κλεψόδραν, μεγάλου πράγματος δηλονότι ἀγωνιζομένου (γυμναζομένου cod., cott. Κ.-W). ἀπενέμοτον δὲ οἱ ἔνδεκα ἀμφορεῖς κατὰ τὸ τρίτον τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς. Aliud schol. τοῖς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένοις διηρεῖτο ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἐδίδοτο αὐτοῖς ἤμων μὲν τῷ κατηγόρφ, ἤμων δὲ τῷ ἀπολογουμένω, καὶ διεμετρεῖτο τὸ δῶρ δσον ἐπαρκεῖ εἰς τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἡμίσους μέρους τῆς ἡμέρας. τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ μαῖς ώρας. Hesych. διαμεμετρημένην ἡμέραν: ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων δικῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμέριζον εἰς διαστήματα.

col. 35, 3, 4. διαμεμετρημένην] Dem. F. L. p. 378, πρὸς διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν, Aeschin. 2, 126, πρὸς ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένη τῷ ἡμέρα κρίνομαι.

6. τῷ τε κατηγορ-] Aeschin. 3, 197 (in a γραφή παρανόμων the day was divided into three parts), έγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δδωρ τῷ κατηγόρφ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ δημοκρατία, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφήν φείγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρῶγμα λέγουσω (col. 33 a 27)... τὸ τρίτον δδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμήσει.
7, 8. Ποσιδεώνος] The use of the κλεψύδρα in courts of justice is mentioned in

7, 8. Ποσιδεώνος] The use of the κλεψυδρα in courts of justice is mentioned in Arist. Ach. 692, Vesp. 93, 857, and in the Orators, Dem. de Cor. 139, êν τῷ ἐμῷ υδατι, c. Leoch. 45, ἐdν ἐγχωρῷ τὸ υδωρ. Steph. i § 8, c. Conon. 36 ἐπίλαβε τὸ υδωρ, and (at the end of a speech) pro Phorm. ἐξέρα τὸ υδωρ. The structure of the κλεψύδρα is described in Ar. Probl. 16, 8.

It was observed that the length of a

short day in one of the winter months was equivalent to the time in which eleven αμφορείε successively could be emptied of their water. The standard adopted was a day in the month of Posideon (Dec. —Jan.). To ensure perfect accuracy it would be necessary to make allowance for the fact that the rate at which the water flowed would depend on its temperature (cf. Athen. p. 42; Plut. Quaest. Nat. c. 7). I learn from Mr J. Larmor that, when the level of the water in a waterclock is maintained constant, the rate at which it percolates through narrow tubes or pores of any form depends only on the degree of viscosity of water. According to the experiments of Poiseuille (Mémoires de l'Institut, x), the rate of percolation is increased by about one-thirtieth for each degree Centigrade of rise in the temperature. Thus a rise of 1°C. should make a water-clock go faster by about two minutes every hour.

(c)	σπεύδοι ρος έξω- (b)
• • •	θ eîv τοὺς — — — — τ]ὸ ὕδωρ
15	$\lambda a\mu \beta a\nu \epsilon \pi \epsilon i \epsilon \tau \epsilon$
	ρος τοῖς δ — — — — — \vec{a}]γ $\hat{\omega}$ [σ]ιν
	έν δὲ τοῖς — — — — — — —
	τ] $\hat{\varphi}$ διαψη[φ ι — — — — — Δ Δ
	έ]πὶ τοῖς — — — — — τοις πρόσ-
20	ϵ]στι δεσμ[ὸς — — — — δ]ήμευσις
	χ]ρημάτων — — — \tilde{o}]τι χ ρ $\tilde{\eta}$ πa [$\theta \epsilon$] $\hat{\iota}$ ν
(d)	$\hat{\eta} \mid \hat{a}$ ποτε \hat{i} [σαι — — — \hat{b} ικ] a στηρίων
	έστι — — — — — ν τινι δταν
	δεδε — — — — εί]σαγαγεῖν
25	συν — — — — Ţạnhnṃ —
	таў — — — — — — —
	τριά — — [ψῆφοι δέ εἰσι χαλκαῖ], αὐλίσ-
	κον [ἔχουσαι ἐν τῷ μέσφ, αἱ μὲν ἡ]μίσειαι τε-
	τρυ[πημέναι, αἱ δὲ ἡμίσειαι πλήρεις· οἱ] δὲ λα-

c 14 y supra v. b 18 λ et a supra v. 20 ecci pr. 22 'H est in d, attoti in c' B. 23 'post $\partial \sigma \tau_i$ sequebatur numeri nota, bipartita ut vid.' B. 23 b nhnotan K-W. 25 b ϕ anhnai K-W, $\partial \sigma_i$ where K. d 27—35 ex Harp. restituit K. 28 micial.

28 "Harp. τετρυπημένη: Αίσχίνης κατὰ Τιμάρχου (1 § 79, τῶν ψήφων ἡ τετρυπημένη, ότψ δοκεῖ πεπορνεῦσθαι Τίμαρχον, ἡ δὲ πλήρης, ότψ μή). 'Αρ. ἐν 'Αθ. πολ. γράφει ταντί "ψῆφοι—λαμβάνωσιν." Codices meliores, ABCD, post πλήρεις in v. 29 inserunt μήτε ταύτη (ταῦτα Α) ὕνομεὐνας: quae depravata esse ex μήτε πάντη τετρυπημένας (vel potius ex μήτε τετρυπημένας) in v. 34 indicat Dind. In v. 34 post πλήρεις habent A et Β μήτε ταύτη (C ταύτας), in A etiam lacuna significata: in archetypo igitur erant μήτε ταύτηλαμβάνωσιν, unde in deterioribus codd. exorta μήτε πάντη τετρυπημένας (K-W). πάντη om. ETD et Photius; ταύτη apud Suidam in codd.

......Αμβανωσιν, unde in deterioribus codd. exorta μήτε πάντη τετρυπημένας (κ-w).
πάντη om. etd et Photius; ταύτη apud Suidam in codd.

Phot. τετρυπημένη των ψήφων οὐσων χαλκών και αὐλίσκον έχουσων αι μὲν ήσων
τετρυπημέναι, αι δὲ πλήρεις [ἀτρύπητοι] δσαι ήφίεσαν τοὺς κρυομένους. Βεκκ. Απ. 307
τετ. ψήφος: των ψήφων οὐσων χαλκών και αὐλίσκον έχουσων αι μὲν ήσαν δλαι τετρυπημέναι, δσαι κατεψηφίζοντο, αι δὲ πλήρεις [ἀτρύπητοι] δσαι ήφίεσαν τοὺς κρινομένους...
(Frag. 424², 464²). Pollux viii 123 ψήφους δ' είχον χαλκάς δύο, τετρυπημένην και ἀτρύπητον. Βαchmann Anec. ii 333, 15—25 et 373, 1—10.

27. ψήφοι — τετρυπημέναι — πλήρεις] In Aeschin. c. Timarch. 79, the herald standing by the side of the orator is described as proclaiming that of the two votes given to each dicast, that which was perforated, τῶν ψήφων ἡ τετρυπημένη, ὅτφ ὁοκεῖ κτλ., was the vote of condemnation; that which was not, the vote of acquittal, ἡ δὲ πλήρης, ὅτφ μή (with Schol.). Cf. Plut. Lyc. 12, τῆς τετρημένης (ψήφου). These ψήφοι are identified with certain

These $\psi \hat{\eta} \phi \omega$ are identified with certain small discs of bronze which have been found at Athens, pierced with a short

metal stem. In the two specimens given in figs. 6 and 7 this stem, the airlances of the text, is in one case perforated, in the other not: the former is clearly a $\psi \hat{\eta} \phi os \tau \tau \tau \tau \nu \pi \eta \mu \ell \tau \eta$, the latter a $\psi \cdot \pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \eta s$. On one side of the disc are the words $\psi \hat{\eta} \phi os \delta \eta \mu o \sigma l a$, on the other is punched a letter of the alphabet (Γ or K in the only two specimens at present known to us). These letters probably correspond to those of the heliastic divisions (A to K). Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 936 Lips., and Daremberg and Saglio, iii 196.

(d) γόντες $[\epsilon \pi i \ \tau a]$ ς ψήφους, $\epsilon \pi \epsilon i \delta a$ ν $\epsilon i \rho \eta \mu \epsilon]$ νοι (b) ώσιν [οί λόγοι, παραδιδόασιν έκάστω τ]ων δικαστίων δύο Ψήφους, τετρυπημένη]ν καὶ πλήρη, [φανεράς όραν τοις αντιδίκοις, ί]να μήτε πλή[ρεις μήτε τετρυπημένας] ά[μφο]τέρας λαμβ άνωσιν -[λ]άχω[σιν απολα M . ICOM . . ψΗΦΙΖ ΔКО . . .

35

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[6.] του $\bar{\gamma}$ ἀποδιδ $[\hat{\varphi}$ ἐὰν $\gamma]$ ὰρ $\bar{\gamma}$ λαμ $[\beta]$ άνη, $[\bar{\gamma}]$ ψηφίζοντα]ι πάντες· ο[ὐ γά]ρ ἔστι λα[μβάν]ει[ν] σ[ύ]μβολον οὐδεν]ί, έὰν μὴ ψηφίζηται. εἰσὶ [δ'] ἀμφορεῖς δύο κεί]μενοι εν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, δ μεν χ[α]λκοῦς, δ δè ξύ]λινος, διαιρετοὶ $[\delta]\pi\omega$ ς $[\mu]\dot{\eta}$ $[\tau\iota\nu\epsilon]$ ς ὑ $\pi o[\beta]\dot{a}$ λλωνται ψήφ]ους, είς οθς ψηφίζονται οι δικαστα[ί], ο μέν χαλκοῦ]ς κύριος, ὁ δὲ ξύλινος ἄκυρ[os]. ἔχ[ei δ ό] χαλκοῦς $\epsilon]$ πίθημα διερρ[ινη]μένον, ώστ' αὐ[τ]ὴν μόνη]ν χωρείν την ψηφον, ίν[α μ]η δύο [ό] αὐτὸς $\dot{\epsilon}$ μβάλ]η. $\dot{\epsilon}$ πειδὰν δὲ διαψηφί[ζεσθαι] μέλ[λ]ωσιν οί δικασ]τα[ί], ὁ κῆρυξ ἀγορ[εύ]ει πρῶτον, αν έ[π]ισκή-

10

35 δ â]» [λ]άχωσ[υ K-W. **36** δ Μ.. ΠΟλι... K-W.

Pag. 36, 1τοῦ $\overline{\gamma}$ ἀποδίδ[ω]σ[... γ]ὰρ $\overline{\gamma}$ λαμ[β]ἀνει, $\overline{\eta}$ να] ψηφ $\overline{\eta}$ ζωντα]ι πάντες κ-w.τοῦ $\overline{\gamma}$ ἀποδιδούς $[\gamma]$ ὰρ $\overline{\gamma}$ λαμβάνει ...ψηφι.....πάντες κ \overline{s} . 2 λα[μβά]ν[ειν versus in fine iBopon vel BOION K apud B. K-W, $\lambda \alpha [\mu \beta d\nu] \epsilon \iota [\nu K^3, \lambda \alpha [\beta] \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu B.$ σ[ύ]pβολον B. δ δ] π ως μ η [π ρο] ν σ[δ]dλλωνται K-W; δ] π ως μ η...iπ. K^3 . δ ψ ηφο] ϵ , ϵ !ς K-W; ... ϵ !ς K^3 ; ψ ηφ] ϵ υς, ϵ !ς B. 7—9 e schol. Arist. rest. K. 10 iνα μ η δύο δ αὐτὸς ϵ μ βάλλη van Leeuwen; $-\epsilon$ μ βάλη B; $-\beta$ άλλη K-W, K^3 . 11 of articulo spatium non superesse putat K. AN: [i] ν ' H-L. CKE: correxit K-W.

Pag. 36, 3—9 Schol. Arist. Eq. 1150...δστερον δὲ ἀμφορεῖς δύο ἴσταντο ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίας, δ μὲν χαλκοῦς δ δὲ ξύλινος, καὶ δ μὲν κύριος ἦν, δ δ' ἄκυρος. ἔχει δὲ ''ὁ μὲν χαλκοῦς,'' ὧς φησιν 'Αρ. διερρινημένον ἐπίθημα εἰς τὸ αὐτὴν μόνην τὴν ψῆφον καθίεσθαι. Pollux viii 123 καὶ κάδον (εἶχον) ῷ κημὸς ἐπέκειτο δι' οῦ καθίετο ἡ ψῆφος αδθις δὲ δύο ἀμφορεῖς δ μὲν χαλκοῦς δ δὲ ξύλινος, δ μὲν κύριος δ δὲ ἄκυρος. τῷ δὲ χαλκῷ ἐπῆν ἐπίθημα μιῷ ψήφος χώραν ἔχον (Frag. 426², 466²).

col. 36, 1. 🤻 λαμβάνη] γ seems to refer to the βακτηρία and the two ψήφω received by each dicast during the trial; not to the —942 Lips.). Lys. 13 § 37. Cf. the υδρίαι of Xen. Hell. i 7, 9, and CIA iv 1,

492—3.
11. ὁ κῆρυξ] Arist. Vesp. 752, κείθι γενοίμαν, τι ὁ κῆρυξ φησί, τίς ἀψήφιστος; ἀποτάσθω.

έπισκήπτωνται] Plat. Leg. 937 B, έπισκήπτεσθαι δε τών αντιδίκων εκάτερον όλη

by each dicast during the trial; not to the three obols paid him when it is over.

' $\bar{\gamma}$ et τρείς et τρείς esse potest' (Blass).

3. ἀμφορείε] also called κάδοι οι καδίσκος: Pollux viii 17, καδίσκος: ...τό ἀγγείον ῷ τὰς ψήφους ἐγκαθίεσαν. Harp. καδίσκος: 'Ισαιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ 'Αγνίου κλήρου (Or. 11 § 21 bis), ἀγγείον τι els ὁ ἐψηφοφόρουν οὶ δικασταί... Bekk. Anec. 27ς καδίσκοι: ὑδρίαι χαλκαῖ, els ἀς καθίεντο αὶ ψῆφοι τῶν δικαζομένων. Schol. Arist. νήφοι των δικαζομένων. Schol. Arist. Vesp. 321 &c (Meier and Schöm. p. 938

al ψήφοι έπικειμένου τῷ καδίσκῳ, iδ. 123 κάδον, ῷ κημὸς ἐπέκειτο, δι' οὖ καθίστο ἡ ψήφος. Cf. Meier and Schöm. p. 938, n.

πτων]ται οι άντίδικοι ταις μαρτυρίαις. [δε]ι γάρ πρότερον] ἐπισκήψασθαι [αὐ]τα[ῖ]ς πρὶν [π]άντα[ς] διαψηφίσασ] θ αι. ἔπειτα πάλιν [ἀνακη]ρύττε[ι] "ἡ τε-15 $\tau \rho \nu \pi \eta$]μένη $\tau o \hat{\nu} \pi \rho [\dot{o}] \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu [\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau] o \varsigma, \dot{\eta} [\dot{\delta} \dot{\epsilon}] \pi \lambda \dot{\eta}$ ρης το] \hat{v} ὕστερον λέγο[ν]τος." [ὁ δὲ δι]καστ[ἡς] λαβων]...ϵ[κ] τοῦ λυχνείου τὰς ψήφους, πιϵ[ζει] τὸ μέσον] της ψήφου, καὶ οὐ δεικνύων [τ]οῖς άγωνιζο]μένοις ούτε τὸ τετρυπημέ[ν]ον 20 ούτε τὸ] πλήρες, ἐμβάλλει τὴν μὲν κυ[ρία]ν εἰς τὸν χαλ]κοῦν ἀμφορ[έ]α, τὴν δὲ ἄκυρο[ν] εἰς τὸν ξύλ]ινον. πλα..... ω οἱ δὲ τεταγ]μένοι, $\lambda a \beta [\dot{o}] \nu \tau \epsilon s [\delta \dot{v} \dot{v}] \pi \eta \rho \dot{\epsilon} \tau [a s,$ τὸν ά]μφορέα τὸν κύριον [ἐπαφ]ιᾶσιν [ἐπ'] ἄβα-25 κα τρυ] π ήματα ἔχοντα [δ] σ [aι π ερ] εἰ σ ὶ[ν] aἱ [ψ] $\hat{\eta}$ φοι]... αγται... μχ. ρ..... τοῦ ἀ[ρ]ιθμη̂σaι...] καὶ τὰ [διάκ] ενα [αὐτ] $\hat{ω}$ ν [καὶ] τὰ πλήρη δηλ[οῖ τοῖς dv]τιδ[ί]κοις. οἱ δ[è êπὶ] τὰ[ς] Ψήφους [εὶ]ληχότες] δια[ριθμοῦσιν α] ὐτὰς [ἐπ]ὶ τοῦ ἄβακος,

12 ΤΑΟ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΟ COIT. Κ. W (K^3 , B).
13 ΑΤΑΙΟ Scriptum fuisse videtum aὐτοὐs] ἐπωκ. [αὐ]τα[ῖς πρὶν π]ἀντα[ς Κ.-W; —[αὐ]τα[ῖς πρὶν [π]ἀντα[ς] K^3 : -]τα[ῖς ἢ ἄ]παντας Β.
14 ὁ κῆρυξ κηρύττει Κ, Κ.-W, adversante spatio.
16 in fin 18 ATAIC scriptum fuisse videtur. 16 in fine [αὐ]τα[ῖς ἢ ἄ]παντας Β. 17 έ[κ] τοῦ Β ; πρόσθ]εν τοῦ Κ3. ταστ..στα K³; A. ATAC. CTA (ατος μετά?) K-W. ψήφους [έ]πὶ ἔ[κασ]τον Κ, ψήφους.... ἔκαστον Κ-W. cum N supra TO scriptum sit, τὸ 18 καιογδικ. γων Β (κ³); και ὁ δεικνύων κ¹ (κ-w). [µέσω] conicit B. .. CA K¹, ω's A K-W, [τ]οι̂s d- B (K³). 19 ΠΕΝΟΙΟΔΥΤΗΟ τό τε τ[ετρυ] πημέρο K-W. 20 καὶ τὸ] πλ. K-W. βάλλει K-W; εΝ suprascr. detexit B (K³). 22 supra πλα scriptum esse παλ testatur κ (ap. κ-w). HAA. T et versus in fine ω ol δè B (....a K.. 23 λαβεῦν τὰς ... ὑπηρέται Κ, Κ-W. 24ασι Κ ; ἐστήκ]ασι Κ-W ; [ἐπαφ]ιᾶσι Β. άβα[κα] Β; ἀνὰ Κ, Κ-W. 26 φοι τὰ] αὐτὰ...α...ρ....ναπευ ά[ρ]εθμοὶ Κ. 27 ε[τα [κα] τὰ πλήρη δηλ[οῖ τοῖς ἀν]τιδ[ί]κ[οις K^3 ; ἀν]τίδ[ί]κ[οι iam κ-w. 28—29 ous $[\epsilon i]\lambda\eta\chi\delta\tau\alpha$ s] δια K; φ ΟΥC. λ Η — λ Ι λ K-W. 29 OYA. AKAC K-W; .. του α. ακας K3, [έπ]ὶ τοῦ άβακος Β (quod nunc probat K).

τή μαρτυρία και μέρει, έαν τα ψευδή φής τινα μεμαρτυρηκέναι, πριν την δίκην διακε κρίσθαι (Meier and Schöm. p. 488 Lips.).

18. τοῦ πρότερον λέγοντος, the plaintiff: τοῦ ὑστερον, the defendant. Cf. l. 32—33. Similarly in the trials of the generals after Arginusae, Xen. Hell. i 7, 9, the votes of condemnation are placed in what is briefly called the προτέρα υδρία; those of acquittal, in the υστέρα; cf. Lys. 13 § 37.

17. \(\lambda\times\text{te(ou)}\) a 'lamp-stand,' probably

with two branches, each of them suporting a flat disk, or pan (πινάκιον Pollux, x 115). In the ordinary use of

the λυχνείον, the two pans would be the proper place for the λύχνοι; in its present use, or rather in the metaphorical application of the term to part of the machinery of the law-courts, the two pans are the place for the two sets of $\psi \hat{\eta} \phi o \iota$. The contrivance probably resembled a very

simple type of epergne.

18. οὐ δεικνύων] Cf. Dem. F. L. 239, κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι, Meier and Schöm.
p. 937 Lips.

24. ἄβακα] 'a reckoning-board,' Pollux x 105.—6, here used to count the votes. Cf. Arist. Vesp. 332, ἢ δῆτα λίθω με τοίησον ἐφ' οῦ τὰς χοιρίνας ἀριθμοῦσω.

 $\chi\omega\rho$ is] $\mu\dot{\epsilon}[\nu \tau\dot{a}]$ s $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota$ s, $\chi\omega[\rho\dot{\iota}]$ s $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$ $\tau\dot{a}$ s $\tau\epsilon$ -30 τρυπ]ημένας. καὶ ἀναγορεύ[ει] ὁ κῆρ[υξ] τὸν αριθ]μον των ψήφων, του μεν [δ]ιώκου]τος τὰς τετρυπημένας, τοῦ δὲ φ[εύγοντος τά]ς πλήρεις όποτέρω δ' άν πλείω[ν γ]ένη-35 7.] λιν τιμώσι, αν δέη τιμήσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψηφιζόμενοι, τὸ μὲν σύμβολον άποδιδόντες, βακτηρίαν δὲ πάλιν παραλαμβάνοντες. ή δὲ τίμησίς ἐστιν πρὸς ἡμίχουν ύδατος έκατέρφ. ἐπειδάν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ δεδικασμένα τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀπολαμβάνουσιν τὸν μισθὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει οὖ έλαχον έκαστοι.

34 αν πλείω [γ]ένηται Κ; [άν **80** versus in fine $\varepsilon_{1}C\chi\omega$... $C...\lambda\varepsilon$ Eame K-W. πλείων γ]ένηται (sic) Β; πλείους γένωνται e lex. Cant. K-W, H-L. Pag. 37, 1, 4 τειμ. 5 εκατερών pr. 6—8 claudit librum coronis ingens ante hos versus infraque porrecta; unde apparet hoc in loco opus ad finem

fuisse perductum.

32—85 °lex. rhet. Cantab. Ισαι αΙ ψῆφοι αὐτῶν· ἐγένοντο δὲ Ισαι ψῆφοι, ὡς ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. · καὶ ἦσαν "τοῦ μὲν διώκοντος" αΙ τετρυπημέναι, "τοῦ δὲ φεύγωντος" αΙ πλήρεις, "ὁποτέρω δ' ἀν πλείους γένωνται," οὖτος ἐνίκα, ὅτο δὲ "Ισαι, ὁ φεύγων" ἀπέφυγεν (Frag. 425², 465³). Harp. κῶν Ισαι, Hesych. Ισαι ψῆφοι et κῶν Ισαι, Append. prov. iii 30, 42, Schol. ad Arist. Ran. 685.

35. [σαι] Probl. 39, 13, διὰ τί ποτε, όταν τῷ φεύγοντι καὶ τῷ διώκοντι φαίνων-ται αἰ ψήφοι [σαι, ὁ φεύγων νικὰ; and 15. Aeschin. 3 § 252, Ant. Herod. 51, Arist. Ran. 685, Aesch. Eum. 732—3 (Meier and Schöm. p. 938, n. 495 Lips.). col. 87, 1, 2. τιμώσι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψηφιζόμενοι] [Dem.] Aristog. I, 83, θανά-

του πασιν έτιματο...και ταθτα πρίν την πρώτην ψήφον διενεχθήναι. Aeschin. 3 § 197, Dem. F. L. § 290 (Meier and Schöm. p. 943 Lips.). In Plat. Apol. cc. 1—24 are supposed to have been spoken ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ψήφου, and 25—28 ἐν τῷ τιμήσει (Shilleto on F. L., I.c.). Cf. Ar. Probl. 953 α 4, τίμησις τί χρή παθείν ή αποτίσαι.

 σύμβολον, col. 32, 14.
 βακτηρίαν, ib. 3. The dicast has received the σύμβολον which entitles him to draw his pay; but, as a second voting is necessary and he is not entitled to his pay until this is completed, he gives up his σύμβολον and receives his βακτηρία instead.

 ήμίχουν] The χοῦς was equivalent to 5·76 pints.
 τν τῷ μέρει κτλ.] i.e. in the κληρωτήριον, col. 31, 18. Cf. also col. 33 a 17-19.

HERACLIDIS EPITOMA.

- 'Αθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχρῶντο βασιλεία συνοικήσαντος δὲ Ἰωνος αὐτοῖς, τότε πρῶτον Ἰωνες ἐκλήθησαν (cf. ſrag. 1). Πανδίων δὲ βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐρεχθέα διένειμε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς νίοῖς.
 καὶ διετέλουν οὖτοι στασιάζοντες. Θησεὺς δὲ 5 ἐκήρυξε καὶ συνεβίβασε τούτους ἐπ' ἴση καὶ ὁμοία (cf. ſrag. 2). οὖτος ἐλθὼν εἰς Σκῦρον ἐτελεύτησεν ἀσθεὶς κατὰ πετρῶν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους, φοβηθέντος μὴ σφετερίσηται τὴν νῆσον 'Αθηναῖω δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ μετεκόμισαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀστᾶ (cf. ſrag. 4).
 απὸ δὲ Κοδριδῶν οὐκέτι βασιλεῖς ἡροῦντο, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τρυφᾶν καὶ μαλακοὺς γεγονέναι. 'Ιππομένης δὲ εῖς τῶν Κοδριδῶν βουλόμενος ἀπώσασθαι τὴν διαβολήν, λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆ θυγατρὶ Λειμώνη μοιχόν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀνεῖλεν ὑποζεύξας [μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς] τῷ ἄρματι, τὴν δὲ ἵππφ συνέκλεισεν ἔως ἀπώλετο.
- τοὺς μετὰ Κύλωνος διὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς
 θεοῦ πεφευγότας οἱ περὶ Μεγακλέα ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἥλαυνον (᾿Αθ. πολ. c. I).
 - 5. Σόλων νομοθετῶν 'Αθηναίοις καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε, τὴν σεισάχθειαν καλουμένην (6 \S I). ὡς δ' ἐνώχλουν αὐτῷ τινες περὶ τῶν νόμων, ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον (II \S I).
- 10 6. Πεισίστρατος τριάκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη τυραννήσας γηράσας ἀπέθανε (17 § 1). "Ιππαρχος ὁ υίὸς Πεισιστράτου παιδιώδης ἢν καὶ ἐρωτικὸς καὶ φιλόμουσος, Θεσσαλὸς δὲ νεώτερος καὶ θρασίς (18 § 1, 2). τοῦτον τυραννοῦντα μὴ δυνηθέντες ἀνελεῖν "Ιππαρχον ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ (18 § 3). 'Ιππίας δὲ 25 πικρότατα ἐτυράννει (19 § 1).
 - 7. καὶ τὸν περὶ ὀστρακισμοῦ νόμον εἰσηγήσατο, δς ἐτέθη διὰ τοὺς τυραννιῶντας. καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἀστρακίσθησαν καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ ᾿Αριστείδης (22 \S 1, 3, 5, 6).
- 8. Ἐφιάλτης (25) τοὺς ἰδίους ἀγροὺς ὀπωρίζειν παρεῖχε τοῖς 30 βουλομένοις, ἐξ ὧν πολλοὺς ἐδείπνιζε (27 § 3).

Ediderunt Schneidewin (Heraclidis politiarum quae extant, 1847), Carolus Mueller (FHG ii 208, 1848), Valentinus Rose (Ar. Frag. 611, ed. 1886, p. 370); item 'Aθ. πολ. in appendice K-W et B.

3 Cf. Strab. 392, schol. Arist. Lys. 58, 59.
2 αὐτοὐτ K-W, coll. 'Αθ. πολ. 41 § 2.
3 μετὰ K-W (Β) coll. frag. 4: περὶ codd. 9, 10 Cf. c. 2 § 2.
10 Cf. schol. Aeschin. i § 182.
12, 13 μετὰ τ. θ. del. Koeler.
13 ξως ἀπώλετο Β; ξως ἀπόληται codd.; ὅπως ἀπόληται K-W.
18 ἐδιώχλουν codd.; δ' ἐνώχλουν K-W (Β) coll. c. 11 § 1.

9. Κλέων παραλαβών διέφθειρε τὸ πολίτευμα (28 § 3), καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μετ' αὐτόν (28 § 4, 5; 35 § 3), οἱ πάντα ἀνομίας ἐνέπλησαν, καὶ ἀνεῖλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων φ' (35 § 4). τούτων δὲ καταλυθέντων Θρασύβουλος καὶ 'Ρίνων προειστήκεσαν, δς ἢν ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός (37 § $\mathbf{1}$; 38 § $\mathbf{4}$).

10. Θεμιστοκλής καὶ ᾿Αριστείδης (23 § 2). καὶ ἡ ἐξ ᾿Αρείου

πάγου βουλή πολλὰ ἐδύνατο (23 § Ι).

11. καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐπιμελοῦνται, ὅπως μή τινες κατοικοδομῶσιν αὐτὰς ἡ δρυφάκτους ὑπερτείνωσιν (50 \S 2). ὁμοίως δὲ καθιστᾶσι καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἐν τῷ 40 δεσμωτηρίῳ (52 \S 1). εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, θεσμοθέται \mathfrak{s}' , οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ὀμνύουσι δικαίως ἄρξειν καὶ δῶρα μὴ λήψεσθαι ἡ ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀναθήσειν (55 \S 1, 2, 4). ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας διοικεὶ (57 \S 1). καὶ τὰ πολέμια (58 \S 1 ?).

FRAGMENTA

ex prima libri parte

1 (Rose, Frag. 3813)

τὸν ᾿Απόλλωνα κοινῶς πατρῷον τιμῶσιν ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἦνος·
τούτου γὰρ οἰκήσαντος τὴν ᾿Αττικήν, ὡς ᾿Αριστοτέλης φησί,
τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους Ἦωνας κληθῆναι καὶ ᾿Απόλλωνα πατρῷον αὐτοῖς
ὀνομασθῆναι. Harp. ᾿Απ. πατρ.

πατρῷον τιμῶσιν 'Απόλλωνα 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ 'Ίων ὁ πολέ-5 μαρχος 'Αθηναίων ἐξ 'Απόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ξούθου <γυναικὸς> ἐγένετο. schol. Aristoph. Av. 1527; cf. Bekk. An. 291 = schol. Plat. Euthydem. p. 369 Bk. Heracl. epit. 1.

$2(384^3)$

ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξήσαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος (Theseus) ἐκάλει πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, καὶ τὸ 'δεῦρ' ἴτε, πάντες λεφ' το κήρυγμα Θησέως γενέσθαι φασὶ πανδημίαν τινὰ καθιστάντος. οὐ μὴν ἄτακτον οὐδὲ μεμιγμένην περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐπιχυ-

³² οἱ πάντας (πάντα Β) ἀνομίας ἐνέπλησαν codd.; om. K-W.
88 ἀνοικ. codd.; em. K-W (Β).
40 ἔνδεκα [τοὺτ] Κ-W; ἔνδεκα < κληρω>τούτ, Β.
41 θεσμοθέται καὶ οἱ, θεσμοθετικοὶ καὶ οἱ et similia, codd.
7 γυναικὸτ add. Rose (Β).

θέντος ἀκρίτου γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἀποκρίνας χωρὶς εὐπατρίδας καὶ γεωμόρους καὶ δημιουργούς, εὐπατρίδας τοὶ δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας ἀποδοὺς καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ όσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς, τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὥσπερ εἰς ἴσον κατέστησε, δόξη μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, χρεία δὲ γεωμόρων, πλήθει δὲ δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκούντων. ὅτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν ὅχλον, ὡς ᾿Αριστοτέλης φησί, 20 καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν καὶ "Ομηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγω (547), μόνους ᾿Αθηναίους δῆμον προσαγορεύσας. Plutarch. Thes. 25. Cf. Heracl. epit. 2; ᾿Αθ. πολ. 41, 10.

3 (3853)

γεννήται. πάλαι τὸ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων πλήθος, πρὶν ἡ Κλεισθένη διοικήσασθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλάς, διήρητο εἰς γεωργούς καὶ δη-25 μιουργούς. καὶ φυλαὶ τούτων ήσαν δ, τών δὲ φυλών ἐκάστη μοίρας είχε γ', ας φατρίας και τριττύας έκαλουν. έκάστη συνειστήκει έκ τριάκοντα γενών, καὶ γένος εκαστον ἄνδρας είχε τριάκοντα τους είς τὰ γένη τεταγμένους, οίτινες γεννήται έκαλοῦντο, <έξ> ων αἱ ἱερωσύναι <αἱ> ἐκάστοις προσήκουσαι 30 έκληροῦντο, οίον Εύμολπίδαι και Κήρυκες και Έτεοβουτάδαι, ώς ίστορεί έν τη 'Αθ. πολ. 'Αρ. λέγων ούτως φυλάς δὲ αὐτών συννενεμήσθαι δ΄ ἀπομιμησαμένων τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς ώρας, έκάστην δε διηρήσθαι είς τρία μέρη των Φυλών, δπως γένηται τὰ πάντα δώδεκα μέρη, καθάπερ οἱ μῆνες 35 είς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, καλείσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ τριττῦς καὶ φατρίας. είς δὲ τὴν φατρίαν τριάκοντα γένη διακεκοσμήσθαι, καθάπερ αι ήμέραι είς τὸν μῆνα, τὸ δὲ γένος είναι τριάκοντα Lexicon Dem. Patm. p. 152 Sakkelion (Bull. de Corr. Hellén. i 1887). Cf. schol. Plat. Axioch. 371d: 'Apioto-40 τέλης φησί τοῦ ὅλου πλήθους διηρημένου Αθήνησιν είς τε τοὺς γεωργούς καὶ τούς δημιουργούς, φυλάς αὐτῶν είναι τέσσαρας, τῶν δὲ φυλών ἐκάστης μοίρας είναι τρεῖς, ᾶς τριττύας τε καλοῦσι καὶ φρατρίας, ἐκάστης δὲ τούτων τριάκοντα είναι γένη, τὸ δὲ γένος εκ τριάκοντα εκαστον ανδρών συνεστάναι. 45 τούς είς τὰ γένη τεταγμένους γεννήτας καλοῦσι.—Η ατρ. τριττύς:

^{15 &}lt;τὸ>γινώσκειν Κ.-W. <τοὺς> ἄρχοντας Κ.-W. 17 πολίταις: τοὺς πολίτας Κ.-W. 24 διήρητο ex ceteris testibus em. K.-W et B; διηρείτο cod. εἰς <εὐπατρίδας και> γεωργ. e frag. 2, 14, K.-W, sed εὐπατρίδας et in schol. Plat. et in Moeride omissos esse monet B, cum de plebe tantum sermo sit. 29 <ξε> et <αι> ex Harp. K.-W, B. 32 ἀπὸ τῶν μισθωσαμένων cod., ex Suida correctus.

τριττύς έστι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς αὕτη γὰρ διήρηται εἰς τρία μέρη, τριττῦς καὶ ἔθνη καὶ φατρίας, ὧς φησιν ᾿Αρ. ἐν τῆ ᾿Αθ. πολ. Cf. Pollux viii III; Moeris, Suid., Harp., s. v. γεννῆται.

4 (frag. Rosio ignotum)

'Αριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν Θησεὺς εἰς Σκῦρον ἐπὶ κατα- 50 σκοπὴν εἰκότως διὰ τὴν Αἰγέως συγγένειαν ἐτελεύτησεν ἀσθεὶς κατὰ πετρῶν, φοβηθέντος τοῦ Λυκομήδους τοῦ βασιλεύοντος <μὴ σφετερίσηται τὴν νῆσον>. 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κατὰ μαντείαν ἀνελόντες τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἔθαψαν. Schol. Vatic. ad Eur. Hipp. 11 Schwartz. Cf. Apollod. bibl. iii 15, 5, ἔνιοι 55 Αἰγέα Σκυρίου εἰναι λέγουσιν. Plutarch. Thes. 35, Cim. 8; schol. Lycophr. 1326. Frag. attulerunt K-W, B.

dubia

5 (cf. 3943)

λυκόποδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς μὲν ᾿Αριστοτέλης, τοὺς τῶν τυράννων δορυφόρους κτλ. (Schol. Arist. Lys. 665); cf. Phot. λυκόποδας. Quae scholiis in eisdem (Lys. 665—6) de Leipsydrio com-60 memorantur, ex Aristotele (c. 19 § 3) revera hausta sunt; qua ex causa fortasse etiam λυκόποδες Aristoteli per errorem adscriptum.

$6(447^3)$

Lex. rhet. Cantab., s. v. λογισταί, ad c. 54 § 2 laudatum.

$7(456^3)$

τὸ δὲ παρακαταβαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφέσεων, ὅπερ οἱ νῦν 65 παραβόλιον καλοῦσι, παράβολον ᾿Αριστοτέλης λέγει (Pollux viii 62). Res prope finem libri fortasse commemorata erat; sed παράβολον nusquam alibi inventum et iure suspectum; παραβόλιον condemnat Phrynichus.

8 (389°)

Photius, s. v. πελάται 2, οί μισθώ δουλεύοντες, επεὶ τὸ πέλας 70 εγγύς, οἶον εγγιστα διὰ πενίαν προσιόντες 'Αριστοτέλης (cf.

Testimonia ad c. 2, 5). Quamquam πελάται in libro scriptum est, 'Αριστοτέλης tamen K-W ex 'Αριστοφάνης corruptum putant, cuius inter glossas politicas haec inventa sit (61 Fresen., Miller, 75 Mél. de litt. Gr. 433).

aliena

9 (3823)

picturam Aegypti (invenerunt) et in Graecia Euchir Daedalo cognatus, ut Aristoteli placet (Plin. N. H. vii 205).

10 (386°)

Epimenides qui postea Buzyges dictus est secundum Aristotelem (schol. Lemov. ad Vergil. Georg. i 19).

11 (392*)

80 ή δὲ δὴ διασπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ (Σόλωνος) τῆς τέφρας περὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίων (al. -ίαν) νῆσον ἔστι μὲν—μυθώδης, ἀναγέγραπται δ' ὑπό τ' ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ ᾿Αριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου (Plut. Sol. 32).

12 (399⁸)

πέπυσμαι...κύνας γενέσθαι φιλοδεσπότας Εανθίππου τοῦ 85 'Αρίφρουος μετοικιζομένων γάρ των 'Αθηναίων ές τάς ναῦς, ήνίκα τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Πέρσης τὸν μέγαν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα έξηψε, και έλεγον οί χρησμοί λώον είναι τοις 'Αθηναίοις την μέν πατρίδα ἀπολιπεῖν ἐπιβηναι δὲ τῶν τριήρων, οὐδὲ οἱ κύνες τοῦ προειρημένου ἀπελείφθησαν, ἀλλά συμμετφκίσαντο τώ Εανθίππω και διανηξάμενοι ές την Σαλαμίνα ἀπέβησαν. δὲ ἄρα ταῦτα 'Αριστοτέλης καὶ Φιλόχορος (Aelian. Nat. Hist. xii 35, ex Alexandro Myndio, ut putant K-W). ἐν οἶς ίστορείται, κύων Εανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους πατρός οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος την απ' αυτου μόνωσιν εναλέσθαι τη θαλάττη και τη τριήρει 95 παρανηχόμενος έμπεσείν είς την Σαλαμίνα και λιποθυμήσας αποθανείν εὐθύς οὖ καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σημα τάφον είναι λέγουσιν (Plut. Themist. 10, capite in eodem et Aristotele, c. 23 § 1, et Cleidemo nominato). Fortasse in zoico quodam libro Aristotelem haec narrasse putant K-W.

'sicut in *Hist. An.* Z 24 mulum ab Atheniensibus immunitate 100 donatum commemorat, quem Plutarchus in eodem capite Catonis (*Cat. mai.* c. 5) cum cane Xanthippi componit'. Rectius fortasse narrationem Philochoro tribuit J. H. Wright (cf. *Introd.* § 3 init.).

13 (4018)

'Αριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδη μουσικήν διαπονηθήναι 105 τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν (de Pericle Plut. Per. 4).

14 (415*)

πάππου ἡ τήθης πατὴρ πρόπαππος·...τάχα δ' ἀν τοῦτον τριτοπάτορα 'Αριστοτέλης καλοῖ (Pollux iii 17, ex Aristophane Byzantio, ut putant K-W).

15 (frag. 436 Heitz, a Rosio consulto praetermissum)

πεζὰς μόσχους, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐταίρας· ἐλέγοντο γάρ τινες οὕτως 110 ώς ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῆ Πολιτεία τὰς χωρὶς ὀργάνων. Κάνθαρος Συμμαχία ' αὐλητρίδα πεζήν' καὶ Εὔπολις Κόλαξι. Photius, a Rosio (Arist. Pseud. p. 446) laudatus, coll. Hesych. s. v., Etym. Magn. πεζαί, Schol. Eur. Alc. 447, Theopomp. ap. Athen. xii 532. Aristotelis nomen fortasse ex alio eiusmodi fonte de-115 fluxit, qui e capite 50 § 2 (τάς τε αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς ψαλτρίας καὶ τὰς κιθαριστρίας) erat derivatus.

FRAGMENTORUM IN PAPYRO LONDINENSI INVENTORUM INDEX.

Fragmentorum numeri e Rosii editione Teubneriana (1886) repetiti, edition Berolinensis (1870) numeris in parenthesi praepositis.

1870 1886	'Αθ. πολ.	1870 1886	'Αθ. πολ.	1870 1886	'Δθ. πολ.
(345) 383	60 § 2	(378) 417	59	(404) 444	54 § 6
(349) 387	8 § 3	(379) 418	59 8 3	(405) 445	48 § 4
(350) 388	7 § 3	(380) 419	59 § 6	(406) 446	48, 54
(351) 389	2 § 2	(381) 420	56 88 5-7	(407) 447	54 8 2 (?)
(352) 390	7 § I	(382) 421	56 § 6(?)	(408) 448	50 § 2
(353) 391	8 § 5	(383) 422	56 § 6	(409) 449	51 8 1
(355) 393	15 8 3	(384) 423	56 § 7	(410) 450	51 8 4
(356) 394	19 § 3	(385) 424	57	(411) 451	51 § 3
(357) 395	19 88 4, 5	(386) 425	57 § I	(412) 452	51 8 2
(358) 396	19 § 6	(387) 426	58	(413) 453	53 § I
(359) 397	21 § 5	(388) 427	58 § 3	(414) 454	53 § 2
(360) 398	23 § 1	(389) 428	56 § 1	(415) 455	53 § 2
(362) 400	30 § 2	(deest) 429	52 § I	(417) 457	57 \$ 3
(363) 402	27 § 3	(390) 430	61 § 1	(418) 458	57 § 3
(365) 403	27 § 4	(391) 431	61 § 4	(419) 459	57 \$ 3
(366) 404	25 § 3	(392) 432	61 8 5	(420) 460	p. 32, 8-19
(367) 405	25 8 4	(393) 433	43 8 2	(421) 461	28 § 3; 62
(368) 406	28 § 3	(394) 434	43 88 3-6	(422) 462	28 § 3
(369) 407	28 § 5	(395) 435	43 88 3, 4	(423) 463	P. 35, 1-8
(370) 408	34 § I	(396) 436	43 \$\$ 4, 5	(424) 464	P· 35, 27-
(371) 409	27 § 5	(397) 437	44 § I	(425) 465	р. 36, 32-3
(372) 410	33 § I	(398) 438	44 § 2	(426) 466	p. 36, 3-10
(373) 411	34 § 3	(399) 439	54 88 3-5	(427) 467	42 § 2
(374) 412	55 88 3, 5	(400) 440	48 88 1, 2	(428) 468	42 8 5
deest) 413	3 \$ 5	(401) 441	47 98 2, 3	(429) 469	53 § 7
(375) 414	55 88 2, 3	(402) 442	47 % I	(430) 470	49 § 4
(377) 416	7 8 1; 55 8 5	(403) 443	61 8 7	(431) 471	56 § 3

GREEK INDEX.

Chapters 1-63 are quoted by chapter and line; columns 31 to 37, by column (col.) and line.

** The double asterisk denotes words not found elsewhere; * the single asterisk, words not found in the Index Aristotelicus, or only in the corresponding fragments of the 'A θ . $\pi \circ \lambda$.

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*åβaξ col. 36, 24, 29
 άγαθός άγαθοῦ πολίτου 28, 38; ἄνδρας
     καλούς κάγαθούς 28, 31; πολλών άγα-
θών 5, 16 (Solon); υ. άριστος, βελτίων,
 βέλτιστος
ἄγαλμα τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς 47, 5
 άγανακτών έπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις 36, 1
άγαπώντας (?) τὸ αὐτόματον 8, 28
 'Αγγελήθεν 34, 3
*ἀγηλατῶ· ἡγηλάτει 20, 8
ἀγητοί 12, 6 (Solon)
 άγνοοῦσι 14, 10; άγνοῶν 16, 13; άγνοήσας
    57, 20
57, 20

Αγων 28, 19

ἀγορά ἐν ἀγορῷ 51, 10; 52, 14; εἰι τὴν

ἀγοράν 38, 4; 57, 28; ταῖε ἀγοραῖε

(τῶν φυλετῶν) 48, 16
 dγοράζει 42, 27
 άγορανόμοι 51,
 άγορεύει col. 36, 11
άγος 1, 2; 20, 7
*άγραφίου 59, 10
άγροικοι 13, 9
άγρός ρί. 2, 6; 16, 16; 24, 3
 *ауротера 58, 2
 Αγύρριος 41, 33 f
 Αγχίμολος 19, 26
άγω (1) άγαγων—οδ διέτριβεν 25, 16;
άγαγούσης ως τον δήμιον 45, 2. (2) νηες
    φρουρούς (?) άγουσαι 24, 19; τῷ τρια-
κοντορίω τῷ τοὺς ἤθέους άγοντι 56, 21.
    (3) of weight 10, 5, 8; 51, 13. (4) 

αγουσω του έναωντου 43, 10; την πολι-

τείαν—άγειν είς αὐτούς 27, 6; εἰρήνην 

άγειν 34, 9; ἐπὶ πέρας ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην
38, 24 dγωγιμοι 2, 7 (in different sense in Meteor.
    359 α 8 το των άγωγίμων βάρος)
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άγων (1) μουσικής 57, 5; 60, 4; άγωνα γυμνικόν 60, 5, 22; διοικεί 56, 28; διατίθησιν 57, 7; 58, 2; λαμπάδων άγωνας τίθησι 57, 7. (2) *άγωνας ἐπιφέρων* 25, 7 άγωνιζόμενος, έν αθλώ 57, 20; τοῖς άγωνι-ζομένοις col. 36, 18 άγωνιστής 60, 20 άδελφή 18, 11 άδελφός 18, 36; 19, 1 άδικημα 48, 21 *ἀδικίου τιμώσιν 54, 10 -αοικίου τιμώσιν 54, 10

δδικών δδικεύν δόξη 46, 9; δοκή 48, 12;
καταγνώ 45, 8; καταγνώσιν 54, 10;
δδικούθντα περί τὸν μερισμόν 48, 11; τοῖς
δδικούσιν 56, 42; παρ δν δδικείται νόμον
4, 23; τῷ δδικουμένω 4, 21; τῶν δδικουμένων 9, 4; δδικηθή ὑπὸ τοῦ διαιτητοῦ 53, 33 dolkws 12, 9 (Solon) άδδκιμος 49, 4 (omitted in *Index Ar.*; found in [Ar.] Oec. ii 1347 a 8 τὸ νόμισμα—άδόκιμον ἐποίησε) σομαμα—αοσκίμον εποιησε)
ἀδύνατοι 49, 25
ἀδών ἢδον ἐν τοῦς σκολίοις 19, 14; 20, 21
ἀδωροδόκητος 25, 5
ἀεί 5, 19 (π. c.); 13, 11; 16, 25; 19, 7,
10, 21 &c; ἀεὶ μᾶλλον 27, 23; τῶν ἀεὶ
βουλευόντων 30, 11 (decree); ὄσ ἀν ἀεὶ μέλλη col. 31, 36 deixήs 12, 7, 40 (Solon) *deιφυγίαν, ξφυγέν 1, 3 drήμιος 56, 31 (Rhet. 1372 a 12) 'Αθηνα 14, 24; τῆς 'Αθηνας, ταμίαι 47, 2; Ασηνα 14, 27, Αγαλμα 47, 5 Αθήναι 19, 22; Αθήνησι 28, 29 Άθηναΐοι 16, 39; 19, 32, 37; 20, 9; 21, 18; 22, 17, 33; 23, 9. των Αθ. καὶ

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ακρόπολις (1) with article, κατέσχε τη 14, 6; το πρόπυλου τής ά. 15, κατέφυγου είς την ά. 20, 13; τη έφρούρουν 37, 19. (2) without and 'Aθηναίων, ol τών μετοίκων 43, 25. έθέλοντες 29, 24; τούς βουλομένους 39, 2 (decree); τοῦς δυνατωτάτοις 29, 34 έξ ἀπάντων 'Αθ. 56, 8; έξ 'Αθ. ἀπάντων 56, 3 4θλητής 60, 7 ėν d. 7, 21; 18, 14; 60, 18; els d. 33; 60, 16. See πόλις. 'Δκτή 42, 22; στρατηγός els την 'Δ. 61 άθλοθέται 60, 2, 10; 62, 12 άθλον. pl. 49, 22; 54, 32 (?); 60, 20 *άθλος. ἐν άθλφ άγωνιζόμενος 57, 20 άκυρος ή βουλή 45, 21; άμφορεύς col. 3 άκων 27, 10; άκόντων 23, 12; άκα άθροίζω τούς άθροιζομένους 25, 17; χρη-40, 6 μάτων ήθροισμένων 24, 2 dayea 5, 7 (Solon) άθυμεῦν 15, 29 alaî 19, 15 (scol.) Δλεξίας άρχων (405/4) 34, 14 άληθή: 18, 28 άλισκομαι άλώναι 19, 34; άλφ 61, 13 Δίγεύς frag. 4 Δίγος ποταμοί 34, 15 άλκή 12, 53 (Solon) 'Αλκμέων 13, 17 ALYUNTOS II. 5 *alδeσις 57, 21
alkeias (δίκη) 52, 15
alkeias (δίκη) 52, 15
alkeaθeis, πολύν χρόνον 18, 23
alpeσις τῶν ἀρχόντων 3, 37; 26, 14; (τῶν αρχόντων 3, 37; 26, 14; (τῶν Δλκμεωνίδαι το γένος έφυγεν 1, 3; (φυγάδω») προειστήκεσα» 19, 9; Κ σθένης τοῦ γένους τών 'Α. 20, 3; 28. τῶν έναγῶν 10, 7; αἰτιώτατοι τῆς ἐ λής των τυράννων 20, 19; πρότερον Α. Κήδων επέθετο τοις τυράννοις 20, els darnrûr alperur 56, 36 άλλα occurs about 30 times, always v alperol 22, 23 alpω. Νάξον έλων 15, 15. mid. alpούμαι ('elect') αlpούνται 38, 5; 42, 9, 15; negative preceding. 4224 \$ 5 also 26, 14; \$4, 23 (Blass); unred\\\\ 1 53, alpeiσθαι 30, 11 (decree); αίρουμένων 3, 16, 8; cf. μήν άλλήλων 21, 16; άλλήλοις 5, 4; 1 20; ηρούρτο 4, 5; 22,8; είλετο 11, 14; είλοστο 5, 4; 30, 2; 38, 18; είλωστα 31, 4 (decree); ελέσθαι 13, 8; and (in άλληλους 23, 18 άλλος του άλλου λόγου 15, 23; εἰς 31, 4 (decrees) 29, 10, 37; 31, 11, 14; 39, 113; έλομένη 46, 8. pass. ηρέθη 38, 32; ηρέθησαν 3, 19; 38, 7; alpeθels αρχων 13, 6; τοὺς αlpeθέντας τῆς βουλῆς 25, 16; ol alpeθέντες 29, 21; 30, 1, 3; άλλον (=μέλλοντα) χρόνον 31, 18 ((formula of amendment); Time &N τῷ βουλομένω 29, 14 (decree); ἐν τοις άλλοις δ, 13; τοις τε άλλοις τ 32, 1; 38, 18; and (in decrees) 29, 17; 31, 12; ήρημένων 47, 10 altla 13, kal 8h kal 2, 3 *daloge δαπανήσαι 29, 30 (decree) 5; -- rodub airlar 19, 8; -- radrup the airlar 23, 8; -- radras tas airlas 13, 1; the airlar dudaret rols anousloss 5, άλλότριος 34, 6 daaws 34, 21 **άλφιτα** 51, 12 άλωπεκήθεν 22, 24; 45, 4 άμα 3, 23; 11, 7; 16, 11; προήλθεν ή π άμα τη δημοκρατία—αυξανομένη 23, άμαρτάνω 8, 22; 16, 5; 41, 19 19. (2) 'charge', ψευδή την alriar είναι 6, 21; altian έχη 57, 22;—έχων 57, 27; τàs περί τῶν προτέρων altias έξηλειψαν 40, 19 άμαρτίαν, έγνωσαν την 34, 14 άμείνονες 12, 60 (Solon) altios vauuaxlas altla 23, 5; altluv udλιστα γενομένων 32, 9. αlτιώτατοι 20, άμειψάμενος 7, 24 (anon.) 18; 33, 9 altıwını c. inf. altıataı 56, 35; altıwıtaı *а́шяно 49, 7 άμισθους άρχειν, τάς άρχάς 29, 39 (decr 27, 22 αίτουντος, Πεισιστράτου την φυλακήν 14, 9 Αμμωνος, ή 61, 28 'Αμπρακιώτης 17, 14 άμφιβαλών 12, 8 (Solon) ARAGTOS 3, 10 f. *ἀκιβδηλος 51, 3 (Rhet. 1375 δ 6 κίβδηλον αμφικτύονες els Δήλον 62, 14 δίκαιον) άμφισβήτησις 28, 34; ρl. 9, 9; 57, 11 άμφισβητώ —τη 57, 10; —τώσιν 52, άμφορεις 60, 6; (in the lawcourts) *ἀκληρωτί 30, 30 (decree) άκολουθείν 49, 3 dkortijeu 42, 23 *ἀκοσμοῦντας, ζημιοῦσα τοὺς 3, 36 (Pol. 1272 ὁ 8 ἀκοσμία τῶν δυνατῶν) 36, 3 άμφότερος 11, 9, 12; 12, 55; 15, 4 άκούσιος 57, 17 άκούω άκούσαντες c. gen. 37, 18; and (in έξ αμφοτέρων — αστών αμφοῖν αστοῖν, έξ 26, 23 _dотŵr 42, 2 du passim; du re-du re 48, 19; v. 81 decree) 29, 19 Акретов атоктейчае 40, 12 (Meteor. 361 b 31 ακριτος και χαλεπός ο 'Ωρίων) ded dioxillous 26, 10

ἀναβαίνω ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον (τὸν λίθον) 55, 30; ἀναβηναι—είς "Αρειον πάγον 60, 17 αναβαλλομένων την άπογραφήν 40, 3 άναγιγνώσκευ 43, 20; άναγνωσόμενον 54, 22; άναγνώναι 54, 23. Probl. and (omitted in Index Ar.) Poet. 1462 a 12 35, 13 Probl. and άναγκάζειν 51, 18; ἡναγκάσθησαν—κατα-στήσαι την—πολιτείαν 29, 4; δ δήμος ἡναγκάσθη χειροτονείν την δλιγαρχίαν in Ar.) 34, 26 34. 20 ἀναγκαῖον c. inf. 44, 5; 48, 16; 53, 28; col. 32, 5; cf. ἐπάναγκες. ἀναγκαίης ὅπο χρείους 12, 37 (Solon) ἀνάγκη c. inf. 9, 9; 47, 24; 48, 5; 54, 4- ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ('under torture') 18, 24 ἀναγορεύει, ὁ κῆρυξ col. 36, 31; ἀναγο- ρεύωσι, τῶν δήμων 21, 18 ἀναγράφω (1) act. τὰ θέγμα 3, 20; νόμους Δ1, 12, τολε κύμους είς τολε κύρθεις 7. (Solon) 41, 12; τους νόμους είς τους κύρβεις 7, 2; πολιτείαν 30, 23; 31, 1; 32, 2; τὰς μισθώσεις—ἐν γραμματείοις λελευκωμένοις 47, 26; τὰ χωρία 47, 21. c. acc. pers. 47, 18, and els λελευκωμένα γραμματεία 47, 16. (2) pass. τὸ δνομα ἀναγράφεται 54, 37; ἐν ταῖε στήλαιε αναγράφεται 54, 19; els στήλην χαλκήν άναγράφονται 53, 25; άναγεγραμμένα 47, 31 drdyw' 47, 31 drdyw drhyayor 12, 36 (Solon); drd-γουσι (?) 49, 3 (Blass) "ἀνάγωγος (?) 49, 3 ἀνάδαστα ποιήσειν, πάντ' 11, 11; τὴν χώραν ανάδαστον ποιούσιν 12, 12 (Solon) ἀναθήματα 7, 20 ἀναιρῶ· (1) ἀνελόντες τὰ ὅπλα 15, 20; (2) τους - άπογιγνομένους άναιρούσω 50, 14; (3) τὰς προσκλήσεις άνείλον 29, 24; 14; (3) ται προσκλήσεις ανείλον 20, 24; δρους άνείλον 12, 33 (Solon); (4) τούς συκοφάτιας άνήρουν 35, 20; άνείλεν πολλούς 25, 6; άνείλενες τούς άναιτίους 18, 31; άνέλωσιν 40, 15; πολλούς άνηρηκέναι 19, 3; άνηρήκεσαν 35, 26; ραςς. άνηρέθη 25, 23; άναιρεθέντος 37, 14; (5) άνείλεν ή Πυθία 25, 6 draitious, dredortes toùs 18, 31 ανακαλεσαμένη 8, 9 ανάκειται, είκων 7, 21 ; cf. ανατίθημι [ανακη]ρύττει col. 36, 14 "ανακράζω" πρώτος έπιτοῦ βήματος ανέκραγε (Cleon) 28, 17 'Arakpéwr 18, 5 drakpirorres (= épwrŵrres) 11, 3; drakpiras άντιλέξαι 14, 9 ((forensic term) 48, 23; 56, 30 ἀναλαμβάνω (τὴν ἀρχήν) 16, 35 ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρίου 8, 17 (decree); εἰς τὸ δέον ἀναλίσκηται 30, 'Αντιφών 32, 10 20 (decree). met. ώστε άναλίσκεσθαι τους έπιεικεις 26, [] ἀναλογίζηται τὸν ἐκατέρου βίον, ἐάν τις 17, 7 άνάλογον τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ τιμήματος 7, 14 ἀνάλωμα 22, 34; 56, 24

draμίσγεσθαι 21, 11; draμείξαι 21, 4 (draμιγνύναι Rhet., αναμιχθώσι Pol.) άναμφισβήτητον την πολιτείαν, ποιούντες άναξίαι, έν οθτω μικροίι και 6, 18 άναπληρώ τος 6 drawter, the altiar 5, 19 (not thus used dvapxlav exolycav 13, 5 άνασψσασθαι—την άρχην 15, 9 ανατίθημι· άναθήσειν άνδριάντα 7, 5; 55, 32; ἀνέθηκε 7, 23 (anon.) ἀναφέρω· τὰς έκτίσεις είς πόλιν 8, 23 drodret 12, 24 (Solon); moderer .12, 50 ἀνδραποδίστής 52, 3; Frag. 5042, p. 1560 δ 35 ἀνδραπόδων (δίκαι) 52, 16 άνδρειότερος 14, 10, 12 ἀνδριάντα, ἀναθήσειν 7, 5; 55, 32 *άρερωτήσας 55, 19 άνευ μισθοφοράς 30, 5 (decree); προχειρο-τονίας 43, 41; δικαστηρίου γνώσεως 45, 4 ἀνέχων (?) col. 31, 27 ἀνήρ ἀνδρὸς ᾿Αργείου 17, 13; τελευτή-σωντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς 56, 41; χορηγούς άνδράσιν 56, 11, 12 'Ανθεμίων, Διφίλου 7, 23 *ἀνθίστημι· ἀντέστη τοῦς γνωρίμοις ὁ δῆμος 5, 2; της βουλης άντιστάσης 20, 12 άνθρωπος 16, 22; 27, 24 άνιεσθαι—τήν πολιτείαν 26, 2; άνεθείς dvolyeur, tas buploas els the obor 50, 13; Tor Tiraka 49, 12 *ἀνοικοδόμησιε, τειχών 23, 17 *ἀνοικοδομώ· ἀνωκοδόμησε (τὸ Ἐπιλύκειον) 3, 29 ἀνταποδοθεισῶν (?) 3, 13 φνταράξας 12, 14 (Solon)
*άντεγγράφω ΄ άντενέγραφον 36, 15
άντι 7, 24 (anon.); τῶν τεττάρων 21, τετρακοσίων 21, 7; των ναυκραριών 21, 21
²¹
⁴ dντιγράφεται 54, 15, 20
^{*} dντιδημαγωγών 27, 12
dντίδικος 53, 9; col. 35, 33; col. 36, 28
dντίδοσις 56, 14; 61, 9
^{*} Δντίδοτος άρχων (451/ο) 26, 21
^{*} dντικαθημένων άλληλοις 5, 3
^{*} Δντικαθημένων άλληλοις 5, 3 άντιλαμβάνεσθαι της ηγεμονίας 24, 2 *ἀντιστασιώτης 14, 3; 28, 8 Ανιτου 27, 25; 34, 23 Φυύτω: ήνυσα 12, 12 (Solon); οὐδέν ήνυσεν 14, 16 (ἀνύεω Rhet. 1409 b 4) δξιος 63, 14 &C. αξιούν 14, 15; ήξίουν 37, 18 άξιωμα 23, 8; ρί. 18, 1; 35, 24 ἀπαγαγών—ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν 40, 11; τοὺς ἀπαγομένους κλέπτας 52, 2 dπαγωγήν, ένδειξιν—καί 29, 26 (decree); not used thus in Ar. *άπαλείφω (of debts) 47, 34; 48, 2 άπαλλάξη τους κατηγόρους 55, 26 άπαντῶ· ἀπήντησεν ὡς ἀπολογησάμενος 16, 33 ἄπαξ άρξαι 31, 18 (decree); προεδρεύειν 44, 14 ἀπαρκεί 12, 4 (Solon) απαρκεί 13, 4 (Solon)
απας: ἄπαντες 3, 31; ἐξ 'Αθηναίων ἀπάντων (opp. ἀφ' ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς) 57, 3; ἐξ ἀπ. 'Αθ. 56, 8; ἐξ ἀπ. 56, 8 (?)
ἀπειμι (αδιων): ἀπῆ 34, 8
ἀπειμι (αδιὸν): ἀπέναι 34, 8; 42, 35 άπείρων του πολεμείν, στρατηγών 16, 9 άπέρχομαι· άπελθόντας 52, 25; πάλιν els παίδας άπέρχονται 42, 6 άπεχθάνεσθαι 11, 3; άπεχθέσθαι 6, 15; 11, 14; άπεχθόμενος 28, 39 άπέχω· οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο 35, 22 ἀπιστος, πασιν ήν 19, 3 άπλοῦν, ἀποτίνεται 54, 11 ἀπλώς, ἀρχαϊκώς καὶ λίαν 14, 23; μη ἀ. πλως, άρχαϊκως και λίαν 14, 23; μή ά. μηδέ σαφώς 9, 7 το βεσίπτις with', άπο Κλεοφώντος 28, 25; άπο τοῦ λ 63, 10; cf. άφ' οῦ πευτ. 17, 2; παςς.? 18, 7; άφ' ών 27, 22. (2) the source from which, ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων 24, 11; τῶν γιγνομένων 16, 12. (3) the derivation of a name, τῶν τόπων κτλ 13, 25; 21, 22. (4) interchangeable with ἐξ, ἐκ τοῦ κτήματος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν στελεγῶν 60. του κτήματος, ούκ από των στελεχών 60, του κτήματος, ούκ από των στελεχων Ος, 14; ἀφ' < ἐκάστης τῆς > φυλῆς ορρ. ἐξ ἀπάντων 61, 2; ἀπὸ < τῆς > φυλῆς ἐκάστης 43, 6. (5) proleptic, μὴ κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς 38, 15.—ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου 24, 20; ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου 45, γ; ἀποστήσος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων 18, 27 ἀποβαλεῦν Πύλον 27, 26 ἀπογιγνομένους, ἐκ ταῖς ὁδοῖς 50, 14 (not απογιγνομένους, έκ ταῖς ὁδοῖς 50, 14 (not in Ar. in this sense) άπογιγνώσκω: "άπέγνωσαν ποιείν" 41, 30 απογιγού κω απέγιστα 39, 13 (decree); διαθαλλομένων την ά. 40, 3; τὰς ὑπολοίπους ημέρας της ά. 40, 6; (2) τας απογραφάς των δημευομένων 43, απογράφω mid, πρίν αν απογράψηται πάλιν 39, 18; pass. τὰ απογραφέντα καί πραθέντα 47, 22; τὰ ἀπογραφόμενα χωρία 52, δ αποδειξάμενοι 42, 30 αποδέκται: esp. 48, 1—12; also 47, 32; 50, 3; 52, 18
*ἀποδημία: 11, 4; 13, 1
ἀποδημία: 53, 32; τοῦς ἀποδημοῦσω: 39, 16 (decree); Σόλωνος ἀποδημήσαντος 13, 2 ἀποδίδωμι ἀποδίδόασι 43, 33; 48, 4; 60, 7; 62, 5; col. 32, 20; ἀποδίδόναι 40, 21; ἀποδίδούς 7, 14; 20, 4; col. 36, 1; ἀποδίδόντες col. 37, 3; ἀποδώσειν 11,

12; ἀπέδωκεν 25, 10; ἀπέδοσαν 40, 20 άποδφ 52, 13; άποδωσι 56, 46; έτο δούναι 39, 26; 47, 24; 58, 8; έτολ δοτο 4, 4 ἀποδοκιμάσαι 45, 19; 55, 27; ἀποδοα μάσειεν 35, 11 άποθυήσκειν 45, 3, 5; άπέθανε 17, 1, 18 άποθανεῖν 18, 33; άποθανόντος 40, 16 αποιανται χωρίς 47, 34 αποκοπή, χρεών 6, 11; 10, 2; 12, 26; 1; 13; β. 6, 3; 11, 9 (αποκοπαλ—συμάν Poet. 1458 b 1) **диокрітонаї** дискрітато 16, 22 αποκρίνομαι απεκρίνατο 10, 22 αποκτείνω απέκτεινου 35, 23; απέκται 39, 19; απέκτεινου 18, 20; 38, 11 αποκτείνη 57, 15, 17; αποκτείναι 3: 7; 40, 12; 45, 2; 57, 18, 22 απολαμβάνω: col. 33, 17; 37, 6 απολαύειν, τῆς ὁπώρας 27, 18 άπολειπόμενος, άπολείπεσθαι, conj. fi ŧπι-, q.v. άπολλύναι, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα 56, 36; πι άπόλλυσθαι 26, 11 'Απόλλων πατρώσι 55, 21; frag. 1 ἀπολογείται 57, 23, 29; ἀπολογησόμου 16, 33 (only in Rhet. ad Alex.) άπολογία 55, 21 *άπομετροῦσι (τὸ Ελαιον) 60, 19 * άπομμησάμενος, την θεόν 14, 27 άπονέμω τὰς—άρχὰς ἀπένειμεν άρχευ 11 (τας αρχάς-τούτοις απονέμευ Pa 1300 a 21) dropla 13, 22 dropos 16, 6 άποσεισαμένων το βάρος 6, 5 *dποστασίου 58, 9 dποστασιε (trans.) των 'Ιώνων 23, 18 άποστέλλων την πομπήν 18, 16; εφ' έκάστ τών άρχων - άπέστελλεν 8, 11; άπέστ λαν, Άγχίμολον 19, 26; Καλλίβου 3; 18; pass. άποστέλλονται άρχαι els Σάμ 62, 16 άποστερή, δανεισάμενος 52, 14; άπεση ρήθη τής έπιμελείας 26, 2 **ἀποτίμημα 5**6, 45 άποτίνει 60, 13; άπέτινον 4, 18; παθεν άποτείσαι 61, 13; 63, 15; άποτίνετι 54, 8, 9, 10 αποτυγχάνοντες 19, 9 αποτυγχάνοντει 19, 9
αποφαίνω ούσίαν 4, 8; νόμων 4, 22; τ
δήμω 46, 9; mid. αποφαινόμεσοι 1:
10; 28, 35; αποφαίνωνται τὰς διαίτ
55, 29. Cf. οὐκ ἀποφαίνονται τὰς διάτ
Ροί. 1303 δ 35
αποφέρω λόγον ἀπενεγκεῖν 54, 4
αποφέρω δίγον δα aquittal, ἀπέφυγεν 27, 2;
Δε 6: ἀποφύγη 50. Q: 61. 14: ἀποφ αποφεύγω οι acquittai, απέφυγεν 27, 2; 45, 6; ἀποφύγη 59, 9; 61, 14; ἀποφ γωσι 52, 5. Opp. αμώνεσθαι de Pai An. 663 a 13 *ἀποχειροτονῶ 49, 6, 7; 61, 12 ἀποχωρήσωντες, κακῶς 37, 3 ἀποψηφίσωνται μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον 42, ἀπεψηφισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν 59,

άπροβούλευτος 45, 22 *ἀπροστασίου 58, 9 ἀπωθεν τῆς τυραννίδος 22, 28 Αργείος 17, 13; pl. 17, 15; 19, 25. 'Αργείας (γυναικός) 17, 11; την 'Αργείαν Αργινούσαις, έν 34, 3 "Αργός 17, 13 άργός, σῖτος 51, 11 άργύριον 8, 18; 22, 31; 62, 17; έαν άργυάργύριον 8, 18; 22, 31; 62, 17; ἐἀν ἀργυρου τιμηθῆ 63, 15; ἀργύρια 60, 21

'Αρείου πάγου, βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ 4, 20; ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλὴ 41, 16; 60, 11; 'Αρείφ πάγφ, βουλὴ ἡ ἐν 8, 9; 23, 3; ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου 35, 11; 47, 13; 59, 18; ἐν 'Αρείφ πάγω 57, 15, 24; εἰς ''Αρειου πάγου 16, 33; 60, 17
'Αρεοπαγίται 3, 38; 8, 19; 25, 3, 7, 12, 21; 27, 4; 35, 10; ἡ τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν βουλή 3, 34; 4, 22; 26, 1 βουλή 3, 34; 4, 22; 26, 1 "Αρεοπαγίτω βουλήν, την 41, 8 ἀρέσκη, ἐὰν 22, 34; 53, 8 άρετή 36, 10 αρετη 30, 10 αριθμότ 41, 6; col. 36, 26, 32 'Αρίσταιχμος άρχων (621/0) 4, 2 Αριστείδη: 22, 39; 23, 13, 19; 24, 10; 28, 11; 41, 17 άριστίνδην 1, 1; και πλουτίνδην 3, 2, 37 'Αριστίων 14, 4 'Αριστογείτων 18, 13, 22; 58, 3 Αριστόδικος 25, 24 Αριστοκράτης 33, 10 'Αριστοκράτης 33, 10
'Αριστοκράτης 32, 3
άριστον, 'b' έξ ἀπάντων αἰρῶνται τὸ 29, 15; βουλεύσωνται τὸ 29, 19; ἢ ἄν δοκῆ αὐτοῖς άριστα ἔξεω 30, 20; ὡς ἀν δύνωνται ἀριστα 30, 21 (all in decrees) ἄρματος, ἐφ' 14, 29 (ἀε Μυπόο 400 ὁ 6, ἀε Χεπορλ. 980 α 12)
'Αριόδιο 18, 8, 12, 13, 21; 58, 3 ἀρμόσας 12, 46 (Solon)
*λομοστές 27, 10 άρμόσας 12, 46 (Solon)

*ἀρμοστής 37, 19

ἀρπαγαῖσιυ 12, 17 (Solon)

'Αρπακτίδης ἄρχων (511/0) 19, 37

"Αρτεμις ἀγροτέρα 58, 1

ἄρτιος 12, 14, 18 (Solon)

ἄρτος, ἀρτοτώλαι, 51, 12, 13

ἀρχαῖος χαρακτήρ 10, 6; τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας 3, 1; τὸ ἀρχαῖον 8, 9; τῶν ἀρχαίων 7, 21 χαίων 7, 21 άρχαιρεσίαι 44, 16 Αρχέστρατος 35, 10 dρχή (1) 'beginning', 5, 6; 41, 13; & dρχή; 3, 6 (?); 16, 1; 28, 5; 41, 7; 55, 3; & dρχής 5, 20; dρχής ('motive') και πρόφασιν 13, 13; ἀρχήν—κακῶν 18, 8; κατ' ἀρχάς 35, 18 (2) 'rule', 'office', 'official'; the last two combined in 3, 4, πρώται τών άρ-χων ήσαν βασιλεύς κτλ: τούτων δε πρώτη μέν ή τοῦ βασιλέως. Sing. 3, 18; 7, 15, 30; 8, 14; 13, 4, 7, 12; 14, 17,

18; 15, 9; 16, 25, 28; 16, 35 (?); 17, 1, 4, 9, 18; 18, 4; 24, 6, 8; 36, 11; 41, 20; 55, 34; 775 dpx75 ereka 55, 32; dpx7p dpxwp twd 53, 31. Pl. dpχαι ἐνδημοι, ὑπερόριοι, 24, 16; αι πρότ τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχαι 43, 5; 44, 17; 61, 1; αι κατὰ πόλεμον ἀ. 62, 18; ἀ. κλη-1; al κατά πόλεμον d. 62, 18; d. κληρωταί 8, 1, 5; 30, 13 (decree); 43, 2;
55, 1; δ2, 1; κληρούμεναι, έκ τῆς δλης
φυλής 62, 2; ἐν θησείψ 62, 2; ἀρχαί
εἰς Σάμον κτλ 62, 16; τῶν ἀρχῶν 3, 38;
8, 10; ταῖς ἀρχαῖς 48, 8, 14; 59, 3, 11;
τὰς ἀρχὰς καθίστασαν 3, 2; ἐποίησε κληρωτάς 8, 1; αἰρουμένων τὰς d. 3, 20;
διετήρει τὰς d. 4, 21; περί τὰς d. 3, 33;
9, 2; ἀρχὰς—ἄρχειν 7, 11; 54, 4; ἀμίσθους 20, 30 (decree) σθους 39, 30 (decree)

*ἀρχηγέται, ἐκατὸν 21, 25
ἀρχηγέται, ἐκατὸν 21, 25
ἀρχιθέωρος, els Δῆλον 56, 20 (οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δαπάνημα τριηράρχω καὶ ἀρχιθεώρω Εἰλ. 1122 @ 24) 'Αρχίνος 34, 23; 40, 4 'Αρχίνος 'Αμπρακιώτης 17, 14 άρχιτέκτονες—έπὶ τὰς ναῦς 46, 4 αρχιτεκτονες—επί ται γαυς 40, 4
φρχω (1) 'begin', 'ηγούμενοι τοῦτο πρῶτον
ἀρχεω θεῦν τῆς όμονοἰας 40, 23; mid.
ἤρξατο 27, 24; 40, 11; ἀρξάμενοι 62, 13.
(2) 'rule', or 'hold office', ἀρχει 47, 4; (1) 14; ἀρχουσι 43, 4; 50, 5; ἀρχωσι 4, 21; ἀρχωσι 4, 16; 24, 9; 29, 31; 39, 17; 62, 18; ἢρχεν 55, 11; ἢρχω 3, 2; ἀρξειν 55, 31; ἢρξεν 13, 7; 19, 39; ραςς. τὴν ἀρχὴν—τῶν ἀρχομένων ἤττω 36, 11 30, 11

dρχων esp. 56, 5—46; also 3, 5, 9, 13,
16, 27; 13, 6, 11; 14, 8; 17, 2; 17, 8;
55, 5; Solon 5, 4; Lygdamis 15, 15.

ἐτὶ—ἄρχοντος about 20 times; Νικομήδους άρχοντος 22, 29; άρχοντος Ύψηχίδου 22, 40. For list of archons, see

English Index. (=εξε τῶν ἀρχόντων)
Col. 31, 17, 24, 35; τῶ ἀρχοντι τῶ col. 31, 17, 24, 35; τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἐφεστηκότι col. 31, 28 έφεστηκότι col. 31, 28 ἀρχοντες, οἰ ἐννέα 7, 4, 12; 8, 3, 8; 22, 21; 29, 31; 30, 6; 45, 18; 47, 15; 55, 2; 59, 19; 62, 2, 10; 63, 1; cf. 3, 11, 24. αἴρεσις τῶν ἀρχόντων 3, 37; 26, 13; ἡροῦντο τοὺς—ἀρχοντας 4, 5; ἀρχοντας ἐλέσθαι δέκα 13, 8; ἐκ ξευγι-πο πό το τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐκριντων 26, 15; των άρχόντων και των έπωνύμων 53, 20.— άρχοντες είς τὰ φρούρια 30, 7 (decree); τοῦ Πειραιέως—δέκα 30, 7 35, 6 doapeis 9, si dσeβeias, γραφή 57, 10 άσεβήσαιεν 18, 30 άσελγείας-παύσασθαι 36, 2 dσθενείς 18, 31 Ασκληπίφ, πομπή 56, 21 άσκῶν 23, 14 (n.c.); άσκῆναι 23, 10 άσπίς 42, 31; 60, 22 άστός: ἐξ ἀμφοῦν άστοῦν—γεγονώς 26, 23;

έξ άμφοτέρων-άστῶν 42, 3

dστυ οι έν τῷ ἄστει 14, 30; τὰ έν τῷ ἄ. 19, 5; εἰς τὸ ἀστυ 6, 15; 39, 7 (decree); 51, 18; τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως 19, 13; περὶ 51, 18; τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως 19, 13; περί τὸ ἄστυ 21, 13; ἐν τῷ ἀστει 16, 8 (opp. κατὰ τὴν χώραν); 24, 3 (opp. ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν); 27, 9; 39, 18; οἰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως (opp. οἰ ἐκ Πειραιέως) 38, 3; 39, 7; 40, 22; τῶν ἐν ἀστει μεινάντων 38, 30; 39, 1 (decree); τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀ. 39, 17 (de-cree); τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀ. 39, 24 (decree).— ἐν ἄστει 50, 5; εἰς ἄστυ 51, 2 στυράμοι 50. Δ άστυνόμοι 50, 4 *атактойнта 61, 15 άτε—έχων 27, 13 άτελής 56, 16; ἀπάντων 16, 24; πάντων - Δτελές γωρίον 42, 34; dreheîs 53, 32.—drehês χωρίον 16, 18 dripos 8, 30; 16, 44; 22, 42; 53, 30; 63, 12 51, 17 ἀτυχῶ· ἡτύχησαν—ναυμαχίαν 34, 15 αύθημερον (e conj.) 45, 2 αῦθις 12, 51 (Solon). Not in *Index*. αὐλητής 62, 11 *αυλητρίδες 50, 6 αύλίσκον έχουσαι, ψήφοι col. 35, 27; έπι-λαμβάνει τον αύλίσκον (τής κλεψύδρας) col. 34, 36 αύξανομένη, κατά μικρόν 23, 2; -ου τοῦ πλήθους 25, 3; (ἀρχή) τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις αὐξηθεῖσα 3, 18 αθέησις 10, 4 αὐτοκράτορας, άρχειν 31, 13 (decree); τῶν δέκα τῶν α. (411) 32, 13; α.—τούς τριάκοντα—ἀποκτείναι 37, 6; δέκα—αὐτοκράτορας 38, 5; α. ἐαυτῶν 39, 4 (decree) αὐτόματον, τὸ 8, 28 actos 6, 20; 12, 2; 14, 13; 15, 25; 16, 14, 33; actol 2, 4, 7; actol di actor 19, 9.—αύτην μόνην χωρείν την ψηφον col. 36, 8.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ 4, 12 αύτοτελείς κρίνευν 3, 32; 53, 5 αὐτόχειρ 39, 19 (decree). Frag. 1553 b 32 ἀφαιρῶ: ἀφελών 12, 5 (Solon); τὰς προσούσας δυσκολίας—ἀφείλου 35, 16; pass. ol ἀφηρημένοι τὰ χρέα 13, 22; τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας (?) 25, 16; mid. ἀφείλετο, 'deprived of' 34, 1; 45, 7; 'rescued' 45, 4 ἀφανίσαι, τοὺς νόμους 22, 3 * ἀφέσιμος (ἡμέρα) 43, 13 άφεσιν, ευρόμενος 30, 33 (decree) Αφιδυαίος 34, 37 άφιημι (1) καταπαλτήν άφιέναι 42, 24; φήημ. (1) καταπαλτήν αφιέναι 42, 24; (ἐκκλησίαν ἀφεῖναι 44, 13; (2) 'rolease', ἀφεῖναι 44, 13; (2) 'rolease', ἀφεῖναι 49, 16, 10; ἀφένται τοῦτον ἀφιᾶσιν 49, 16, 10; ἀφένται τοῦτον 40, 14; ἀφήσουται 52, 5; (3) 'cede', τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆι θαλάττηι ἀφήσουσι 32, 17; ἀφῶσι τὰι πόλεις 34, 12

38, 26 ἀφίστημι ἀποστήσας ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων π поиневортаз 18, 26; обтыз аневты 32, 17; αποστάντος-τοῦ δήμου τ αὐτούς 38, 16; Εὐβοίας ἀποστάσης 33 ἀφνεάν, ἐλπίδ' 12, 17 (Solon) άφορμήν, δανείζηται 52, 15 *άφρακτα, χωρία 27, 17 Αχερδούσιος 38, 22 άψύχων, δίκαι 57, 31 βαδίζει είς τὸ δικαστήριον col. 32, 1 βαδίζουσι πρός τὸν λίθον 55, 28; акротоли 55, 33 Вактуріа 63, 6, 8; col. 32, 3, 10, 1 col. 37, 3 βάλανοι, sortes, 63, 8, 9; col. 31, 32; 5, 13 (not found elsewhere in t sense) βάλλουσι, τους κύβους col. 32, 33; βάλ col. 36, 10 βάρβαροι 22, 38 βάρος 6, 5 βασιλεία 3, 12 *βασίλειος στοά, ή 7, 4 βασιλεύς, king of Persia, 29, 4, 8. ασιλεύς, king of Persia, 29, 4, 6. βασιλεύς, archon, esp. 57, 1—31; a 3, 4, 5, 17, 24; 19, 7, 30; col. 33, 1 τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικός 3, 26. τ βασιλέων, early Attic kings, 3, 7; δ of Pausanias king of Sparta 38, 1 Ηρακλείδης, δ β. έτικαλούμενος 41, 3 βασιλικής (πολιτείας) 41, 11 βεβαίως 15, 14; 38, 12 ρεραίως 15, 14; 35, 12 βελτίω, opp. χείρω 28, 1. τὸ βέλτιστ 9, 13; 35, 19; τοῦ βελτίστου χάρυ: 21; βέλτιστοι (?) γεγανέναι 28, 1 μεταδοῦναι τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦς βελ στοις 36, 3; βελτίστους 38, 19; 42, 1 τα βέλτιστα νομοθετήσας 11, 15; βέλ στα-τŷ πόλει 29, 13 (decree) βημα 28, 17 βla 13, 7; 15, 9 βιαζόμενος 12, 12 (Solon) βίαιον την άρχην 36, 11 βίος, δ έπι Κρόνου 16, 27; διά βίου 3, 39; τῷ βἰῳ θρασύς 18, 7; τὰν ἐκατή βίον 47, 8 βιώσας (?) = βιούς 17, 3 βλασφημεῖν 6, 9; cf. Ar. Dial. frag. 14 a 35 (κατά τῶν τετελευτηκότω») βλι φημείν ούχ δσιον βλέποντες, πρός το παραυτίκα 28, 28 βοήθειαν 19, 21; 38, 8; ταῖs els τα l βοηθείαιs 16, 38 βοηθείαι 13; 19, 28; 37, 17; 38, 2

βουκολείον 3, 25

βουλεύσεωτ 57, 17; γραφή 59, 10 βουλευτήριοτ 32, 14; 48, 3, 10; 53, (only in corresponding frag. and Rhet. ad Alex.)

άφικέσθαι 38, 23; άφικομένου 38, 24; -

βουλευτής 4, 17; 35, 4; 45, 17; 48, 13; 49, 17; 62, 4 βουλεύω inf. 4, 13; 45, 18; (ἔξεστι) βουλεύσαι δίς 62, 19. (In decrees) 30, 4, 16, 19; 31, 2; and ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ βουλευόντων 30, 12; also mid. βουλεύεσθαι (e conj.) 30, 12; also mid. βουλεύσσθαι (e conj.)
30, 19; μετά πλειόνων βουλεύσασθαι
30, 22; βουλεύσωνται τὸ ἄριστον 29, 19
βουλή, ἡ τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν, 3, 34; 4, 22;
26, 1; ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου 4, 20; 60,
11; ἡ ἐν 'Αρείψ πάγψ β. 8, 9; 23, 3;
τὴν 'Αρεοπαγῖτιν βουλήν 41, 18; ἡ βουλή
25, 14; 57, 16; τῆς βουλῆς 25, 8; τὴν
βουλήν 25, 13; βουλῆς ἔδρα 4, 17; cf. 30,
24; β. (τετρακόσιο) 8, 18; 20, 10 f; β.
(οἱ πεντακόσιο) esp. 43, 6 ff; and 45—
40: 21, 7; 22, 7; 24, 14; συναθουσ-49: 21, 7; 22, 7; 24, 14; συναθροισθέσης της β. 25, 20; al της β. κρίσεις els τον δήμον έληλύθασιν 41, 27; η β. δοκιμάζει τους έγγραφέντας 42, 12; κυρία—ζημιώσαι, δήσαι, άποκτείναι 45, 1; (μισθοφορεί) πέντε δβολούς 62, 8. βουλάς τέτταρας 30, 14 (decree 411) βούλησις 9, 14 βούλησις 9, 14 βουλόμενος c. inf. 11, 3; 12, 16; 18, 18; 21, 5 f; 22, 17; 25, 12; οἱ βουλόμενοι βλασφημεῖν 6, 9; τῷ βουλομένῳ 9, 4; 27, 17; τῷ β. Λακιαδῶν 27, 15; τῶν ἄλλων τῷ β. 29, 14; τοὺς β. ᾿Αθηναίων 39, 2 (decree): βούλεσθαι 15, 4; ἐβού-λετο 11, 13; ἐβούλοντο 16, 36 ·βραβεύειν 9, 9 (βραβευτής Rhet. 1376 b 20) Βραυρωνία, πεντετηρίε, 54, 30 βραχέσε, χρόνου 35, 25 βωμόν, καθίζει—έπι τον 25, 19 yaîar 5, 8 (Solon) γάλα 12, 64 (Solon) γαμετής γυναικός 4, 9; έκ τής γαμετής 17, 10 (Frag. 1723) 10 (Frag. 172²)
γάμοι 3, 27
γαμῶ· ἔγημεν 17, 12; γῆμαι 17, 17
γάρ ραssim. After σημεῖον δὲ 7, 21; 8,
7. καὶ γάρ 22, 2; 41, 27; καὶ γάρ—καὶ 19, 2; 27, 4. In third place, μὲν
γάρ—δὲ 3, 9; 11, 10; 14, 10; 16, 37;
24, 12; 28, 5; 40, 14; 41, 6; 47, 2;
τε γάρ—καὶ 16, 4, 31; 19, 10; κατὰ
ταύτην γάρ 2, 25; ἐπ' ἐκείνου γάρ 10,
4; ἐπὶ πέραs γάρ 38, 24. In fourth
place ἔτι καὶ νῦν γάρ 3, 25; καθ' ὅ τι
γάρ 50, 3 γάρ 59, 3 γεγωνῶ Ινα γεγωνῆ μᾶλλον 15, 19 "γεννηται frag. 3
γένος 1, 3; 10, 44; 20, 3; 28, 8; κατὰ τὸ
γ. 42, 36; τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροί 13, 22;
τῷ γένει—προέχοντες 35, 23; τὰ γένη
21, 6, 23; τοῦς γένεσι 57, 11 Γεραιστός 22, 42 γέρας 12, 4 (Solon); ὑπὸρ [τῶν γε]ρῶν 57,

*γεωμόροι frag. 2, 14

γεωργώ: έγεώργου» τ3, 26; γεωργούντα 16, 17; -τας 16, 7 γη̂ 2, 6; 12, 15 &c. κατά γῆν 19, 30. Γη μέλανα 12, 32 (Solon) γήρως - ενέκα > 35, 16 (law of Solon)
γίγνομαι (often spelt γω- in papyrus) 2,
8 π. c.; 16, 11; τί γίγνεται; 16, 20; τοιαύτης έξόδου γιγνομένης 16, 17; τοίς ύπο των τετρακοσίων γιγνομένοις 33, 11; cf. 35, 21. έγένετο 15, 1; γενέσθαι 11, 10; γεγενήσθαι 18, 8; γεγενημένων εὐ 32, 10. γέγονε 3, 18; 42, 7; 54, 19; γεγόνασω 53, 5; γεγονέναι 13, 14 f; 13, 14 f; γεγόνασω 53, 5; γεγονέναι 13, 14 f; 28, 28, 31; 42, 5; 56, 18 f; γεγονώς 26, 23; -ότ 15, 24; 25, 19; -ότει 42, 3; -όται 20, 38; 30, 5; -όσω 63, 11 γιγνώσκω (often spelt γυν- in papyrus) 5, 7 (Solon). γιγνώσκουσι ('decide') 53, 7; έγνωσαν c. sinf. 26, 15, 22; 37, 3. c. acc. 34, 14; δ τι ἀν γνώσω οἱ δικασταί 48, 27. τὸ γνωσθέν 54, 7; τοὺς ἐγνωσμένους 36, 14 γλώσσαν -'Αττικήν 12, 38 (Solon) γλώσσαν-'Αττικήν 12, 38 (Solon) γνάθος (Ιππου) 48, 4 γνασος ((ππου) 48, 4 γνησίους, παίδας 4, 9 γνώμη—διαφέρευ 32, 11. γνώμην, γρά-ψαντος 14, 5; 29, 7; γνώμας ἐπιψη-φίζουσω 48, 12 γνώριμοι ('friends') 6, 7; opp. to δήμος, 2, 1; 5, 2; 11, 8, 11; 10, 36; 28, 7, 10; 34, 19
γνώσεως, διαστηρίου 45, 5; γνώσειν διαιτητοῦ 53, 12 (not used thus in Ar.)
γονέων κακώσεως 56, 30; γονέας εί εὖ ποιεῖ 55, 17 Γοργίλος 'Αργείος 17, 13 γράμμα 63, 19, 21, 22, 24; col. 31, 6, 13, 27; col. 32, 4, 12 урациатей 47, 16, 19, 20, 27, 30; 48, 2, 4; 53; 13, 22

γραμματεύς δ κατά πρυτανείαν 54, 13. δ έπὶ τούς νόμους 54, 19. (τοῦ δήμου) 54, 21. θεσμοθετῶν 55, 4, 7; 59, 19; 63, 2. (στρατηγῶν in 411) 31, 12 (decree) γραφαί αγραφίου 59, 10; αδικίου 54, 10; ραφαί άγραφίου 59, 10; άδικίου 54, 10; ἀσεβείας 57, 10: βουλεύσεως 59, 10; δωροξενίας 59, 8; δώρων 54, 9; 59, 9; ἐπιστατική 59, 6; κακώσεως 56, 30—34; κλοπής (δημοσίων χρημάτων) 54, 68; μοιχείας 59, 11; ξενίας 59, 8; παρα-νόμων 29, 23; 45, 24; 59, 6; καὶ νόμων μή ἐπιτήδειον θείναι 59, 6; προεδρική 59, 6; πυρκαϊάς 57, 16; τραύματος (δίκαι) 59, 6; πυρκαϊάς 57, 16; τραύματος (δίκαι) 57, 14: συκοφαντίας 50, 0; φαρμάκως 57, 14; συκοφαντίαι 59, 9; φαρμάκων (δίκη) 57, 15; φόνου (δίκαι) 57, 12, 14; ψευδεγγραφήι 59, 10; ψευδοκλητείαι 59, 10. - γραφαί λαγχάνονται πρός αυτόν 57, 9; 56, 29 γράφω γράφειν 29, 15 (decree); έγραψεν 29, 17 (decree); 34, 27; Εγραψαν 29. 21; γράψας els πινάκιον 48, 20; -αντος γνώμην 14, 5; 29, 7; -αντες 48, 9;

γέγραπται 8, 17; έν ταις βαλάνοις 63, 9; γεγράφθαι 9, 7; κατά τὰ γεγραμ-μένα 11, 7. γραψάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα— παρανόμων 40, 8. γυμεικόν άγῶνα, τὸν 60, 5, 22 γυναϊκα μεγάλην καὶ καλήν 14, 25; ἐσχεν γυναίκα 17, 14; γυναικός, γαμ-ετής 4, 9; παραιβατούσης τής γ. 14, 29; γυναικί πιθόμενος 35, 16; αί γυ-ναίκες 2, 4; γυναικών έπιμελείται 56, Δαμασία: ἄρχων (c. 582) 13, 6, 10 Δαμωνίδη: Οίηθεν 27, 19 δανείζειν 6, 2; 9, 3; δανείσαι 22, 33; δα-νειζόμενοι 38, 8; έδανείσαντο 39, 25; δανείσηται 52, 14; δανεισάμενος 52, 13; ουνείσητως 3-, 1-, -οι 6, 9; 22, 35 δανείσμοί 2, 8; 4, 23 δαπανή 8, 15; 22, 35 'δαπανώ' δαπανήσαι 29, 30 (decree) * δατητῶν αΙρεσιν, els, 56, 36 δὲ passim. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ 21, 8 f; μετὰ δὲ ταθτα 2, 1 &c.; πρός δὲ τούτοις 26, 6 &c.; kal-bê 12, 15; 41, 20 (?) δεί 12, 10; 16, 22; έδει 7, 10; (έτη) ένδη δέοντα είκοσι 17, 4; ένδη δείν (δεί MS) 19, 39; 27, 7; είς τὸ δέον 30, 20 (decree δείκνυμι τὸ γράμμα δείκνυσι col. 31, 27; δείξει—συνισταμένους 25, 15; δείξουσιν εί βούλονται 40, 12; ού δεικνύων col. 36, 18 δεινός, τὰ πολεμικά, τὰ πολιτικά, 23, 15 δειπνούσι, έν τῷ πρυτανείφ 62, 12 δέκα 8, 3 f; άρχοντας 13, 8; έτων 11, 5; els δ. φυλάς 21, 4; δ. (μέρη) 21, 13. oi beka (1) under the Four Hundred, in 411, δ. αὐτοκράτορες 31, 10—12; 32, 13; (2) after the Thirty, in 404, auroκράτορες έπι την τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσω 38, 5; ή τῶν δέκα τυραννίς 41, 22 (39, 21); superseded by (3) another Board of Ten, τούς βελτίστους είναι δοκούντας, έφ' ών συνέβη και τάς διαλύσεις γεν έσθαι και κατελθείν τον δήμον 38, 19 f. Other bodies of Ten (in 411), mpbβουλοι 29, 11; (καταλογείε) 29, 37; ταμίαι τῶν ἰερῶν χρημάτων and ἐπιταμίαι τῶν ιερων χυημα, ... μεληταί 30, 8—10 (decree): (in 404) τοῦ Πειραιέως άρχοντες δ. 35, 6; δ. διαλλακτών 38, 26. For official bodies of Ten under the normal constitution see άγορανόμοι, άθλοθέται, άποδέκται,

αστυνόμοι, Διονυσίων επιμεληταί, έμπο-

ρίου έπιμεληταί, εθθυνοι, lepomoiol (bis), lepôw έπισκευασταί, lmπέων καταλογείς,

λογισταί (bis), λογιστῶν συνήγοροι, μετρονόμοι, πωληταί, στρατηγοί, σωφρονισταί, ταμίαι τῆς 'Δθηνᾶς, ταξίαρχοι,

τριηροποιοί, φύλαρχοι. * δεκαετίαν, ήρχον 3, 4

* δεκάζειν 27, 25; δεκάσας τὸ δικαστήριο 27, 27 * δεκαπλοῦν, τὸ γνωσθὲν ἀποτίνεται 54. 8 f; 7ò 8. 54, 12 бекату 16, 13, 22 δέκατος ο γραμματεύς 59, 19; της δεκάτη φυλής 63, 2 Δεκέλεια 34, 8 Δελφυίω, έπί 57, 21 Δελφοί δ έν Δ. νεώς 19, 20 δεξιά δούναι την δ. πίστεως χάριν 18, 35; Thy 8. 868wee 18, 36 δέομαι έὰν μη δέωνται πλειόνων 30, 24 (decree); καν τι δέωνται έπισκευάζους τά μάλιστα δεόμενα των Ιερών 50, 4 δεσμωτηρίου φύλακες 35, 6: ἐν τῷ δ. 52, 1 δεσμωτών φύλακες 24, 20 δεσποτικωτέρως 24, 7 δευτέρα 3, 6; δευτέρφ 14, 7. το δεύτερω 15, 2. ούδενοι όντα δεύτερον 38, 11 δέχομαι δέχωται τα χρήματα 48, 8; δε χόμενος-την πομπήν 18, 15; έδέχοντο ω. θανατούν και δείν και χρήμασι ζη μιοῦν 45, 8; (ἡ βουλη) κυρία δησαι 45, 2 (πρότερον); 48, 7; (στρατηγοί) κόροι δήσαι 61, 15; ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐλλειφθὶτ καταβάλλειν ἡ δεδέσθαι 48, 6; cf. 63, δή διά ταύτην δη την αίτίαν 23, 8; προ: δή ταύτην την χορηγίαν 27, 18. *κάλ. λιστα δή και πολιτικώτατα άπάντω 40, 17. Kal δη καί 2, 3; 16, 5, 40 δήτον 12, 21 (Solon) δήλον 13, 10; 53, 20 Δήλον, αμφικτύονες els 62, 14; πεντετηρίς els 54, 29; χορηγοί and άρχιθέωρος 56, δημαγωγίαν, διεδέχοντο-την 28, 26 δημαγωγός 22, 14 δημαγωγώ· πρός τὸ δημαγωγεῖν έλθωτος Περικλέους 27, Ι; διετέλουν οἱ ἐπιεικεῦ δημαγωγούντες 28, 5; τούς προθύμως δημαγωγούντας 26, 3 Δημάρετος 38, 11 δήμαρχοι 21, 19; δήμαρχος, els Πειραιέα 54, 34 δημευομένων, τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν 43, 20 δημηγορών 15, 20; έδημηγόρησε 28, 18 δήμιος 45, 3 δημιουργοί 13, 9 δημοκρατία 23, 2; 29, 2, 5, 18; 38, 30; 40, 13; 41, 13, 21 δήμος: (1) pagus, τὸ όνομα τοῦ δήμου 63, 19; ἐκ τοῦ δ. τῶν Παιανιέων 14, 26; 21; των δ. ἀναγορεύωσιν 21, 18; καλού σιν τῶν δ. 21, 19; πόθεν τῶν δ. 55, 13. 15; δήμους αντί των ναυκραριών 21, 20; κατά δήμους 21, 12; 48, 24; οἱ κατά δ. δικασταί 16, 3; 26, 21; 53, 3; διγροῦντο εἰς τοὺς δ. 62, 3 (2) populus, 12, 4, 11, 29, 49, 57

(Solon). 5, 2; 6, 1; 9, 12; 11, 10; 15, 14, 16; 18, 29; 20, 4, 13, 16, 17; 21, 1; 25, 1, 10; 29, 10; 34, 1, 7, 19, 26; 35, 19; 36, 6; 38, 17, 20, 28; 20; 35, 19; 30, 0; 38, 17, 20, 28; 41, 2, 4, 5; 25—7; 42, 2, 31; 43, 12, 28. (=ϵκκλησία) 44, 8; 45, 22; 46, 3, 9, 21; 56, 23; 57, 3. δήμου προστάτης 2, 9; 23, 13; 25, 4. θαρροῦντος τοῦ δ. 22, 12; τῷ εἰωθυία τοῦ δ. πραδτητί 22, 19; τοῦ δ. καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων 26, 11; Περικλής προειστήκει τοῦ δ. 28, Ι; τοῦ δ. προειστήκει Ξάνθιππος 28, 10. έπαναστάς τῷ δήμω 14, 6; τ $\mathring{ω}$ δ. διανείμασθαι 22, 31; έν τ $\mathring{ω}$ δ. 25, 22. συνέπεισε τὸν δήμον 14, 3; pl. οἱ δήμον KPATHEAPTES 40, 24

πρώτιο 6 47, 31; 48, 4. ίδιος and δημόσιος 6, 4; 43, 27; 48, 25; 59, 16. δημοσία σφραγίς 44, 5; το δημόσιος 63, 12; δημόσιοι έργάται 54, 2; ὑπηρέται 50, 14; τὰ δόξαντα δημόσια είναι 52, 7. δημοσία 49, 28; col. 32, 14, 19

δημότης 21, 16; 22, 22; 27, 14; 42, 3,

5, 9, 11, 13; 59, 12; 62, 5 δημοτικός τῷ ἡθει 16, 30; δημοτικήνπολιτείαν 29, 19; δημοτικά 10, 1; δημοτικώτερα 22, 1; 27, 3; 41, 15; δη-μοτικώτατος 13, 20; 14, 1; τρία—δημοτικώτατα 9, 2. ol δημοτικοί 6, 8, 13;

16, 36; 18, 30; 34, 18
διά· c. gen. (1) duration of time, διά βίου 3, 3, 39. (2) interval of time, διά τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων 13, 6; adverbial βίου 3, 3, 39. (2) interval of time, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων 13, 6; adverbial *διὰ τάχους * 34, 1 (διὰ ταχέων in *λριστοδίκου 25, 24; τῶν φίλων 6, 8; δι' αὐτῶν 33, 12; ἐαυτῶν 35, 7; αὐτοῦ 41, 5. (4) means, διὰ τούτων 25, 1; δι' ῶν 25, 9. (5) distributed possession, ἡ τῆ δι' δλίγων τοι τὸν τοι τὸν τοι τὸν τοι ἐκλίγων ποιήσωνται τὴν πολιτείαν 29, 9. ε. αεc. (1) bersonae. δι' δν 22, 16;

c. acc. (1) personae, &' & 22, 16; c. αcc. (1) personae, οι ον 22, 10; διά Παυσωνίαν 23, 20; τους δημαγωγούται 26, 3; τους δημαγωγούς 41, 9; τους παροργίσωντας 34, 7: (2) rei, διά τοῦτο 21, 8; ταῦτα 38, 31; τοιάνδ' alτίαν 19, 8; ταῦτην τὴν alτίαν 23, 8; ταύτας τὰς αίτίας 21, 1; τὰ άξιώματα 18, 1; την απορίαν 13, 22; τας των χρεών αποκοπάς 11, 8; την της θαλάττης άρχήν 41, 19; τὰς πατρικάς δόξας 26, 9; τὴν εθνοιαν 38, 28; τὰς ἡλικίας 18, 2; τὴν παρρησίαν 16, 23; τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν 26, 21; τὴν ῥαθυμίαν 8, 28; την σεισάχθειαν 12, 27; την συμ-μαχίαν 29, 4; την Ξέρξου στρατείαν 22, 40; την φιλονικίαν 13, 16; τον φόβον 13, 23. c. inf. διά το άνηρηκέναι 19, 2; άποβαλεῖν Πύλον 27, 26; βοηθήσαι 19, 28; γενέσθαι 3, 7; δοκεῖν 20, 7; 11, 9; θαυμάσαι 16, 19; μεγάλην γεγονέναι μεταβολήν 13, 15; μη βούλεσθαι 15, 3; μη γεγράφθαι 9, 7; μη

δύνασθαι 9, 12; μη χρήσθαι 22, 3; νομίζειν 29, 8; ποιήσασθαι 41, 4; στασιάζειν 13, 8; συμβήναι 28, 33;

τιμωρείν 19, 2 διαβάλλειν 6, 5; διαβάλλουσι 28, 36; διαβεβλημένους 23, 20

*διαβουλεύσαι, (κατελύθη) ή βουλή πρίν,

διαγίγνομαι οιαγεγένηται (ή πολιτεία) μέχρι τῆς νῦν c. part. 41, 23 ἀγω· διῆγον ἐν ἡσυχία 13, 3; οὔτως

διάγουσι 42, 29 διαδέχομαι· διαδεξαμένων (?) των υλέων 16,

28 (cf. Pol. 1293 a 29 τῶν τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τούς υλείς); διεδέχοντο συνεχώς την δημαγωγίαν 28, 26 διαδίδωμι πορίσασα δραχμάς έκαστψ όκτώ

διέδωκε 23, 7; (διωβελία) διεδίδοτο (?)

διαδικάζει τοι γένεσι—τας αμφισβητήσεις 57, 10 (only in corresp. frag. and Oec. 1347 6 28)

*διαδικασία έπιτροπης 56, 38; pl. κλήρων και έπικλήρων 56, 39; (τριηραρχών) 61, 9

*διαιρετοί, αμφορείς col. 36, 5 διαιρώ 'divide', τὰ τιμήματα διείλεν els τέτταρα τέλη 7, 9; διήρητο 7, 9; διη-ροῦντο els τοὺς δήμους 62, 3; διελόμενοι τάς φυλάς, πέντε έκάτερος 61, 20; 'distinguish' τοις μέτροις διηρήσθαι 7,26 διαίτας αποφαίνονται 55, 29; διανέμουσι

53, 28; ékőiaitár 53, 29 διαιτηταί 53, 6; 55, 29; 58, 8; έξηκοστόν έτος 53, 19; διαιτητοῦ γνῶσις 53, 12; παρά τοῦ δ. 53, 18

*διαιτώ διαιτήσει 53, 28; έπώνυμος δδεδιαιτηκώς 53, 24 [διάκ]ενα col. 36, 27

διακληρούσι 50, 8; διακληρώσαι 30, 18 (decree)

διάκονε 20, 22 (scolium)

διακόσιοι 24, 14; ένα καὶ διακοσίους (δικαστάς) 53, 15; διακόσια (μέτρα) 7, 27

διακοσμούντα την πομπήν 18, 20

'διακρίων (στάσις) 13, 20

διαλέγομαι. διελέγετο μετά σπουδής αὐτοῖς 25, 17; διαλέξεται πρός τον δήμον 43,

διαλείπω• διαλιπόντες έτη δύο 22, ΙΙ *διαλλακτήν Σόλωνα, είλοντο 5, 4; τῶν (ἐκ Λακεδαίμονοι) δέκα διαλλακτῶν 38, 26

διαλύσεις (ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου) 38, 20, 25; 39, I; 40, I

διαλύων τους διαφερομένους 16, 14; διαλύσαι 53, 7; διελύθησαν—πρός τους Έλευσιν 40, 25

διαμαρτάνων της πρός αύτον φιλίας 18, 9 διαμένει το δέκα κληρούν 8, 4; έν τη άρχη διέμεινεν 17, 4; διέμεινεν ή πολιτεία 25, 2; 33, 1

διαμφισβητεί, ύπερ αμφοτέρων μάχεται Kal 5, 20 διαμφισβητήσεις είχον, των Σόλωνος θεσμών 800 35, II διανέμω. διανέμουσιν—τάς διαίτας 53, 27; διανειμάντων 31, 20 (decree); διένειμα τήν χώραν τριάκοντα μέρη 21, 12; διανείμαι σφάς τε αύτους και τους άλλους δέκα μέρη 30, 17 (decree); διανείμαντα (τὰς δίκας) δέκα μέρη 58, δ. διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν 12, 15; τὸ ἀργύριον 22, 31 διαπέμπω διεπέμποντο πρός τούς έν Πειραιεί 38, 23 διαπεσόντος (?), χρόνου 35, 25 διαπραξάμενος, ταθτα 20, 9 δια[μθμούσιν] col. 36, 29 διαρπάζειν, τὰς οὐσίας 35, 25 **διαρρινῶ· ἐπίθημα διερρινημένον col. 36, διασείσαντος τοῦ ὑπηρέτου col. 31, 8 διασημαίνω διεσήμηναν 15, 22 διασπείρω. διεσπαρμένοι κατά την χώραν 16, 8; διεσπάρησαν οι λόγοι πρός το πλήθος 36, 4 *διασφάλλομαι: έν—οίς έπραττον διεσφάλλοντο 19, 11 διασώζειν έπειρώντο τὸν δημον 34, 18 διατάττουσι (τοὺς στρατηγούς) 61, 3; διέταξε την πολιτείαν 7, 7; την πολιτείαν διέταξαν 29, 28; διατάξας 11, 1; διατάξασα 8, 11 διατελούσιν, χρώμενοι 8, 6; διετέλουν νοσούντες 13, 12; διετέλουν—δημαγωγούντες 28, 4; στασιάζοντες διετέλεσαν 20, 19 διατηρείν τους νόμους 3, 34; διετήρει τάς άρχάς 4, 30; τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν διατίθησω, άγωνα 57, 7; 58, 2 διατιρίβω c. part. διέτριβε δημηγορών 15, 20. οδ διέτριβεν 25, 16; διατρίβωσιν έν τω άστει 16, 8; διατρίβουσω έν τοις φυλακτηρίοις 42, 33 διαφάδην 12, 57 (Solon) διαφέρων, δικαιοσύνη των καθ' έαυτόν 23, 15; συνέσει και γνώμη διαφέρειν 32, 11. διαφερόμενοι πρός άλλήλους 23, 11: διαφερομένου 16, 15 διαφθείραι ('corrupt') τον δήμον 28, 16. (2) 'kill', Θηραμένην διαφθείραι 37, 4; διέφθειρεν αὐτόν 18, 38 διάφορος c. dat. 11, 8 διαφυλάττω την δημοκρατίαν 29, 2 διαχειρίζωσι-χρήματα 30, 14 (decree); cf. 43, 13, and Pol. 1322 b 28 *διαχειροτονούσιν 49, 17 *διαψηφίζεσθαι 55, 25; col. 36, 10; δια-ψηφίζονται 42, 4; διαψηφίσασθαι col. 36, 13 *διαψηφισμός 13, 24 διδάσκαλοι (έφήβων) 42, 22 διδάσκουσιν 42, 24 *δίδραχμον 10, 7; Οες. 1353 a 17

δίδωμι διδόναι τοις πολλοίς τα αύτων 17, 21; διδόναι δημοσία τροφήν 49, 28; δίδωσι—els τροφήν 42, 24; δίδωσυ έπ χειροτονίαυ—ψήφον 55, 22 f; δίκην (43, 34), έπιχειροτονίαν (43, 24), εὐθύνας (56, 4) διδόασιν; οὐδεμίαν έαυτῷ πλεονεξία διδούς 16, 32; δοθναι την δεξιάν and τη δεξιάν δέδωκεν 18, 35 f; δοθναι τὰ ένν τοῦ 35, 14; δοῦναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς (τὰ &καστήρια) 59, 2; (φάρμακον) δούς 57, 16; δούς κατηγορίαν και άπολογίαν 55, 21 *διεγγνασθαι 4, 10 διελθέν (?) 4, 16; χρόνου διελθόντος 4, 1; διελθόντων - έτων 42, 36 δικάζω of the officials presiding at 2 trial, (ol elouywyeis) rauras ourajouru 57, 17, 21, 13—26, 30; 59, 2; έμετη τους εἰσάγουτες 52, 17; cf. 57, 27 and 30. Abs. 63, 11, 13. κατὰ δήμετι ἐδἰκαζου 53, 3; τοῦς τὴν ψυλὴν—δικάζουσιν 53, 14; 58, 7; δεδικασμένα col. 37, 5 δίκαιος πρός την πολιτείαν 25, 5; ού-δ καιον 9, 13; 11, 64; δικαίοις (μέτροι καί σταθμοῖς) 31, 7. Αάν. δικαίοι λαβοῦν του έξει του δικαίου λαβοῦν του έξει του δικαίου δικαί λαβείν την έξουσίαν 41, 4; έγγράφεσθα 42, 10; wrios forat 51, 11; apter 5 31 δικαισσύν η—διαφέρειν 23, 15 δικαστήρια (under Solon) 7, 15; 9, 5, 10: (Ephialtes) 25, 10; (Pericles) μισθο (Εριπαιες) 25, 10, 11 ετιτιες) μουνόρα 27, 11; (Anytus) δεκάσαι τὸ δι καστήριον 27, 27. εἰσάγειν εἰς δικαστήριον (29, 26), εἰς τὸ δ. 45, 10; 48, 26; 52, 4, 6, 19. ἐφίησιν (ἐφῷ 53, 9) εἰς τὸ δ. 42, 8; ἐφέσιμος εἰς τὸ δ. 45, 14; δ. ίδια καὶ δημόσια 59, 15. τὰ δ. τρεα δβολούς (μισθοφορεί) 62, 7; τὰ δ. ελη ροῦσιν οἱ ἐννέα ἀρχοντες 63, 1; εἰσδα είς τὰ δ. (?) 63, 3 δικαστής, ἔκαστος, 63, 18; δικασταί— ἐξακωχίλιοι 24, 12; κατὰ δήμους 16, 13; 48, 24; ὅτι ἄν γνώσιν οἱ δικασταί 48, 27; ἄν καταγνώσιν οἱ δικασταί 54. 9; 63, 14; eml roîs δικασταίς 55, 20: των λαχόντων δικαστών 63, 6; δικαστά κληρούσι 59, 18 δίκη. Solon in c. 12, έν δίκη χρόνου l. 30 βίαν τε και δίκην l. 43; εύθειαν δίκη l. 46. δίκην διδόασιν—λαμβάνουσιν 42, 34 δίκας λαγχάνουσιν 53, 2; δίκαι λαγχάν очтан троз autor 58, 4; dikas крічен з δίκαι alkelas 52, 15; άνδραπόδων 52 16; ἀποστασίου, ἀπροστασίου, 58, 9 els ἐπιτρο πῆς διαδικασίαν 56, 36; els ἐπιτρο πῆς διαδικασίαν 56, 38; els ἐπιτροπῆ κατάστασιν 56, 37; δούλων ἐἀν τις τὸ

έλευθερον κακώς λέγη, 59, 14; ξμμηνοι 52, 11—20; ξμπορικαί 59, 14; ξρανικαί 52, 15; (διαι 58, 5; 59, 13; κλήρων και έπικλήρων 43, 21; 56, 39; 58, 9; κοινωκαί 52, 15; μεταλλικαί 59, 14; παρανοίας 56, 35; προικός 52, 12; ἀπό τῶν συμβόλων 59, 17; τραπεξτικαί 52, 16; απο συμβόλων 59, 16; ὑπολυνίων 52, 16: συμβολων 59, 17; τραπειτικώ 52, 10; τριηραρχίας 52, 16; υποξυγίων 52, 16; (ψευδομαρτυριών) col. 36, 11—13; τὰ ψευδομαρτύρια τὰ ἐξ Αρείου πάγου 59, 17. For δίκαι ἀδικίου, κακώσεως, κλοπῆς (δημοσίων χρημάτων), πυρκαίας, τραύματος, φόνου, see γραφαί δίμηνον ήρξεν 33, 2 διό καὶ 3, 17, 21, 38; 5, 19; 8, 16; 16, 13, 26, 34; 17, 4; 20, 21; 23, 15, 20; 27, 20; διό καὶ νῦν 7, 29 διοικείν, μηδέν των πατρίων τον άρχοντα, οικευ, μησεν των πατρων τον αρχωτικ, 3, 16; πάρτα, 16, 31; 44, 12; την πολιτείαν, 27, 11. διοικεί—άγωνα 56, 27; τὰς πατρίους θυσίας 57, 9. διοικοῦσι, πεντετηρίδας 54, 28; πομπήν 60, 4. διψκει τα πλείστα και τα μέγιστα 3, 35; τὰ κοινά 14, 17; τὰ κατά την πόλιν 16, 2; την πόλιν 23, 3. τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διώκουν 26, 12. διώκησαν, τειχών άνοικοδόμησιν 23, 17. πάντα διοικείται ψηφίσμασι καί δικαστηρίοις 41, 25; τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς διοικούμενα 50, 1;

περί των διωκημένων 25, 7 διοίκησις άπὸ τῶν κοινῶν 24, 21; ἐγκύκλιος

Διονύσια 56, 11, 12, 28; Δ. τῶν μεγάλων 56, 22; τῶν ἐπὶ Δηναίφ 57, 4; in Salamis and Peiraeus 54, 35

Διόνυσος 3, 26 διπλούν-καταβάλλειν 49, 5

διπλούται 54, 12 δls τὸν αὐτὸν μη άρχειν 4, 15; οὐκ ἔστιν (ἐπιστάτην) δls τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι 44, 3; έξεστι βουλεύσαι δίς 62, 10

*δισμύριοι 24, 12

*δισχίλιοι 24, 18; ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου 24, 20; δισχιλίους 26, 10

Δίφιλος 7, 21, 23

*δίχους col. 34, 33 f διωβελία 28, 20 (διωβολία Pol. 1267 δ 2)

*διώβολον 41, 34

διώκευ, 'prosecute,' 56, 31; τοῦ διώκον-τος, 'the plaintiff,' 53, 11; col. 36, 32. διώκευ τὴν μέσην πολιτείαν 13, 18; τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν 35, 9 δόγμα: ούδενι δόγματι λαβοῦσα την ηγε-

μονίσιο 23, 4 δοκιμάζει (ή βουλή) τους έγγραφέντας 42, 12; — βουλευτάς 45, 17; — θ΄ ἄρχοντας 45, 17; — ἴππους, προδρόμους, άμίππους, 45, 17; — ιππους, προδρόμους, άμίππους, 49, 1, 5, 7; — άδυνάτους 40, 25, 27. δοκιμάζωσιν (τούς άρχοντας) 55, 13; δοκιμάζωται (οἱ άρχοντες) 55, 6; (οἱ πάρεδροι) 55, 3. δοκιμασθέντες (οἱ άρχοντες) 55, 27; (οἱ άθλοθέται) 60, 3; δοκιμασθώσιν οἱ ξφηβοι 42, 14 δοκιμασίας ταις άρχαις άπάσαις, είσάγουσυ

(ol θεσμοθέται) 59, 11 δοκώ passim. c. inf. 6, 12; 9, 2; 10, 1; 20, 7; 22, 17; 25, 5; 28, 35 &c. rà δόξαντα περί της πολιτείας 35, 3

δολοφονηθείς 25, 24. δολοφονηθέντος Διο-μήδους, de Admir. 836 a 16; δολοφονία

Είλ. 1131 a 7
δόξαν, παρά 11, 10; τῆ φύσει καὶ τῆ δόξη
5, 12; διὰ τὰς πατρικὰς δόξας 26, 9

δόρυ 42, 31

δορυφόροι (of Hippias) 18, 22 δουλεύειο 2, 11; εδούλευου οι πένητες τοις πλουσίοις 2, 3; των πολλών δουλευόντων τοὶς δλίγοις 5, 2; cf. 12, 26. Γή
— δουλεύουσα 12, 34 (Solon)

δούλων δίκαι 59, 4; φανερώς δούλοι 40, 10

Δρακοντίδης 34, 27

Δράκον 3, 1; 4, 3; 7, 2; 41, 11

δραχμή 3, 1; 4, 3; 7, 2; 41, 11

δραχμή 3, 19; 10, 6; 23, 7; 42, 25; 50, 7; 62, 7, 12, 14. ἐπὶ δραχμή 52, 13. μέχρι δέκα δραχμών 52, 19; 53, 5. Omitted ἐντὸς χιλίων—ὑπὲρ χιλίας 53, 15 f. (συναλλάγματα) δραχμιαῖα καὶ πεντάδραχμα Pol. 1300 b 33

*δρύφακτος 50, 11 δρώ· τοῦτ' έδρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων 35, 17; βουλόμενοί τι δράσαι πρό της συλλήψεως 18, 18; τῷ δράσαντι λαγχάνει 57, 30

δύναμμη, είχου 12, 6 (Solon); μεγίστην είχεν δ. 13, 11; την ναυτικήν δ. 27, 5; περιείλοντο την δ. 25, 22; έπιλειπόμενος τη δυνάμει 19, 5; τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσω 22, 13 (cf. τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις Εth. 1095 ὁ 21)

δύνασθαι 9, 12; μή δ. τῷ σώματι ἐππεύειν ἡ τῆ οὐσία 49, 16; particip. 7, 19; 49, 3; ἐδύναντο 18, 25; 19, 9; δύνωνται διαλύσαι 53, 7.

δυναστείαν, καταλύση την (of the Thirty) 36, 6

δυνατός, καθ' όσον ήν 14, 14; μη δυνατούς είναι τοίε σώμασιν ίππεύειν 49, 14; τοίε δυνατωτάτοις και τοίε σώμασιν και τοίε χρήμασιν λητουργείν 29, 34 (decree)

χρημασίο λητουργείο 29, 34 (decree) δύο 4, 19; 13, 7, 9; 20, 14; 22, 11; τὰ δύο μέρη 51, 17. gen. τῶν δυεῖν ἐτῶν 42, 37; δυεῖν δραχμαῖν 50, 7; δυοῖν χάριν 16, 7. dat. δυοῖν φυλαῖν 52, 12; 56, 13; πρὸς τοῖν δυοῖν ὁβολοῖν 28, 32. Cf. Kühner, ed. Blass, i p. 633 δύο

δυσκολίας, τάς παρούσας 35, 15

δυσχεραίνοντες, τη πολιτεία 13, 15 (οι έν τη πολιτεία δυσχεράναντες Pol. 1306 b 4); έπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις έδυσχέραινον 2, 12.

δώδεκα 8, 13; 21, 9 δωδεκάτψ, έτει 22, 10

δωρεάν ούκ έστιν αύτοις λαβείν 46, 6; δωρεών 3, 13

που 3, 13 δωρος έναι τηραφή 59, 8 δώρος δούς 59, 9; λαβόντα 54, 8; μη λή-ψεσθαι 55, 3. δώρων γραφή 59, 9; δώ-. ρων τιμώσιν 54, 9

ėdv 7, 6; 16, 42 (law); 17, 7; 22, 34 &c. Cf. dv έαυτοῦ, αὐτοῦ, passim. νοσοῦντες τὰ πρὸς ἐαυτούς (= ἀλλήλους) 13, 12 έβδομήκοντα 10, 6 ₹βδομος 15, 2 έγγίγνεται 54, 32 έγγραφή τῶν πολιτῶν 42, 38 έγγράφονται—είς τούς δημότας 42, 3, 4; γγράφειν 42, 11; έγγράψαντας 42, 13; δικαίως έγγραφεσθαι 42, 10; τους έγγραφέντας 42, 12; οι δ' έφηβοι οι έγγραφόμενοι — els λελευκωμένα γραμματεΐα ένεγράφοντο, — ένεγράφησαν 53, 22 f. (Ιππέας) έγγράφουσιν είς τον πίνακα 49, 18; (Ιππέων) έγγεγραμμένων 49, 13. ν έγγεγραμμένων (els τον τών τρισχιλίων κατάλογον) 36, 15. ἐπίτροπον ἐγγράψαι 56, 39. καν τις ἐλλίπη καταβολήν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται 48.5; (cf. πράξεις των προτιθεμένων κατά τας έγγραφάς Pol. 1322 a) έγγνηταί 4, 12 έγκαλή, ὅ τι ἄν 48, 22; οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν αυτοίς 38, 30 *έγκατεγήρασε τἢ άρχἢ 17, 1 έγκρατέστερου έσχου, τὴυ πόλω 35, 22 (cf. έγκρατῶς έσχου τὴυ άρχἡυ Pol. 1284 a 40). έγκύκλιοι (άρχαί) 26, 18; τὰς άρχὰς τὰς περί τὴν έγκύκλιον διοίκησιν 43, 1 έγχει 22, 22 (scolium) έγχειρίδια 18, 27 έδρα βουλής ή έκκλησίας 4, 17; τὰς έδρας - τής βουλής 30, 24 έερδον 12, 23 (Solon) έθέλω passim; in pap. saepe θέλω. μη θέλουσι 49, 3; μη θέλη 56, 37. οἰ εθέλοντες Αθηναίων 29, 24 (decree) εί μή τι παρεωράτο 26, 18; εί μή — άποδιδοίεν 2, 7; el — έκλείποι 4, 17; el δè μή, after έδυ μέν, 22, 35 &c; after κδυ μέν, 52, 5. el — ἤ (=πότερον — ἤ) 43, elkós 6, 13; 9, 12 &c. είκοσι 17, 4; 24, 19; 29, 11; 30, 10 elkúr 7, 21 είκων 7, 21
ειμί passim. ετη 14, 9. ἐπὶ των ίδιων
είναι 15, 25; πρὸς τοῦς ίδιοις ὅντες 16,
9. τὸ νῦν είναι 31, 9 (decree)
είπεῖν 2, 12; 14, 9; ὡς εἰπεῖν 2, 12; ὡς
ἔπος εἰπεῖν 49, 31; 57, 8. ἀν — είποι 7, 30; εἰπών 10, 5; Περικλέους εἰπόντος 26, 22; εἰπόντος τὸν πρὸ τοῦ
ψηφίσματος λόγον Μηλοβίου 29, 6. εἶπα
12, 22 (Solon). Cf. εἰρηται
εἰονεσθαι τῶν κοιμιων 57, 12; εἰονεται είργεσθαι τών νομίμων 57, 13; είργεται τών ίερων 57, 28 είρηνην άγειν 34, 9; παρεσκεύαζεν είρ. 16, 26; έπι πέρας ήγαγε την είρηνην 38, 25. της είρ. γενομένης αυτοίς 34, 17 είρηται, καθάπερ 4, 24; ώσπερ 16, 3; δν-περ είρηται τρόπον 11, 2. τῆς ἡλικίας

της είρημένης 30, 15 (decree); είρημένα ώσω οἱ λόγοι col. 35, 30. Cf. είπω εἰς (1) of place, εἰς Αίγωντον 11, 5; εἰς Πειραιέα, els άστυ, 51, 1 f; ή els τὸ δικαστήριον έφεσις 9, 5
(2) of time, els ένιαυτόν 30, 19 (deτος τρία έτη 47, 12; έκατον έτη 7, 7; τον μέλλοντα χρόνου 31, 1; and (in decrees) τον λοιπόν χρ. 30, 15; τον Ολω χρ. 31, 18. έκ Παναθηναίων είς Πανα θήναια 43, 4.
(3) of measure, or limit, els erreκοσίους drδρας 24, 16
(4) of relation to, ήδον — els τούτω 20, 21. τὰ els τὸν πόλεμον 23, 10 els passim. = ὁ μὲν els — ὁ δ' ἔτερος 37, 6 f; ἐνὸς δεῦν 19, 39; 27, 27; ἐνὸς δέοντα 17, 4; ένα 4, 14; μία 13, 17; μίαν 4, 19 είσεγγελία: Σόλωνος θέντος νόμων είσ-αγγελίας 8, 26; ρί. 29, 23; 43, 19; 59, 4 είσαγγέλλει», πρός την τών 'Αρεοπαγιτών βουλήν 4, 22; els τούς διαιτητάς 53, 32; (ol θεσμοθέται) τὰς είσαγγελίας είσαγ (οι σευμοσεται) τας εισαγγελίας είσα γέλλουσι els τον δήμων 59, 4; Εεστι και τοις ιδιώταις είσαγγέλλειν ήν αν βού-λωνται των άρχων μη χρήσθαι τοις νόμως 45, 14 (not found in Ar. in technical sense) elσάγω els δικαστήριον 29, 26 (decree) els 70 δικαστήριον 45, 10 (law); 48, 26; 52, 4, 6; 53, 15; 54, 6; 56, 30, 41; 63, 14. δίκας 52, 12, 17; 58, 8; 59, 13, 17. διαδικασίας 61, 6. δοκιμασίας 59, 11. ἐνδείξεις 52, 8, 9. προβολάς κτλ 59, 5. τοις δικασταις τοις τψ προβολάς φυλήν-είσαγουσιν 48, 25. *elσελαίνω. έφ' άρματος είσήλαυνε 14, 29 είσερχομαι είς την άρχην είσερχονται 55, τέρχομαι: ets την αρχην εω ερχωνιαι 33, 35; είσελθεῖν είs την άρχην 56, 6. είσελθεῖν είs την άρχην 22, 13. είσελθεῖν είs τὸ δικαστήριον col. 32, 6; εἰσίν είν εἰs τὸ δικαστήριον col. 32, 6; (els δικαστήριον) col. 31, 33; col. 32, 7. elseddes els tò lepón 57, 29. Abs. elbis elseddes 56, 5; elspesan and elssina 32, 5 f. tòn elsiónta éncauton 31, 13 (decree) είσηγήσατο, ώσπερ Αριστείδης 24, 10 *elσηγητής 27, 20 elσοδος, els τὰ δικαστήρια (?) 63, 3, 7; δικαστηρίου col. 32, 10 *еютраттен 8, 17; 48, 6; 60, 8; еттры ποις-είσπράττει 56, 46 είσφέρει-τὰς μισθώσεις 47, 26. είσ-φέρουσι γράψαντες έν σανίδι 48, 9; τὸν κατάλογον είς την βουλήν 49, ΙΙ. νόμονς είσηνεγκαν είς την βουλήν 37, 5. είσης ρεται—είς την βουλήν τὰ γραμματεία 47, 30

είσφορά 8, 15

elra· elr' 8, 4; 22, 34. πρώτον μέν—είτ' 42, 20; πρώτον μέν—έπειτα—είθ' 62, 6—9.

είωθεν 28, 24; είώθασιν 40, 4; τῆ είωθυία-πραδτητι 22, 10 έκ (1) place, έξ "Αργους 17, 12; 'out of' έκ τούτων 8, 4; έκ της φυλής έκαστης 8, 12 &c; πρώτος ήρξεν έξ αὐτῶν 26, 16; έκ καταλόγου 26, 8. (2) origin, έκ της γαμετής 17, 10. *έκ (= ὑπό) τῶν άλλων* όμολογεῖται 5, 13. (3) inference, ἐκ τῶν νῶν γιγνομένων, ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας, θεωρεῖν 9, 13. (4) time, ἐξ ἀρχῆς (= ἐν ἀρχῆς) 16, 1; 28, 5; 41, 7; 55, 3; ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, denuo, 4, 16 (Pol. 1233 a 2, 1236) a 1, 12 a 2, 12 a initio); ėξ οδ 60, 12; έκ Παναθηναίων els II. 43, 4 EKBATTOS" έκαστον 11, 6. έκάστη των φυλών 8, 2. The art. generally added, but sometimes omitted:—ἐκάστη τῆ ἡμέρα 43, 15; της ημέρας έκαστης 62, 15. πρυτανείας έκάστης 43, 14; κατά την πρ. έκάστην 61, 11: κατά πρ. έκάστην 47, 18. έκ της φυλής έκάστης 8, 12; 29, 37; 44, 8; 53, 1; τῆς φ. ἐκάστης 48, 17; col. 32, 20; ἀπὸ <τῆς φ. ἐκάστης ἐκάστης 43, 6; ἀφ' ἐκάστης τῆς φ. 61, 2; ἔνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης 42, 18; 48, 15; 56, 25; 60, 3; 61, 17; éξ έκάστης της φ. 22, 9: έξ έκάστης <της> φ. 55, 5; έκατον έξ έκάστης φ. 8, 19. έκάστης 5; ἐκατὸν ἔξ ἐκάστης φ. 8, 19. ἐκάστης τῆ φυλῆς 58, 7; τῆ φ. ἐκάστης 63, 3, 4, 5. καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν φ. col. 31, 2. Αττ. without ἐκαστος: δύο ὁβολοὺς ἐκάστως τῆς ἡμέρας 49, 28 (law); τρεῖς ὁβολοὺς ἔκαστον τῆς ἡμέρας 29, 32; δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας 62, 12. ἄπαξ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ 44, 14. εἶς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς 47, 3, 8; ἔνα τῆς φυλῆς 61, 23. Ρί. 7, 14; 13, 25; 21, 24 ἀc. ἐκάτερος ραςςεπ. ἐκατέρου βίον 17, 8; ἐφ οἶς ἐκάτερος τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες 32, 15; ἐφ' οἶς ἔχουσω ἐκάτερος 34, 8 ἐκατέρουθι 54, 35 έκατέρωθι 54, 35 Έκατομβαιών 62, 13 έκατον άρχηγετών 21, 25; έξ έκάστης φυλής 8, 19 (cf. 21, 8); άνδρας, τούς άναγράψοντας την πολιτείαν 30, 3, 17; 31, 21; 32, 1. ξτη 7, 7. μνῶν 4, 9; τάλαντα 22, 30; (δραχμαῖε) 10, 6 ἐκβάλλω· ἐξέβαλου (Πεισίστρατου) 14, 19; πολλούς—έκβεβληκέναι 19, 3; έκ τῶν τάφων έξεβλήθησαν 1, 2 έκβολή τῶν τυράννων 20, 18 *ékőiaitár, diaitas 53, 29 ekőlkws 12, 36 (Solon) έκει 55, 34; pap. 19, 6 έκειθεν 15, 6 έκεινος 15, 20; 16, 40 &c. έκεισε 19, 6 *έκθύματα (?) 54, 24 * έκκηρῦξαι 61, 15 έκκλησία, under Dracon, 4, 18; under Solon, 7, 15. έκκλησία, esp. 43, 16 f. έ. κυρία 43, 17; 62, 7. έλθών els τὴν

έ. 35, 11. έ. έν τ $\hat{\psi}$ θεάτρ $\hat{\psi}$ 42, 30. (ἀρχαιρεσίαι) έν τ \hat{g} έ. 44, 17. μισθοφόρον εκκλησίαν—ἀπέγνωσαν ποιείν, and οὐ συλλεγομένων εἰς τὴν έ. 41, 30; μισθοφοροῦσι—ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις 62, 6 έκκλησιάζειν 15, 17 έκκομισάμενοι, τὰ ἐαυτῶν 19, 36 exhelmon the σύνοδον, el de tis two Bouheuτῶν 4, 18 των 4, 10 *έκμαρτυρών (?) 7, 25 ἐκπέμπω· Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν 19, 29; ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσι 53, 36; τοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐκπέμπουσιν 61, 10 ἐκπίπτω (τῆς ἀρχῆς) ἐξέπεσε 15, 2; 19, 6; ὅτ' ἐκπέσοι 16, 35; ἐκπεσόντα 17, ώς έξέπεσον (έκ της πόλεως) οί περί 17. ώς έξέπεσον (επ τον Ίσαγόραν 28, 9 *έκπολιορκῶ· έξεπολιορκήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων 19, 13 ξκρουν έχοντας, όχετούς μετεώρους είς την óðòr 50, 12 ** δετήμοροι, πελάται καί 2, 5 δετίνω δάν – δεκτέιση τις 54, 11: δως αν δεκτείση 63, 16 ([Ar.] Rhet. ad Alex. 1444 b 2) έκτίσεις 8, 23 έκτός 22, 41 (έντός ραρ.) έκτψ έτει 14, 19; 26, 14 έκφανεῖν 12, 19 (Solon) έκφέρευ, δόξειεν αὐτοῖς 36, 14; ἀνέγραψαν και εξήνεγκαν 30, 4 έκων 27, 10 έλαιαν μορίαν 60, 11 έλαιαν 60, 7 bis, 14, 23 έλαττον 4, 8; ούκ έλάττω μοίραν 19, 24 έλαύνειν το άγος 20, 7. ήλασατε 5, 16 (Solon) *έλεγείαν, ποιήσαντι την 5, 6; cf. 5, 20 εκεγειών, και ο ωτι την 5, ο λεύθερον κακώς λέγη 59, 14. οὐσίαν— έλευθέραν 4, 6, 9 έλευθεροῦν τὰς 'Δθήνας 19, 22; τὸν δήμον ήλευθέρωσε 6, 2; έλευθερωθέντων διὰ πήν σεισάχθειαν 12, 27
'Ελευσίε 39, 3. 'Ελευσίν 39, 10, 17; 40, 26. 'Ελευσιεόθεν, 'Ελευσίναδε, 39, 6 f. 'Ελευσίνια, πεντετηρίε, 54, 31. 'Ελευσιvlw 39, 13 έλκει-πινάκιον col. 31, 9; βάλανον col. 31, 26 έλλείπω κάν τις έλλίπη καταβολήνκη τὸ έλλειφθέν καταβάλλειν 48, 5 f Έλληνες 23, 11 ** λη προταμίαι 30, 9(?) and 13 (decree) ἐλλη τό - ἀφείαν 12, 17 (Solon) ἐμβάλλει (τὴν ψήφον) col. 36, 20; εἶς ἐνέιβάλλει (την ψήφου) col. 30, 20; εις ενεβάλλει την ψήφου 55, 24. (b) έμβάλλει το πωάκιου col. 31, 29; έμβάλωσιντό πυάκια εἰς τὸ κιβώτιου col. 31, 4; έμβάλλεται-τὰ πυάκια 63, 5. (c) βάλασι εἰς τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐμβάλλονται 63, 8. (d) έμβάλη τους κύβους col. 31, 17; έμβάλλονται λευκοί (κύβοι) ib. 21. (e) έμ-

βαλόντες τὰς μαρτυρίας-είς έχίνους 53, 10; μαρτυρίαις—els τούς έχίνους έμβεβλημέναις 53, 18. Mid. εθθυναν-έμβαλέσθαι 48, 20. Intr. els την άγορανεμβαλείν αὐτῷ 57, 28 *ἐμβιβάζω· ἐνεβίβασεν 23, 7 έμμένειν, τοις δρκοις 40, 13; καν—έμμέ-νωσι (τοις γνωσθείσι) 53, 8 * ξμμηνοι δίκαι 52, 11-20 έμπηγνυσι τὰ πινάκια col. 31, 11; έμπηγwhere *є́µжі́рктуз сод. 31, 11, 24 є́µжоріан, кат' 11, 4 **е**µжоріка́з, біказ 59, 14 έμπορίου έπιμελητάς—των έμπορίων έπιμελείσθαι 51, 15, 16 ξμποροι 51, 17 έμφανῶν κατάστασιν, els 56, 38 έμφρων 18, 3 έν φαιςείπ. (1) of place, έν τῆ στος 7, 3; έν ὅπλοις ('under arms'), 31, 11 (decree); of trial before a court, ès roîs (és Πειραιεί) 29, 23 (decree); with vb. of motion, τους μύδρους έν τῷ πελάγει καθmotion, τους μουρούς εν τω πετωγεί κων-είσων 23, 24. (2) of circumstances &c., έν τούτοις ων 19, 6; adverbial use, έν κόσμω 28, 18. (3) of time, έν ω 15, 20; έν ('within') πέντε έτεσων 47, 23.—ένὶ φρεσί 4, 15 (Solon) *έναγῶν, είναι τῶν 20 *ἐναγίσματα 58, 4 έναντίον τι, c. dat. 37, 10; έναντιώτατα έναντίον τῆς βουλῆς 47, 6, 10, 14; 48, 3; and (in decree) 30, 28 έναντιωθέντες 36, 4; άμφοτέροις ήναντιώθη ένδείκνυται 63, 13; ένεδείχθη 63, 17 (not in Ar. in technical sense) * ένδειξιν-καί άπαγωγήν 29, 26 (decree); pl. 52, 8, 9 ενδεκα, οί 7, 13; 29, 27; esp. 52, 1—10. τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλακας ενδεκα 35, 6 *ἐνδεκάτφ-- ἔτει 15, 8; ἐνδεκάτη 41, 5 ενδέχεται 17, 7 ένδημοι, άρχαι 24, 16 ξνδοθεν 5, 7 (Solon) ενδοξότατος 54, 16 ένδύω θώρακα ένδεδυκώς 55, 32 ἔνεκα. τῆς ἀρχῆς 55, 32; γήρως < ἔνεκα> 35, 16 ern(?) col. 31, 33 ένιαύσιος (άρχή) 3, 22 (άρχαι ένιαύσιαι Pol. 1299 4 7) ένιαυτός: τρίς τοῦ έν. 47, 19; έν— ἐνιαυτῶ 53, 31; τὸν έν. 13, 10; τὸν πρῶτον ἐν. 42, 29; εἰς ἐν. 47, 16; ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν 8, 10; κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν 3, 20; 30, 4 ἐνιοι 3, 10; 7, 18; 8, 27; 13, 15; 18, 32. Evia 27, 4 ένιστο 43, 30 ένιστημι: ένέστη φιλία 17, 15; πόλεμος 27, 9. την ένεστώσαν φιλονικίαν 5, II;

έχθρας ένεστώσης 5, 22; τοῦ χειμώ ένεστώτος 37, 1. ένεστήσαντο τήν—1 λιτείαν 41, 2 έννέα άρχοντες, ol. see άρχοντες ένους, τούς Ιππάρχους τούς 4, 11 (cf. P. 1322 4 11) ένοχλω, ψικίχλουν ΙΙ, 3 ένοχος γραφή παρανόμων 45, 24 ένσημαίνομαι ένεσημαίνετο πικρώς 18, 1 ένταῦθα 3, 26; 48, 5; 54, 30 &c. έντευθαν 5, 10; 45, 5; 54, 36 α.c. έντεθεν 55, 33 έντθε χιλίων 53, 15; τριών μυών 49, 2 . τριών ήμερών 48, 18; δέκα σταδίων 50, έντυγχάνοντα, φιλανθρώπως, c. dat. 18, Ένυάλιος 58, 2 ét, see éx έξαγω στρατιάν 37, 3 έξαιρή (or έξέλη) τους κύβους col. 31, 2 έξείλεν 12, 64 (Solon) έξαίρω έξαράμενος (an exceptional use): δπλα πρό των θυρών 14, 13 *έξαλείφουσι, τούς έξομνυμένους τώ γεγραμμένων 49, 13; έξηλειφου, ορ αντενέγραφου 36, 15. Μεί. τὰς πι τῶν προτέρων αἰτίας ἐξηλειψαν 40, 19 ἐξαπατηθέντος τοῦ δήμου 34, 6; ἐξαπατ θέντες ὑπὸ Κλεοφωντος 34, 10; κῶν ἐξ πατηθή το πλήθος 28, 24 *έξαπορώ εξαπορησάντων τοις πράγμα 23, 5 *¿ξάχους col. 34, 34 έξελάσαι abs. 22, 17; έξηλάθη της άρχ έξελέγχεται col. 32, 7; το μη έξελέ χωσι τούς νεοπολίτας 21, 17; καν κλέ: τοντα έξελέγξωσιν 54, 7 έξεργαζομένης της χώρας 16, 12; έξειργα μένα 46, 5 ἐξέρχομαι ἐξήει πολλάκις εἰς τὴν χώρ 16, 14. (Of troops) τῶν ἐξιόντων 2 10; ἀν ἐξίωσιν 61, 4; cf. ἔξοδος Εξεστι 44, 15; 45, 14, 22; 53, 17; 6 18; 63, 11, 13. Εξθρ 4, 21; 27, 1 Εξθ 27, 17; col. 31, 33(?). Εξω 6, 1. 11, 13. έξείναι 9, 4; 29, 14, 29; 3 6, 16, 21 (decree) éferáfeir tá yérn 21, 6; éferáfei-tá i κοδομήματα 46, 8 éférages és oxios 31, 11 (decree) έξευρών, γυναίκα μεγάλην και καλήν 14, : * έξηγείσθαι, τους νόμους 11, 6 έξήκοντα 10, 8 €£0805 16, 6 έξοικε έχειν Έλευσινα 39, 3 (decree); έ τους έθέλοντας 39, 25 (ib.); τους βουλ μένοις έξ. 39, 14 (ib.); έπινοούντων έ 40, 3 * έξομνυμι: τους έξομνυμένους—μή δυνατο εξομουμα 100 εξομουμενους—μη ουνατο είναι—1ππεύειν 49, 13; εξομόσηται 4 15; μή εξομνύμενον 49, 16. εξόμενον τὰς μαρτυρίας 55, 30. (εξόμενονθαι τ άρχήν Pol. 1297 a 20)

* έξοπλισία 15, 16 (έξόπλισι Probl. 922 b έξορύξεια, έλαίαν μορίαν 60, 11 (έξορυσσόμενοι τόποι, [Ar.] de Admir. 833 b 4) ekovola 6, 19; 41, 4, 24 έξω-της πολιτείας 37, 12 έξωθεν, των 36, 16 έορτων έπιμελείται 56, 29 έπαγγειλάμενος ώς άλλους μηνύσων 18, 34 έπαινουμένων, των 16, 30; διά την εθνοιαν -έπηνέθησαν 38, 28 * έπάν 42, 14; 56, 4 έπάναγκες έπιψηφίζειν 29, 21 (decree); έγγράφειν 42, 11 έπαναφέροντες τοῦς πεντακισχιλίοις, οὐδέν 33, 12 * έπαναχωρήσαντες 38, 3 έπανίστημι έπαναστάς τώ δήμω 14, 6. έάν τινες τυραννείν έπανιστώνται 16, 43. (Used in literal sense in Ar.) έπανορθοῦντες—τὴν πολιτείαν 35, 12 (ἐπανορθῶσαι πολιτείαν Pol. 1289 a 3) énel 3, 28; 14, 12; 15, 23; 19, 4, 30; έπει 3, 25; 14, 12, 15, 15, 17, 17, 17, 24, 17 &c.

* έπειδάν 7, 29 &c.

ἐπειδάν 11, 1; 62, 3

ἐπεστιν, τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα col. 31, 13

* ἐπεισκαλεῖν, and * ἐπείσκλητος, 30, 22 f (decree) ἔπειτα 6, γ. Often after πρώτον μὲν (q. ν.), but never followed by δέ. Cf. elta. ἐπελαύνει (?) 5, 9 έπερωτῶσιν, ἐπερωτῷ 55, 13, 20 έπι passim. (1) c. gen. (a) of place &c., έπι του βήματος 28, 17; ἐφ' ἄρματος 14, 29; ἐφ' οῦ 55, 28. ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶναι 15, 25. (b) 'in the case of', ἐπὶ τῶν άλλων 35, 17. ναυκραριών 8, 14. (c) 'over', [ἐπὶ τῶν] (d) of time, est ris ἔκτης πρυτανείας 43, 22; cf. 44, 15; 47, 21, 25, 28. ἐπὶ τῆς ὅστερον βουλῆς 46, 6; ἐπὶ Μέδοντος—'Ακάστου 3, 9f; Δρά-0; επί Μεσουτος — ακαυτου 3, 91, αρακουτου 41, 11; Σόλωνος 3, 30; 41, 12; Πεισιστράτου 41, 13; τῶν τετρακοσίων 29, 5. ἐπ' 'Αντιδότου (sc. ἀρχοντος) 26, 21; ἐφ' οῦ ἀρχοντος 17, 8. ἐπὶ (τοῦ δείνος) 21; ἐφ' οῦ ἀρχοντος 17, 8. ἐπὶ ἴτοῦ δεῖνος) ἀρχοντος (20 times) 4, 2; 14, 8, 20; 17, 2; 19, 37; 21, 3; 22, 6; 22, 11, 21; 23, 22; 25, 8; 36, 19; 27, 8; 33, 2; 34, 14; 35, 1; 40, 1; 41, 3; 54, 33; ἐπὶ omitted only twice:—Νικομήδους (?) ἀρχοντος 22, 29, and ἀρχοντος Ὑτψιχίδου 22, 40. ἐφ' ὧν ('under the authority of') 38, 19.

(2) c. dat. (a) of place, 'upon', ἐφ' ἢ 7, 21; 'at', or 'near', ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι 15, 13; 17, 16; ἐπὶ Ληναίψ 57, 5; ἐπὶ Παλλαδίψ 57, 18. (b) condition, ἐφ' οῖς 23, 24; 32, 15; 34, 8; ἐπὶ τούτοις 1, 23, 24; 32, 15; 34, 8; έπὶ τούτοις 1, 3(?); 23, 36; έπὶ τῆ σωτηρία 19, 35; έφ' ῷ τε 14, 22; 34, 17. (c) ground or reason, ἐπὶ τοῦς ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέραινον

2, 12; χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἐπὶ τούτοις 38, 8; χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τῆ συμφορὰ 33, 5; ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῶς γιγνομένοις 36, 2; ἐφ' οἶς ἔχαιρεν ἡ πόλις 35, 20; ἐφ' ῷ 63, 17. (d) object, ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου 8, 25;—τῆς πολιτείας 25, 15; ἐφ' οῖς 38, 6; 'for', ἐφ' ἐκόστη τῶν ἀρχῶν. (e) 'in the power of', ἐπὶ τοῦς δικασταῖς 55, 26. (f) 'on the τοις δικασταίς 55, 26. (f) 'on the security of', έπι τοις σώμασι 2, 8; 4, (f) 'on the 33; 6, 2; 9, 3
(3) c. acc. 'upon', ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν 25, (3) c. acc. 'upon', έπι τον βωμών 25, 9. 'over', έπι πάντας 42, 19; τὸ θεωρικόν 43, 2; 47, 10; τὰ ἐκθύματα 54, 24; τοὺς ἀπλίτας, τὴν χωραν, κτλ 61, 4—8; τὰς ναῦς 46, 4. 'for', ἐπὶ τὸ νομοφυλακεῖν 8, 20; τὴν ἀπόστασω 23, 18; τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσω 38, 'ίξι', 'ἐπὶ τοῦς 'κριτος 'κριτ 23, 16; την του πολεμού καταλούν 30, 5. '(0', έτὶ πέρας 38, 24; την ναυτικήν δύναμιν 27, 5; ξεαστον τό δικαστήριον 63, 23. 'throughout', έπ' ένιαυτόν 8, 10; ξτη τέτταρα 13, 3;—τρία 22, 25 έπιβάλλειν 56, 42; ἐπιβολήν 61, 15; sc. ζημίαν 56, 42; τροχών 49, 4 έπιβολή δι, 15 επιγράφει, τοῦς θεσμοθέταις 48, 25. ἐπεγράφωντο (τοι εφήβοις) 53, 23. γέγραπται 7, 21; col. 31, 3; πινάκιον επιγεγραμμένον το ονομα 63, 18; έπιστοιχείου το ονομα 03, 10; επι-γεγραμμένου το γράμμα col. 31, 6; τδ στοιχείου col. 31, 31. 'allege', πρό-φασιν 8, 24. 'paint on', τοῦς δικαστηρίοις χρώματα έπιγέγραπται col. 32, 9 έπιδείξωσυ, τινα δώρα λαβόντα 54, 8 έπιδημῶ 39, 14, 16 (decree) * ἐπιδιανέμω· ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν 10, 8 έπιδίδωμι έπέδοσαν πρός c. acc., 37, 16 * ἐπιδικασίαι, κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων 56, έπιεικείς, ol 28, 5; τοις έπ. 36, 9; παρά τοις έπ. 28, 4; των έπ. (opp. των τυ-χόντων) άνθρώπων 27, 24. τους έπ. καί του δήμου καί των εύπόρων 26, 11. τους ETILLIKEGTÉPOUS 26, 4 Έπίζηλος 29, 7 **eπιζημώσεις 45, 9 (law)
eπίθετου 3, 17 f; 25, 9 (not found elsewhere in same sense) *ἐπίθημα col. 36, 8 έπιθυμώσι 16, 10; έπεθύμουν 34, 21 έπικαλούμενος, ὁ βασιλεύς 41, 34. έπικαheadperos c. acc. 20, 6 έπικατέστη 3, 6 (την των έφόρων αρχήν έπικαταστήσας Pol. 1313 a 27) έπικηρυκευσάμενος, πρός ε. αεε., 14, έπικηρύττειν άργύριον (ἐπιτίμιον) [Ατ.] Oec. ii 1351 b 31 exikληρος 9, 8; 42, 35; 43, 21; 56, 33, 39, 40, 44 *έπικληρούσιν (τὰς διαίτας) 53, 28; τὰ δικαστήρια 59, 15; έπικληρώση τὰ γράμ-ματα 63, 22; τούτοις έπεκλήρουν 8, 3 1321 @ 19)

*ἐπικυρωθέντων τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους 32, 2; er. Tŵr Pomwr 37, 12 **επικύρωσυ—χειροτονίας 41, 32 επικαμβάνει τον αυλίσκον col. 34, 36 έπιλείπεσθαι, ούδενδε τῶν πολιτῶν 34, 22. ἐπιλειπόμενος τῆ δυνάμει 20, 5; τῆ οὐσία 27, 18 (act. in Ar.) έπιλήθου 20, 22 (scolium) *ἐπίλοιπος 33, 3
'Ἐπίλοικος 3, 29; Ἐπιλύκειον 3, 28, 30
ἐπιμέλεια 21, 20; 26, 2; 38, 29 έπιμεληταί (under the 400) 30, 10 (decree); Διονυσίων 56, 23; έμπορίου 51, 15; μυστηρίων 57, 2, 7; κρηνών έπιμελητής έπιμελοῦμαι (1) c. gen. 15, 25; 16, 10; 39, 5; 42, 17, 28; 44, 11; 46, 1; 51, 3, 16; 52, 1; 56, 21, 26, 29, 39; 57, 1, 2; 61, 7, 25. (2) followed by drws c. fut. 50, 10; 51, 10—12. (3) Abs. 39, 5 (decree) έπιμελως 27, 23 Έπιμενίδης ὁ Κρής 1, 3. Βουζύγης frag. έπινοούντων έξοικεῖν 40, 2 (the Index Ar. quotes περί κόσμου only) έπισκευάζει», τὰς όδους 54, 2; τὰ μάλιστα δεόμενα τῶν ἱερῶν 50, 3 *έπισκευασταί, lepŵr 50, 2 *έπισκήπτωνται—ται̂ς μαρτυρίαις col. 36, 11: ἐπισκήψασθαι ib. 13 (πρώτος ἐποίησε την έπισκηψιν Pol. 1274 6 7) *έπίσκοπος της πολιτείας 8, 20 έπισκοπῶν 16, 14 *êπιστατεί 44, 2; ἐπιστατούση 41, 16; ἐπεστάτει 18, 3; ἐπιστατήσαι 44, 13 (only found in Rhet. ad Alex. 1422 b 17, and that in another sense) έπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων 44, 1; τῶν προέδρων 44, 9 *ἐπιστατική, γραφή 59, 7 (in this sense, here only) επιστέλλω έπέ[στελλον] conj. 38, 7 (only in Rhet. ad Alex. 1420 a 6 έπέ-*έπιστέλλω. στειλάς μοι) έπιστολάς φέροντες, οί τάς 43, 32 *έπιστύλιο» 47, 33 *έπιτάφιος, άγω» 58, 2 έπιτελώ· έπετέλεσε» (πολιτεία») 41, 17; τον άλλον λόγον 15, 23 emithoeios 8, 10; 42, 17; 49, 6, 17; 59, 6. τὰ —εια, 42, 17 έπίτηδει 9, 11; 18, 30 έπιτίθημι έπιθήσει ν (=προσθήσειν) πρόε τοῦν δυοῦν όβολοῦν άλλον 28, 22. ἐπέτου ουοίν ορολοίν αλλον 26, 12. επέ-θηκε—τό γράμμα 63, 23. Μίδ. έπιτι-θέμενον τυραννίδι 14, 11; έπέθετο τοῖς τυράννοις 20, 20; τἢ βουλἢ 25, 6 *έπιτίμους καὶ κυρίους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας έαυτών 39, 3 (decree)

έπικρατώ: έπεκράτουν τῷ πολέμφ 38, 17

(ἐπικρατούσιν οὶ δήμοι των εύπορων Pol.

έπιτιμώ· τὰ μέν έπιτιμώντες 11, 2. c. da έπιτιμά και τούτοις 36, 8 έπιτρέπω: την πολιτείαν ἐπέτρεψαν (Σ. λωνι) 5, 5; έπιτρέψαι—τοις δυνατωπ τοις 39, 33 (decree); ου φάσκων ἐπιτρ ψειν 34, 12 *ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασιν, els 56, 37; els èl διαδικασίαν 56, 38 έπιτροποι 56, 32 f, 35, 38, 45 έπιτρανείς 18, 24; 28, 14 επιφάρων, άγωνας 25, 7 *επιχειροτονείν 37, 6; 43, 17 *enixeipororia 43, 23; 55, 22; 61, 10, 2 έπιχειρω έπεχείρει 15, 10, 17; έπεχε ρησε 19, 5 έπιψηφίζειν, τους πρυτάνεις 29, 22 (de cree); τον έπιψηφιούντα 30, 27 decree έπιψηφίζουσιν, γνώμας 48, 12; έπιψη φίσαντος Αριστομάχου 32, 3 έποιτο, έπηται, 12, 11, 13 (Solon) έπονομάσας 21, 14 (έπονομάσαι Ar. ap Strab. 445; Rose, Frag. 6013) έπορεξάμενος 12, 5 (Solon) έπος ' ώς έπος είπειν 49, 31; 57, 8 έπτα και δέκα 25, 2 *έπτακόσιοι 20, 9; 24, 16, 17 **έπτάχους col. 34, 32 ** е́ятетпріз 54, 29 έπωνυμία 13, 25; 45, 6 έπωνυμία 13, 25; 45, 6 έπωνυμία (φυλών) 21, 25; 48, 17; 53, 21, 26. (2) ἡλικιών 53, 21, 27; δ έπων-μος δ—δεδιατηκώς 53, 24; χρώνται τα έπωνύμοις και πρός τὰς στρατείας 53, 3; έξωναὶ in πεω εδιατώς (found in wepl «6σμου, and in a quotation in Rhet.) *έρανικαί δίκαι 52, 15 έργαζεσθαι, μηδέν έργον 49, 27; έν άγορ βουλόμενος έργ. 52, 14; έργαζόμενος, πέτρας 16, 19; είργάζοντο τούς άγρού έργασίας, πρός τάς 16, 6 έργάσιμος 47, 12 (έργάσιμα χωρία Probl. 924 @ 1) έργάτας, δημοσίους 54, 2 ξργου, άγαθοῦ πολίτου 18, 38; ξργου έργι ζεσθαι 49, 27; ξργα(=μέταλλα) 22, 30 Έρετρία 15, 8. τῆ περί Έρετρίαν ναυμι χία 33, 4 Έρεχθεύς Heracl. Epit. 1. 3 έρημον γενόμενου 43, 22 έρκειοτ, Zevs 55, 16 (see Jebb on Soph. Ant. 487); only in περί κόσμου 401 a 20 Έρρωκρέων άρχων (501/0), 22, 6 ξρομα: ξρηται 7, 29; έρέσθαι 16, 20 (έρομένην Rhet. 1391 a 10) έρχομαι, passim. έλθων els Ερετρίαν 15, 8; έλθόντες πρός—15, 22; πρός τό δη μαγωγείν έλθοντος 27, 1; αὶ τῆς βουλῆι κρίσεις εἰς τον δημον έληλύθασω 41, 27 έρώμενον 17, 5; έρασθείς 18, 8 έρωτικός 17, 4 έσθλούς 12, 25 (Solon) έσορῶν 5, 8 (Solon)

έσχάτας ἡμέρας, els τὰς 40, 3 έταιρεία 20, 4; 34, 19, 21 Έτεοβουτάδαι frag. 3, l. 30 έτερος, passim. μηδέ μεθ' έτέρων 8, 30. των έτέρων (opp. του δήμου) 28, 13, IQ έτέρωθι 12, 15 έτε 8, 3; 21, 23 (?); 47, 4. Ετι καὶ νῦν 3, 25; 7, 6; 8, 6; 22, 7. Ετι δὲ καὶ 9, 7. Ετι δὲ 15, 11; 24, 20; 27, 16; 52, 15; 55, 4; 59, 4. Ετι δὲ πρότερον 20, 20. δημοτικωτέρων Ετι 27, 3 Ετος, ραιsim. Ετει δευτέρω 14, 7; τῷ ὑστέρων 22, 28: 22, 21: ros, passim. Ετει δευτέρφ 14, 7; τῷ ὑστέρφ Ετει 22, 20; τρίτφ 22, 28; 23, 21; τετάρτφ 19, 3; 21, 2; 22, 39; πέμπτφ 22, 5; 26, 19; ἔκτφ 14, 19; ἐβδόμφ 15, 2; ἐνδεκάτφ 15, 9; δωδεκάτφ 22, 10. ἔτη δύο 22, 11; δέκα ἐτῶν 10, 5; ἔτη ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα 19, 38; 25, 1; τριάκοντα καὶ τρία, ἐνὸς δέοντα είκοσι 17, 3 f; ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία 22, 25; els ἐκατὸν ἔτη 7, f; πολλοῖς δστερον ἔτεσον f. 10 πολλοις σστερον έτεσιν 3, 19 εὖ ποιεί 55, 17 *εὐανδρία 60, 21 Εύβοίας άποστάσης 33, 4 εύγενής 28, 7 εὐδιαφθορώτ εροι 41, 28 (δμονοούσα δλιγαρχία οὐκ εὐδιάφθορος Pol. 1306 a 10) εὐδοκιμῆσαι, παρὰ τοῖς Ελλησιν 23, 11; πρώτον εὐδοκιμήσαντος, ότε 27, 2; οὐκ εύδοκιμούντα παρά τοις έπιεικέσιν 28, 3; σφόδρ εὐδοκιμηκώς 14, 2 σφοορ ευοκκητκώς 14, 2 εδδοντες 12, 59 (Solon) εδθυναν— έμβαλέσθαι 48, 20; είσάγουσι 48, 26, cf. 54, 6. εὐθύνας διδώσιν and δοῦναι 39, 23 (decree); διδόασιν 56, 4; εδωκε 48, 19; εδοσαν 38, 29; δεδωκότων 48, 18. μέχρι εὐθυνών 4, 12; περὶ τών εὐθυνών 31, 7 (decree) εδθυνοι 48, 15, 23 εθθυνοι 48, 15, 23 εὐθύνω ' τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ηθθυνεν 8, 22 εὐθύς 22, 20; 38, 32; 55, 23. εὐθύς εἰσελθώς 56, 5. εὐθέως 18, 21. εὐθεῖαν—
δἰκην 12, 46 (Solon) Ευκλείδης άρχων (403/2) 39, 1 εύκοσμίας έπιμελούνται 44, ΙΙ εὐλογώτερον c. inf. 7, 26 Εὐμηλίδης ὁ ἀλωπεκήθεν 45, 3 Εύμολπίδαι 39, 6; 57, 4; frag. 3, l. 30 εύνοια είε τον δήμον 38, 28 *εὐπατρίδαι 13, 9; 19, 17 (scolium) εὐπορία τροφής 23, 10; τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπ. 27, 13 εύπορούντες των μετρίων 16, 9; εύπόρησαν χρημάτων 19, 20 εὐπόρων, τῶν (opp. τοῦ δήμου) 26, 12; 28, 12 εύρόμενος άφεσιν 30, 33 (decree) *εὐσημία 44, 19 *ἐφέσιμος (κρίσις) 45, 13 έφεσι: 9, 6; 45, 15, 19; 55, 11 (not found in Ar. in technical sense) *ἐφέται (?) 57, 24

ξφηβοι 42, 14, 17, 20, 25, 38; 53, 22, 34 (ξφήβων ή φρουρών τάξις Pol. 1322 b 28) *Εφιάλτης 25, 4, 13, 17, 18, 21, 23; 26, 14; 28, 11; 35, 9; 41, 17 έφθησω είς τὸ δικαστήριου 42, 8; έφη είς τὸ δ. 53, 9 (not found in Ar. in technical sense) έφιστημι στρατηγών έφισταμένων 26, 8; τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἐφεστηκότι col. 31, 28 ἔφοδος, ὅπως μὴ ἢ τοῖς συκοφάνταις 35, 17 έχθρα 5, 22 έχθρον είναι και φίλον, ώστε τον αυτόν 23, έχινος 53, τ1, 18 (not found in Ar. in technical sense) έχω passim. έσχεν γυναίκα 17, 14; έγ-χειρίδια έχοντα 18, 28; χλαμύδας έχοντες 42, 33. With double acc. τούτους φύλα-κας είχον τῆς ἀρχῆς 24, 8. Ο f troops, έχοντα στρατιάν, Ιππέας, στόλον 19, 27, 28, 30. είχον το θεσμοθετείον 3, 30; τά πράγματα βεβαίως είχον 38, 12; την πόλιν έγκρατέστερον έσχον 35, 22; των έχουτων την πολιτείαν 15, 12 Intrans. Εχει—τόνδε τὸν τρόπον 42, 1; τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον 3, 33; 9, 1; τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔσχεν 12, 1. With adv. άριστα 30, 20 (decree); καλώς 28, 25; κακώς 19, 5; olkelws 36, 5; οποτέρως 3, 14 έω c. inf. elaσer 21, 24; είων 22, 18. έωντες τὰς πολιτείας παρ' αυτοίς και άρχειν ων έτυχον άρχοντες 24, 8. elaσ' αρχειν ων έτυχον αρχοντες 24, 8. είασ 12, 9 (Solon) εως έθαρρησαν 40, 7; έξηλάθη 13, 7; ήν 29, 1; περιείλοντο 25, 22; προειστήκει 28, 1; προδτρεψε 19, 22. c. ορέ. εως μηδέν παρανομοίεν 28, 37. εως ανθίτη 29, 31, 35 (decree);—γένηται 56, 44;—έκτείση 63, 16

*ζευγίσιον 7, 27 ζευγίσιον 7, 27 ζευγίτης 4, 19; 7, 10, 12; 26, 15, 18 (Pol. 1274 a 20)

Σεὐς ἔρκειος 55, 16. Διὰ τῷ Σωτῆρι, πομπὴ 56, 27 ζημιαν, ἐπιβάλλειν 56, 42 ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν 8, 23. ἡ βουλὴ-ἡημιοῦ τοὐς ἔημότας 42, 13. σκὸί. (aðs.) ζημιοῦ 29, 25 (decree). θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι 29, 28 (decree); θ. ζημιώσοντας 52, 4; θ. ἐζημίουν 60, 12. χρήμασιν ζημιῶσαι 45, 1; χρ. ζημιοῦν 45, 8; ζημιώση 45, 9. ζημιοῖ τῷ σἰτῳ 49, 2 ζητῶ΄ τὴν δλιγαρχίαν ἐζήτουν 13, 19; τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν 34, 23 (Ισότητα ζητεῦ δ ἔῆμιος Pol. 1298 a 11)

η passim; ('than') 2, 17 &c. η η 11, 11 &c. η ('or else') 22, 43 (law) η μην συγγράψειν, δμόσαντες 29, 12

(decree); omitted by author in 2, 11; 7, 5; 55, 31 ἡγεμονία abs. 23, 4; 24, 2, 5; θαλάττης 23, 11 ηγεμών 20, 17; 22, 9, 20; 26, 4. ηγε-μόνεσσυ 12, 11 (Solon) Ήγησίας ἄρχων 14, 20 'Ηγησίστρατος 17, 11, 16 ηγούμαι, (1) 'lead', c. gen. 13, 19; 61, 4, 7γουμαι, (1) 'lead', c. gen. 13, 19; 01, 4, 18, 20, 24; abs. 61, 14
(2) 'think', 29, 13 (decree); 35, 21; 40, 22; 42, 16 (γγγ)σασθαι c. inf. quoted only from Meteor. 339 b 22 γόη 3, 19; 14, 14; 15, 14; 18, 14; 28, 26; 42, 37 &c. γόρμαι 'γσθείδιὰ τὴν παρρησίαν 16, 23 Heriwrela 37, 9 θθεος 56, 21 ηθος: τὸ δημοτικόν είναι τῷ ήθει 16, 30. ήθη δεσποτών 12, 41 (Solon) ηση σεσποτών 12, 41 (Scion) ήκω· ού[χ ήξ]ει 11, 5 ήλιαία (?) 57, 20 (cf. Pol. 1301 ο 23) ήλικία· γεγονέναι την ήλικίαν την έκ τοθ νόμου 42, 5; τῆς ήλικίας αυτῷ καθηκούσης 53, 30; ἐκ τῆς ἡλ. τῆς εἰρημένης, τῶν ἐκ 25, 30, το της της της ευγημένης, των εκ της αυτής ηλ. 30, 15, 23 (decree); those of the military age', δταν ηλικίαν έκπέμπωσιν 53, 36. Pl. ταις ηλικίαις 17, 7; διά τὰς ηλικίας 18, 2 ημέρα 19, 36; 20, 13. της ημέρας 29, 33; 49, 29; 62, 12; της ημέρας έκαστης 62, 15. νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν 44, 2. δσαι ἡμέραι ('daily') 43, 13. τίσιν ἡμέραις deî dika jew 59, 2 οει οικαζειν 59, 2 ημικοτύλιον 60, 9 (Hist. An. 573 a 7) ημισυς al—ημίσειαι bis, col. 35, 28 f ημίχους col. 37, 4 (Hist. An. 630 a 34) Ήράκλεια, πεντετηρίς 54, 30 Ηρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος 41, 33 * hpia (pl.) 55, 17 Ήρόδοτος 14, 25 ήσυχάσωτες 4, 15 (Solon) ήσυχίαω, έτήρει την 16, 26; διήγον έν ήσυχία 13, 3 (ήσυχίαν ἄγειν Pol. 1297 δ ήτορ 5, 15 (Solon) ητορ 5, 15 (50101) ηττώμενος ταις έταιρείαις 20, 3; τοις ίδίοις ηττάτο 27, 21; ηττηθέντος αὐτοῦ 19, 27; ηττηθέντες—ναυμαχία 33, 3 ηττω, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων 36, 11

θάλατταν, κατά 19, 27; τὴν τῆς θαλάττης
ἡγεμονίαν 23, 11, — ἀρχήν 41, 20; τὴν
ἀρχήν τῆς θ. 32, 16
ἀνατος 19, 4; 26, 14; 28, 23; 29, 28;
52, 4; 60, 12. ἀμφοτέρων θάνατον
κατέγνωσαν 28, 13
θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασι ξημιοῦν 45,
7; κυρίους εἶναὶ θανατοῦντας 37, 4,
θανατώσοντας 52, 5 (θανατῶσαι, ορρ.
φυγαδεῦσαι, Oec. ii 1347 b 33; θανατωθηναι de Adm. 836 a 6)

Θαργήλια 56, 12 f, 27 f. (Θ. μετ Διονύσια Met. 1023 b 11) Θαργηλιών 32, 4 f θαρροῦντος ήδη τοῦ δήμου 22, 12; θα σης ήδη τής πόλεως 24, Ι; θαρρήσι τους πολλούς 27, 6; ξως έθαρρήσαν θαυμάζειν 15, 24; θαυμάζοντες 14, θαυμάσαι 16, 19; θαυμασάντων πέ 25, 19 θεάτρφ, έκκλησία έν τῷ 42, 30 Θεμιστοκλή: 22, 31; 23, 14; 25, 11 21; 28, 11 θεόκτιτον, πατρίδ' els 12, 35 (Solon) Θεόκτου, πάτρω ετς 12, 35 (Solon). Θεόκομπος άρχων (411/ο) 33, 2 θεός, ή 30, 8 (decree). θεοίς 7 (anon.); 30, 8 (decree) Θερμαῖος κόλπος 15, 6 θέσω, νόμων 14, 7 (Pol. 1289 a 22, a 18) *θέσμια, ἀναγράψαντες τὰ 3, 20; θέσμ και πάτρια 16, 42 (law) δαπατρια 10, 42 (14π)
θεσμοθέται 3, 19, 30; 45, 10; 48, :
55, 4; esp. 59, 1—20; col. 31,
είσάγουσι τῶν ἐνδείξεῶν τιναι 51
γραμματεύ τῶν θ. 63, 2. ὁ θεσμοί
63, 22; 61. 31, 9 θεσμοθετείον 3, 30, 31 θεσμούς ξθηκεν (Δράκων) 4, 3; Δράκι θεσμούς 7, 12; τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶ 11; θεσμούς Εγραψα 12, 45 f (Sol only in # epl Kbo HOU 401 & 10, Tois θεοῦ θεσμοῖς Θετταλοί 19, 30 Θετταλός 17, 12; 18, 6; 19, 28 θεωρεῦν τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν 9, 14 θεωρίαν, κατά 11, 5. Θεωρία sent to I 56, 20 note *θεωρικόν, τών έπὶ τὸ 43, 3; 47, 10 θηβαΐοι 15, 11 Θηραμένης 28, 19, 30, 30—39; 32, 33, 10; 34, 25; 36, 1 θής θήτα 7, 11 θησείον 15, 16, 22 θησεύς 41, 10 θητικόν, τὸ 7, 15; θητικοῦ—τέλου; 7 (anon.); θητικον (τελεῦν) 7, 28, 30 θόλος 43, 11; 44, 6 (not found in A this sense) θουκυδίδης κηδεστής Κίμωνος 28, 13, Θρασύβουλος καταλαβόντος Θ. Φυλή 1; τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ Θρασυβούλου 40, θρασύνεσθαι 28, 27 (opp. υπομένευ Eth. 1115 b 33) θρασύ: 18, 7 θράττα 14, 27 θρυλλείν έθ[ρυ]λλ[εί]το 16, 27 θυγάτηρ 14, 22; 15, 4; 17, 13 θυρών, πρό τών 14, 13 θυρίς 50, 13 θύει 58, 1; θύουσι 54, 25 θυσίας-θύουσι 54, 27; θύει 58, 1; δ 57, 9 θώρακα ένδεδυκώς 34, 11

```
8 (Solon)
5 (30101)
17) 40, 17. [δίος καὶ δημόσιος
3, 27; 48, 19, 24 f; 59, 15.
δίον 8, 29. [δία 9, 10; ταῖς els
lonθelais 16, 37. ἐπὶ τῶν [δίων
25. πρὸς τοῖς [δίοις δντες 16,
35. προς τους τουςς ουτές 10,
βλοις ήττατο 27, 21
γρ. άρχοντα) 48, 12; ιδιώταις
ıλη) 45, 14
11
1, 24; 42, 36; 57, 10
30, 36 (decree)
leusis, 39, 5. τὰ lepá 55, 16;
r 42, 20. τῶν lepῶν 44, 4;
των Ιερών έπισκευασταί 50, 2
o, 10 (decree); 54, 24
30, 29 (decree); 43, 29. 

ημάτων 30, 8 (decree)
els 43, 37; ταις Ικετηρίαις 43, κετηρίαν αισχυνθέντες ap. Rhet.
xal els 62, 16
ic. subj. even after past tense
ken, i 52), alpŵrrai 29, 15
κει., 1 52), αιρωνται 29, 15; γεγώνη 15, 19; γένηται 55, 

η 25, 17; διατρίβωσιν 16, 8; 

1, 35; μή—κακουργή col. 31, 

γροεξαλειφθή 47, 34 

άσεβήσαιεν—καί γένουντο άσθε-
30
11
λεω) 7, 18; 7, 24 (anon.); 7,
1274 α 21)
els Λήμνον 61, 25. ἴππαρχον
14 (decree in 411). ἵππαρχοι
, 13; 30, 7; 44, 16; 49, 10;

ἐππαρχίαι καὶ ταξιαρχίαι Pol.
 son of Peisistratus, 17, 10;
16, 19; 19, 4
Κάρμου Κολλυτεύς 22, 15, 20
9; 7, 10, 12. lππει̂s 24, 14; 38, 14; 49, 8; 61, 20, 26. γ Ερετρία) 15, 12. Thessalians
, 14, 16 f
 10; 18, 2 f, 15, 17, 26, 35, 37;
z 60, 5, 22
1 22, 24
έστηκεν 7, 25. καλόν ίππου
, 22. δοκιμάζει τούς ίππους
49, 1
τ 7, 18 (Ιπποτροφίαι Pol. 1321
) Τεισάνδρου 20, 2, 5, 10, 13;
ίρχων (508/7) 21, 3
έχευ 12, 25 (Solon)
1 πράγματα 29, 1
21. Ισαι (αλ ψῆφοι) col. 36,
```

δίκαι τοῖς 58, 5

ησαν (τούς νόμους) 7, 3. ξστην

```
12, 8 (Solon). Ισταται ή στήλη 53, 25;
   (μηνός) Ισταμένου 62, 14
lσχυρας της στάσεως ούσης 5, 3; lσχυρότερα
29, 3

lσχυκέναι 9, 5; lσχυσεν 23, 3

lσως (= μάλιστα) τέτταρας μήνας 33, 1

(seems not to occur in Ar. in this sense)
ίχνος της πράξεως, λαβείν 18, 26
 Ίων 3, 8; 41, 7
'Ιώνων απόστασιε 23, 18; δρκοι 23, 23
καθαίρω 'Επιμενίδης-έκάθηρε την πόλιν
καθαιρώ τούς-γόμους καθείλον έξ 'Αρείου
   πάγου 35, 10; καθελών (τὰ γραμματεία)
καθάπαξ, άτίμους είναι 22, 43 (law); κύ-
ριον ποιήσαντες καθάπαξ 35, 15 (Pol.
1259 b 36; 1332 b 23)
καθάπερ έπι 'Ακάστου quoted in 3, 11; κ.
   είρηται 4, 24; κ. πρότερον 7, 9; 8, 11; κ. τούς πεντακοσιομεδίμεους 7, 26. τὰ
   μέν άλλα καθάπερ κτλ (formula of a-
mendment) 29, 16
καθαρά και ἀκίβδηλα 51, 3; τῷ γένει μὴ
   καθαροί 13, 23
καθήκων (νόμος) 16, 41. της ήλικίας καθη-
   τούση: 53, 30; δταν καθήκη conj. in 43,
15 (δταν οl χρόνοι καθήκωσιν οδτοι Hist.
An. 591 a 8; cf. ib. 568 a 17, 573 a 30,
    585 a 18)
καθησθαι 48, 17. καθημενον papyri lectio
45, 3
καθίζει—ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν 25, 18; καθίζειν
(τὴν βουλὴν) 43, 15
καθίημι τοὺς μύδρους έν τῷ πελάγει καθεῖ-
   σαν 23, 24
καθίστημι χορηγούς καθίστησι 56, 7, 19;
   χ. καθίστη 56, 9; λοχαγούς καθίστη 61,
18; καθίστη την δημοκρατίαν 29, 18
(decree), κυρίους καθιστάναι 20, 11.
   καθιστάσι τους ένδεκα 52, 1; χορηγούς καθιστάσι 54, 36; καθίστασαν, άρχας
   3, 2. πολιτείαν κατέστησε 7, 1; άρ-
χοντα κατέστησε Δύγδαμιν 15, 5; βου-
   λην—κατέστησεν 21, 7; κατέστησε—
δημάρχους 21, 19; ου κατέστησαν άρ-
    χοντα 13, 4; κατέστησαν—εὐπορίαν τρο-
   φής 24, 9; καταστήσαι την πολιτείαν 29, 5; τούς τριάκοντα 34, 16; τούς φυλοβασιλείς 41, 9; καταστήσαντες (άρχάς) 35, 4. κατέστη 16, 1; 17, 2; 22, 15; κατέστησαν 26, 20; 35, 1; καταστή
    31, 11 (decree). καθίσταντο 3, 38; 55,
        πολέμου καθεστώτος 33, 14.
3. πολέμου κασευτωίος 33, ---
κάθοδος 15, 13; 19, 10; 38, 24; 41, 5, 23
καθόλου 9, 12
καθ' δ τι δε 43, 7; 59, 3
καl passim. καl γάρ 5, 9. καl δή καl 2, 3;
   16, 5, 40
Kawas Tpuppers 22, 3
καίπερ c. gen. abs. 19, 23. c. part. 23, 17; 25, 3 (Pol. 1269 b 1)
                                          18-
```

καιρός κατά τούτους τούς κ. 23, 9, 13; 33, 13; κατά τούς κ. τούτους 26, 4; κατ' εκείνους τούς κ. 16, 40. Εν τούτοις τοίς κ. 22, 39; ἐν τοῖς δστερον—κ. 41, 1 κακά 16, 20; κακῶν 16, 21; 18, 8 * κακοπράγμων 35, 19 κακουργή, ໃνα μή col. 31, 15 κακοφραδής 12, 48 (Solon) κακώρασης 12, 46 (5000) κακώς 19, 4; 37, 3; 49, 2; 59, 14 κάκωσις γωνέων 56, 30; δρφανών 56, 32; έπικλήρου 56, 33; σκου δρφανικοῦ 56, 34 (σωμάτων—κακώσεις Rhet. 1386 α 8) Καλλίας άρχων (412/1) 32, 3, 8 Καλλίας δ' Αγγελήθεν άρχων (406/5) 34, 3 Καλλίβιος άρμοστής 37, 18; 38, 13
* καλλιερώ καν τι καλλιερήσαι δέη, καλλιερούσι μετά των μάντεων 54, 25 Καλλικράτης Παιανιεύς 28, 21 καλὸς κάγαθός 28, 31. τὸ καλόν 6, 16. καλόν ίππον 49, 1. γυναϊκα μεγάλην καί καλήν 14, 25 καλώ· καλεί είς το κληρωτήριον col. 31, 18; τούς είληφότας εὐ. 25. καλοῦσι 6, 4; 21, 18; 49, 15. κάλει τούς μάρτυρας 55, 19. καλεῖται 13, 16; ἐκαλεῖτο 3, 28. τὸ καλούμενον 19, 32; τὸν κ. 54, 13; καλούμενοι 55, 2; καλουμένους 14, ; 54, 25. ἐκλήθη 3, 30; κληθέν 16, καλώς 16, 38; 23, 9; 28, 25; 33, 13; 34, 13; 40, 7; 43, 18; 61, 12. κάλλιστα δή* 40, 17 * κανηφορείν 18, 11 * karoris col. 31, 13, 16 καρπός 60, 10 * καρπουμένους, τὰ αὐτῶν 39, 4 (decree) καρτερον ήτορ 5, 15 (Solon)
κατά. c. gem. (1) καθ' leρών δμόσαντες 1,
1; δμόσαντες καθ' leρών τελείων 29, 39. (2) κατά τῶν ἐπιτρόπων 56, 33. (3) κύ-ριοι—είσιν—κατά τῶν ὀπλιτῶν 61, 21 c. acc. (1) of place, (a) κατά θάλατταν, γην, 19, 26, 30; την χώραν 16, 8; την είσοδον 63, 7. (b) 'opposite', τον επώνυμον 48, 17. (c) φυλάς 22, 21; δήμους 16, 14; έκδστην (τριττύν) 8, 15; αντήν, 'by itself', or 'on its own responsibility' 8, 10. (c) sponsibility', 8, 10. (d) κατά πέντε πινάκια είς col. 31, 21. (2) of object, έμπορίαν και θεωρίαν 11, 4. (3) 'according to', τους νόμους 16, 31; τὰ πάτρια 21, 24; πάσας (τὰς πολιτείας) 28, 37; τὰ γεγραμμένα 31, 15; σελήνην 43, 10; καθ' ὅσον ἢν δυνατός 14, 14; καθ' ὅ τι ἀν—43, 7; 59, 3;—δοκή 44, 17; 'in respect to', τῶν κατὰ τὴν ποhirelar 2, 11; nearly equivalent to did in κατά τὸ γένος Ιερεωσύνη 42, 36; κατά αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐνοχός ἐστιν—γραφῆ παρα-νόμων 45, 23; (of rent) ταὐτην τὴν μόσ-θωσιν. (4) (a) of parts of time, ἐνιαυτόν 30, 4 (decree); ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν 27, 16; 30, 27 (decree); cf. κατὰ μικρόν 23,

2; 25, 3. (b) of periods of time, exelνους τούς καιρούς 16, 40; τούτους τούς κ. 23, 9, 13; τούς κ. τούτους 26, 4: τῶν καθ' ἐαυτόν 23, 15; πόλεμον 29, 1; 62, 18 καταβαίνοντες είς άστυ 16, 15; καταβάντας έκ των άγρων 24, 3. Abs. καταβάντες (from the acropolis) 18, 19. καταβέ-(from the acropolis) 18, 19. καταβε-βηκεν (εκ εσμο) 49, 6 καταβάλλω· (1) lil. καταβαλεῖ κόπρον 50, 10. (2) of payment (esp. by instal-ment) 47, 19, 25, 28, 33; 48, 2, 6 (τι-μήν Οεс. ii 1346 & 29, 1349 & 5) καταβολή (of payment) 47, 20, 30, 32; 48, 5 (αὶ καταβολαὶ τῶν προσόδων Οεс. ii 1351 a 9) καταγίγνώσκω κλοπήν-καταγίγνώσκουσι ιταγιγνώσκω κλοπήν—καταγιγνώσκουσι 54, 7. τούτων—θάνατον κατέγνωσαν 28, 23 (cf. Rhel. 1880 \dot{b} 13). $\dot{d}v$ τινος άδικεῖν καταγν $\dot{\phi}$ 45, 9; άδικεῖν καταγν $\dot{\phi}$ 45, 16; (τινδ \dot{c}) καταγνώσιν 54, 10. (αὐτών) καταγν $\dot{\phi}$ 45, 16; (τινδ \dot{c}) καταγνώσιν 53, 34; ε \dot{c} του καταγνοίη 60, 12. \dot{c} 2. Αδδ. καταγν $\dot{\phi}$ 48, 23; καταγνώσι 54, 9; καταγνόντος (τοῦ δήμου) 46, 10. Pass. καταγνωσθέντος τοῦ ἄγους Ι, 2 κατάγνυμι έλαίαν—κατάξειεν 60, 11 καταγνώσεις, είσάγειν 45, 9 (decree); cf. 59, 13 κατάγω· κατήγαγεν—καταγούση: 14, 23 f (Pol. 1311 b 19) καταδείξαντος, πρώτου 27, 25 (κατέδειξεν ėναργωs Ar. 1583 a 15 in epigram on καταδέχομαι κατεδέξαντο - τούς ώστρακισμένους 22, 39 (de Respir. 476 a 29 καταδέχεσθαι τὴν τροφήν) κατακλήω κατακλήσαντες els τά - olκήματα 15, 21; κατακλήσας — els τδ — τείχος 19, 31; κατακλησθείς—έν τῷ ἀστει 27, 9 27, 9 κατακούειν abs. 15, 18. (ἐὰν κατακούσωσυν αὐλοῦντος Εέλ. 1175 b 4; κατακούεσθαι την φωνην Hist. An. 614 b 23)
*κατακυρώ κατεκύρωσεν—τους νόμους 7, 7; τὰ τέλη—κατακυρούσω 47, 10, 15 καταλαβόντος Φυλήν 37, 1; -λαβόντων Μουνιχίαν 38, 1; χρείας -λαβούσης 3, 8 καταλέγω μερισμόν 48, 10; τους Ιππέας 49, 8, 10; τους πεντακισχιλίους 29, 37 (decree); τρισχιλίους 36, 7; τριηράρχους 61, 82. τούς κατειλεγμένους καλουσι 49, 15 (πληρωμάτων κατειλεγμένων els έκατὸν ναῦς Oec. ii 1353 a 19, the only authority for this sense in Index Ar.) *καταλογείς (ἐππέω») 49, 9; (in 411) 29, 38 note κατάλογος της στρατείας γενομένης έκ καταλόγου 26, 8; τοῦ κ. μετέχοντας 37, 7; τὸν κ.—ὑπερεβάλλοντο 36, 12; εἰσφέρουσι τον κ. είς την βουλήν 49, 10 κατάλυσις τοῦ πολέμου 38, 6. τῶν τυράννων 13, 24; 41, 14; (τῶν τετρα-

κοσίων) 33, 10; 34, 2. έπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνισταμένους 8, 25; συνισταμένους έπι τη κ. της πολιτείας 25, 15 (κατάλυσις της όλιγαρχίας Pol. 1305 a 3; καταλύσεις τυραννίδων 1312 b 21) 36, 6; τὸ κῦρος 35, 12; τοὺς τετρα-κοσίους 33, 7; τοὺς τριάκοντα 38, 5; τοὺς δέκα 38, 18. κατέλυσε 28, 21. Pass. ἡ κρίσις καταλέλυται 60, 14; Mid. κατελύοντο τον πόλεμον 32, 15. c. gen. μη καταλυθώσιν της άρχης 38, 10 καταπάλτην άφιέναι 42, 24 καταπαύειν την ένεστώσαν φιλονικίαν 5, καταπλέοντος, τοῦ σίτου τοῦ 51, 16 καταπλαγείς 25, 18; 34, 26. καταπλήξαι 38, 10 * катарринавней 6, 18 * катабебпрабреча та дубрата 49, 12. (έχίνους) κατασημηνάμενοι 53, 12 κατασιωτώσυ 14, 12 * κατασκήψαντες, τείχος 37, 9 κατασκευάζω κατεσκεύαζε δικαστάς 16, 13. την άρχην - κατασκευάζοντες 36, 12. κατεσκεύασε (τὸ πολεμαρχεῖον) 3, 29; τοῦτο 18, 29; μισθοφοράν τοῖς δικασταῖς 27, 22. κατασκευάσασι την όλιγαρχίαν 37, 10 κατασκευή, πομπής 56, 26 κατάστασις (1) της πολιτείας 42, 1; τών τετρακοσίων 41, 20; cf. 11, 10; 14, 20; 16, 41; 22, 6; 41, 6. (2) ἐπιτροπῆς 56, 37. (3) ἐμφανῶν 56, 38 * κατατραυματίσας έαυτόν 14, 2 *καταφατίζω impf. 7, 5 (κατάφασις, καταфатіков, Ar. saepius, e.g. Categ. 12 b 7 ή κατάφασις λόγος έστι καταφατικός) καταφεύγω κατέφυγον 20, 13 καταχαρίζεσθαι την κρίσιν 49, 21 (πολλά των κοινών Pol. 1271 b 3) καταχεροτονία 59, 5 καταχεροτονία 59, 5 κατελθεῦν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς 38, 15; τὸν δῆμον 38, 20. τῶν φυγάδων οἱ κατελ-θύντες 34, 20; τῶν ἐκ Πειραιέως κατελ-θύντων 38, 31. τῶν κατεληλυθότων 40, 11 κατέχω. (1) 'restrain', οὐ κατεῖχε τὴν όργήν 18, 9; ἐαυτόν 18, 37. κατέσχε δήμον 12, 49 and 63 (Solon). (2) 'retain', βουλόμενος κατασχεῖν αὐτούς 40, 5. (3) 'hold'; 'gain, or keep, possession of'; τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέσχε 14, 6; κατεῖχον τὴν ἀρχήν 17, 9; κατέχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν 17, 18; κατασχήσειν τὴν ἀγχωνοίων 24. 5: κατασχήστος τοῦ δήμου ηγεμονίαν 24, 5; κατασχόντος τοῦ δήμου τά πράγματα 20, 16; κατείχον την πόλω δι έαυτών 35, 7; κατείχεν την

τυραννίδα 15, 13; κατασχόντες την τυρ. 19, 37; авг. катейхет 15, 3 κατηγορία 55, 21 "катнуороз 42, 9; 55, 21, 26 катнуорой с. ден. 18, 23, 29; 25, 20; 37, 17; 55, 21, 23. κατηγόρησε τὰς εὐθύνας Κίμωνος 27, 2 *κατοικοδομεῖ», τὰς ὁδοὺς 50, 11 κατοικῶ: 22, 42; 39, 17 f (decree); 40, 26 κεῖται 5, 7 (Solon): ὅνομα-κείμενον 7, 20 πελεύου 22, 32; κελεύουτες 27, 26; 18. κελεύου 21, 29; 53, 34. κελεύου 21, 43, 29; 53, 34. κελεύου 15, 20. ἐκέλευσεν 15, 18. κελεύουν 22, 32; κελεύοντες 27. Ε: κελεύων 22, 32; κελεύοντες 37, 5; κελευουσών 40, 21 nevór col. 33, 10 κέντρον 12, 47 (Solon) κέρδει και χάρισιν 41, 29 κηδεστής 28, 13 Κήδων 20, 20, 22 κήρυξ (των εννέα άρχωντων) 62, 11; (in the law-courts) col. 36, 11, 31. pl. κήρυξιν-πρεσβείαις 20, 20 (decree); 43, 30
Κήρυκες 39, 5; 57, 4
κηρυξάντων, των στρατηγών 23, 6. δ
άρχων-κηρύττει 56, 52 κηφισοφῶν άρχων (329/8) 54, 33 κιβώτιον 63, 4 f; col. 31, 1, 5, 10, 12, 14, 30; col. 32, 20 3.5; cot. 32, 20 *κθαριστρία 50, 6 Κίμων 26, 5; 27, 1; his εὐπορία 27, 13; τυραννικήν ἔχων οὐσίαν 28, 12 κίνδυνον, μετά τὸν 38, 3 Kwéas 19, 28 κινείν, ταθτα 11, 3; την αίρεσιν οὐκ έκίνουν 26, 14; κ[ινήσα]ντες την δημοκρατίαν 29, 4 **Κλαζομένιος 41, 33** Khealveros 28, 15 κheîs τάς των lepων, τάς 44, 3 Κλεισθένη: 20, 3, 4, 8, 15, 17; 21, 2; 22, 4, 16; 28, 7; 29, 17, 20; 41, 15 Κλειτοφών 29, 15; 34, 24 Κλεομένη: 19, 6, 29; 20, 6, 13, 14 Κλεοφών 28, 19, 26; 34, 10 κλέπτης 51, 2 κλέπτοντ' 54, κλεπτοντ' 54, 6 Κλέων 28, 15 κλήμη (2) κλημα (?) 60, 14 π. с. κλήρου και έπικλήρου 42, 35; κλήρων και έπικλήρων 9, 8; 43, 21; 56, 39; 58, 9 κληρῶ act. ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς κληροῦν 4, 17; (in appointment of archons) δέκα κλ. έκάστην (την φυλήν), είτ' έκ τούτων κυαμεύει» 8, 4; κλ. τούς ταμίας έκ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμνων 8, 7; κλ. τὴν βουλὴν τους έννέα άρχοντας 30, 25 (decree); κλ. τους λαχόντας πέντε τους εθέλοντας προσελθείν έναντίον της βουλης 30, 27 (decree) κληροί (δ επιστάτης των πρυτάνεων) προέδρους έννέα 44, 8. κλ. (ή βουλή)

lεροποιούς 54, 24; lεροποιούς τούς κατ' ένιαυτόν 54, 27; Διονυσίων έπιμελητάς κληροῦσι-άθλοθέτας 60, 2; γραμματέα τον κατά πρυτανείαν 54, 13; (γρ. τόν) έπ τους νόμους 54, 19; δικαστάς (πάντες οὶ έννέα άρχοντες δέκατος δ' ό γραμματεύς τῶν θεσμοθετῶν) 59, 18; τα δικαστήρια (οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες κτλ) 63, 1; els Σαλαμίνα άρχοντα και els Πειραίεα δήμαρχον 54, 34; είσαγωγέας 52, 11; εύθύνους 48, 14; θεσμοθέτας 55, 4; λογιστάς 48, 13; όδοποιούς κτλ. 54, 1; (τούς) τετταράκοντα 53, 1 (τριττύς) έκλήρωσεν τρείς είς την φυλην έκάστην 21, 14 Mid. κληροῦσθαι (τὰς ἀρχὰς) τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα έτη γεγονότας 4, 14; 7, 29; (of dicasts) κληρουμένων μαλλον τών τυχώντων ή των έπιεικων άνθρώπων 27, 23; τους κληρωσομένους των έννέα άρχοντων 26, 15 Pass. κληροῦσθαι—τὸν ἐπιψηφιοῦντα 30, 27 (decree). βουλή κληρούται 43, δ. (τών πωλητών) κληρούται εἶς έκ τῆς φυλής 47, 2; (των ταμιών της 'Αθηνας) κλ. εξε έκ τής φυλής 47, 7; (έμπήκτης) col. 31, 14. κληρούνται άγορανόμοι 51, Ι; Ιερών έπισκευασταί 50, Ι; μετρονόμοι 51, 5. (άρχαί) μετ' έννέα άρχόντων έκ τής φυλής δλης κληρούμεναι 62, 2; (άρχαι) εν θησείφ κληρούμεναι 62, 2; (άποδέκται) κεκληρωμένοι κατά φυλάς *κληρωτήριον 63, 4; col. 31, 15, 18 κληρωτήριου 03, 4; col. 31, 15, 10 κληρωτήριου 03, 4; col. 31, 15, 10 κληρωτός (γραμματεύς κατά πρυτανείαν) 54, 19; (ταμίας) 49, 30. κληρωτό (οί ἔνδεκα) 52, 1; (σιτοφύλακες) 51, 8. άρχαὶ κληρωταί 8, 1, 5; 30, 13 (decree); 43, 2; 55, 1; 62, 1 κλοπήν (δημοσίων χρημάτων) καταγιγνώσκουσι 54, 7 Κοδρίδαι 3, 13 κοινή 5, 4. 10; 23, 17; 40, 18, 21; 57, 6 κοινόν, μέτριον καὶ 6, 14 (of Solon). κοινόν, c. gen. 39, 5 (decree). els tò kourbr 42, 28. τὰ κοινά 9, 10; 14, 17; 15, 25; 16, 10; 24, 5; ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν 25, 21; 56, 37; τὰς κοινὰς λητουργίας 27, 14 κοινωνείν c. gen. 6, 9; 13, 24; των κοινω-νούντων της πράξεως 18, 16; κοινωνείν τής-πολιτείας 37, 8; αμφοτέρων κεκοινωνηκώς 37, 11 κοινωνικαί δίκαι 52, 15 (not found in Ar. in technical sense)

κολάζουσα και ζημιούσα 3, 36; ζημιούν και

κομίζειν (σίτον) 51, 18; κομίσαντος (of troops) 17, 16. Mid. κομίσασθαι τὰ

χρήματα παρά των δανεισαμένων 22, 35 Κόνων άρχων (402/1) 25, 8

κολάζειν 8, 23 Κολλυτός 14, 26; 22, 16

κόλπος, Θερμαίος 15, 6

κόπρος, 50, 10; *κοπρολόγοι 50, 9 κόρος 12, 13 (Solon) κορυνηφόροι 14, 5 * κοσμητής 42, 19 κόσμος την θεών απομιμησαμενός τῷ κόσμι 13, 28; τὸν άλλον κόσμον (of the Parthenon) 47, 6. ἐν κόσμω λεγόντων 28, 18 κρατείν, έχειν καί 56, 7; δ δήμος έστυ ί κρατών 41, 26; οἱ δήμοι κρατήσαντες 40,14 κρατερον σάκος 12, 8 (Solon) κράτος 12, 42 (Solon) κρηνών έπιμελητής 43, 3 κριθαί 51, 12 κρισαι 51, 12 κρίνειν, δίκαι 3, 32; αυτοτελείς κρίνειν 53. 6; κρίνει τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ βουλή 45, 12; εκ νουσιν (στρατηγόν) 61, 12; κρίνασα 8,9: θουνή (θ'ρατηγού) 01, 12; καμάσα 5,0 έκρινεν 8, 25; 60, 11; παραδείγματα— ή βουνή 49, 20; κρίνεσθαι Μηδισμού 2: 12; κρινόμενος 27, 26 13; κρυσμεσος 27, 20 κρίσις, ού κυρία 45, 13; καταλέλυται 60, 14. κρίσεως—κύριος 9, 11; κρίσεως—γενομένης 45, 5; άμφισβήτησις κρίσεως 28, 34. πρός την κρίσιν 3, 21; καταλέλους 20, 20, καταλέλους 20, 20, καταλέλους 20, 20, καταλέλους 20, 20, καταλέλους 20, κατα χαρίζεσθαι την κρίσιν 49, 22. αι τής βουλής κρίσεις 41, 27 Κρόνος ο έπι Κρόνου βίος 16, 27 κτήμα 60, 14 κτίζω· ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων 21, 22 (Pal. 1275 6 33, 1310 6 38 κτώμαι ουσίαν κεκτημένους 4, 6; συμτά θειν τον κεκτημένον 39, 10 (decree); ο το χωρίον κεκτημένος 60, 8, 13 κυαμεύειν, έκ τούτων 8, 4; έκυθμενου τούς-άρχοντας 22, 21 κύαμος τούς από κυάμου δισχιλίους ανόρας 24, 20; την είληχυίαν τῷ κυάμφ βουλίν 32, 6 κύβοι col. 31, 17 f; col. 32, 31 (Κύλων) 1, 1—3 notes κύρβεις 7, 3 (only in de Mundo 400 b 30, κύρρες 7, 3 (υπιγ πι ως πεωτιών 400 ν 300 τ α έν κύρβεσιν άναγεγραμμένα) κύρισς δ νόμος 47, 4; οὐ κυρία ἡ κρίσις 45, 13; κυρία ἐκκλησία 43, 17; 62, 7; ἀνφορεὺς κύριος, ἄκυρος, col. 63, 21; κτρίαν (ψῆφον) col. 36, 20; δ τι ἀν ἀ κυριατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος κύριος αἰκαι ἀκαιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος κύριος αἰκαι ἀκαιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος κύριος αἰκαι ἀκαιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος κύριος αἰκαιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος αἰκαιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος αὐκοι ἀναιατοι ὑπράσωνται τοῦτος αὐκοι ἀναιατοι αὐκοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι ἀναιατοι αὐκοι ἀναιατοι ρίαν (ψηφον) coi. 30, 20; ο τι αν π δικασταί ψηφίσωνται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι 45, 11; δ τι δυ γνώσιν οἱ δικασταί, τοῦτο κύριον έστι 48, 27; δυτες κύριοι 52, 19 c. gen. ἀπώτων 41, 25; τών αὐτών 61, 21; τῶν γραμμάτων 54, 14; της δοκιμασίας 55, 12; ἐαυτῶν 39, 3; τῆς κρίσεως 9, 12; οὐδενός 54, 22; τῆς πόλεως 20, 11; 34, 16; 35, 2; τῆς πολιτείας 9, 7; τῶν πραγμάτων 6, 1; 18, 1; 41, 2; 55, 1; 79; \$\frac{\psi}{\psi}\phi\phi\phi\pu\ 9, 6
c. inf. 3, 31; 8, 23; 29, 36 (decree);
44, 13; 45, 19; 56, 42; 58, 1; 61, 14 c. part. 37, 13 Kuplous ebras Bare. κυρίως, ζημιούσα 3, 36 κύρος, δ ήν έν τοίς δικασταίς κατέλυσα 70 35, 12

κυρούσι τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις 59.

16; κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων 30, I (only έν τη Τενεδίων πολιτεία, p. 1569 a 27, frag. 593³, έκύρωσε και περί τοῦ ίδίου παιδός τηρηθήναι τον νόμον)

Kuyekiðai 17, 14

κυείν 56, 42 κυσίν πολλαίσιν 12, 54 (Solon)

*κωλακρέται 7, 13
*κωλωκρέται 7, 13
κωλύω ἐκώλυσεν 18, 11; 22, 32. c. inf.
γενέσθαι 34, 10; δανείζειν 6, 2; κατοικοδομεῦν 50, 11; κοινωνεῦν 37, 8; παριέναι 19, 31; as in Ar. (Index p. 419 b
32) never followed by μή

Κωμέας άρχων (560/59) 14, 8

κωμφδοΐς, χορηγούς 56, 9, 11 (κωμφδοΐς χορηγών Eth. 1123 a 23; χορόν κωμφ-δών δψέ ποτε δ άρχων έδωκεν Poet. 1449 61)

κωτίλλοντα 12, 19 (Solon)

λαγχάνω δίκας λαγχάνουσι (πρός) 53, 2; τῷ δράσαντι λαγχάνει 57, 30. οὖ έλαχον τοι. 37, 8. τοῦ εἰληχότος col. 32, 14; τοὺς εἰληχότας col. 31, 24; τοῦς εἰληχότας col. 32, 24. ἀς ἀν λάχη διαίτας 53, 29; εἰς οἰον ἀν λάχη (δικαστήριον) col. 31, 29; els οίον ἃν λάχη (δικαστήριον) col. 31, 32; καθ δτι ἄν λάχωτι 43, 7. ό λαχών 47, 4; els ό λαχών 44, 1; τό γράμμα τό λαχόν 63, 24; τό δικαστήριον τό λαχόν 49, 21; τό λαχόν μέρος 30, 16 (decree); 58, 7; τῷ λαχόντι 50, 9. οἱ λαχόντες 57, 24; οἱ λ. ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους col. 35, 30; τῶν λαχόντων δικαστῶν 63, 6; τοὐς λαχόντας 4, 14; (πέντε) 30, 26, 28 Pass. γραφαὶ καὶ δίκαι λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτόν 56, 29; γραφαὶ λ. πρὸς αὐτόν 57, 9; δίκαι λ. πρὸς αὐτόν 58, 4; λ. δίκαι 57, 12 ιακεδαιμόνιοι 19, 7, 21; 23, 19; 29, 3;

Λακεδαιμόνιοι 19, 7, 21; 23, 19; 29, 3; 32, 14; 34, 8; 37, 18; 38, 25; 40, 20 Δακεδαίμων 37, 17; 38, 7, 27

Λακιάδαι 27, 15

Δάκωνες 19, 7, 21, 25; 23, 20

Δάκωνες 19, 7, 21, 25; 23, 20 λαμβάνει άποτιμήματα 56, 45; δίκην λαμβάνουσων 42, 34; λ. δωρεάν 46, 7; είς σίτησων λ. 62, 10. λαμβάνων 25, 26; λαμβάνοντες άργύριον 43, 11; λ. τριακοντα μνᾶς 50, 3. τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτολήψεται 14, 23. Ελαβεν ό δήμος 28, 3. λαβεω (αὐλητρίδα) 50, 8; λ. τὴν δεκάτην 16, 22; λ. τὴν έξουσίαν 41, 4; τὴν τὸτεωρίαν λ. 23, 11. λ. [γνος 18, 25, την 10, 12, λ. την εφουών 4, 4, την γγεμονίαν λ. 23, 11. λ. (χνοι 18, 25, λαβών 22, 36; λ. την ἀρχήν 14, 16; 15, 13; δωρεάν λ. 46, 6; λ. την ἐπιμέλειαν 38, 29; λ. τουν κορυνηφόρου 14, 5; μοιχόν λ. 57, 19; λαβόντει όσπίδα 42, 31; δώρα λαβόντα 54, 8. δώρα λήψεσθαι and λάβωσι 55, 32. ληφθέντων (= άλόν-

των) 19, 34 λαμπάδων άγωνες 57, 7 λαμπρώς, έλητούργει 27, 14 (χορηγεῖν λαμ-πρώς Είλ. 1122 b 22)

λανθάνω λάθη Ερημον γενόμενον 43, 22 λάγω· λέγω 12, 15; λέγουσι 6, 8. λέγων 14,12; δ πρότερον λέγων, δ ιστερον λέγων, col. 36, 15 f; ἐν κόσμω λεγόντων 28, 18. λέγεται c. acc. et inf. 14, 8. δ λεγόμενος λόγος 18, 26. ἐλέχθη 21, 5. υ. elreir and elograi

Λειμώνη (Ίππομένους) Heracl. epit. l. 12 λείπω· (δίκην) ελιπεν 16, 34 (retinet Blass, coll. Dem. 49 \$ 19, 59 \$ 60)

Λειψύδριον 19, 12, 15 λείως 12, 19 (Solon)

Λέσβιοι 24, 7 λευκοί, κύβοι col. 31, 19 λευκώ: πιτάκιον λελευκωμένον 48, 20; λελευκωμένα γραμματεία 47, 16, 27; 53, 22 (only in Phys. Ausc. 185 b 29 b dv-θρωπος οὐ λευκός έστιν άλλά λελεύκωται)

Δεωκόρειον 18, 20 Δήμνον, άρχαι είς 62, 16; ιππαρχος είς 61, 25; των lππέων των έν Δήμνφ 61, 26

Δηναίφ, έπί 57, 5 λήξις: λήξεις κλήρων 43, 21; νείμαι—τους άλλους πρός την λήξω έκάστην 30, 17 (decree); ενα νεμηθώσων είς τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις 31, 19 (only in de Mundo 401 b 20 ή κατά φύσιν λήξις)

*ληροῦσι» 17, 5 (λήρος Pol. 1257 b 10; ληρώδης Rhet. 1414 b 16; Hist. An.

579 b 3) λητουργία 27, 14; 56, 16

λητουργώ 27, 14; 29, 35 (decree); 56, 15 f

λίαν 12, 12 (Solon); ἀρχαϊκῶς καὶ λίαν ἀπλῶς 14, 22 (λίαν ἀρχαίως Pol. 1330 b 33; λίαν ἀπλοῦν Meteor. 339 b 34; ἀπλῶς 365 a 26)

λίθος διμύντες πρός τῷ λίθω 7, 5; βαδί-ζουσι πρός τὸν λίθον 55, 28

λογιζόμενοι, οί τοις ύπευθύνοις 54, 5; τούς λογιουμένους ταις άρχαις 48, 14

λογισταί δέκα (της βουλης) 48, 13. λογι-

σται δέκα και συνήγοροι 54, 3 λόγος (1) 'speech', τον άλλον λόγον έπετέλεσεν 15, 23; τον πρό τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον 29, 6; in the law-courts, (εἰρημένοι) οἱ λόγοι col. 35, 31. (2) 'current account', ὁ τῶν δημοτικῶν λόγος 6, 13 (= ως οι δημοτικοί λέγουσι 6, 8); ό λεγούσι δ, ας γόμενος λόγος 18, 26; 'rumour', 'report', διασπείρας λόγον 14, 24; διεσπάρησαν οι λόγοι πρός τὸ πλήθος 36, 4. (3) ' in name alone', λόγφ μόνον 32, 12. (4) 'accounts', λόγον άπενεγκείν 54, 4

λοιδορήσας 18, 12; έλοιδορήσατο 28, 17 λοιπός τὸ λοιπόν 22, 41; 31, 15 (decree);

λοιπός το λοιπών 22, 41; 31, 15 (decree); els τον λοιπόν χρόνον 30, 15 (decree); τὰ λοιπὰ (ἔτη) 17, 4 λοξόν—δρώσι 12, 21 (Solon) λοχαγοί 61, 18 (de Mundo 399 b 6; Oec. ii 1350 b 11; λοχαγίαι Pol. 1322 b 4) Λύγδαμις δ Νάξιος 15, 11, 15 Αυκομήδης Σκύριος Heracl. epit. l. 7

*λυκόποδες frag. 5 λύκος 12, 54 (Solon) Λυκοῦργος 13, 20; 14, 19 λυμαίνομαι· την όλην έλυμήναντο πράξω 18, 21 10, 21 *λυροποίος, Κλεοφών ὁ 28, 20 Λύσανδρος, King of Sparta 34, 16, 25 Λυσικράτης ἄρχων (453/2) 26, 19 Αυσίμαχος, father of Aristides, 22, 39; 23, 13 Λυσίμαχος δ άπδ τοῦ τυπάνου 45, 2-7 *λυχνείον col. 36, 17 λωποδύτης 52, 3 μαλακός 3, 7; 18, 12 μάλλον 14, 17; 15, 19; 16, 3; 29, 8 &c. del μάλλον 27, 23.—μάλιστα 9, 4; 13, 18; 16, 40; 18, 4; 22, 16; 25, 2. πολλών μέν καὶ άλλων, μ. δὲ Θηβαίων 15, 11; αλτίων μ. γενομένων Πεισάνδρου κτλ 32, 9; μάλιστα with numbers 32, 9; τῶν προγεγενημένων 33, 5.—μάλα does not occur. μανιών < ἔνεκα> 35, 15 (law)
*μαντευτά lepá 54, 25
μάντεων, μετά τῶν 54, 26 Μαραθώνι, έν 22, 10 μαρτυρίαι 53, 10, 17; 55, 30 μαρτυρεί 5, 14; 6, 19 μαρτυρεί 55, 30. κάλει τοὺι μάρτυραι 55, 19; ἐπειδὰν παράσχηται τοὺι μ. 55, 20 Μαρωνεία 22, 30 *μαστιγοφόρους--ὑπηρέτας 35, 6 μάχαιραν, σπασάμενος την 18, 38
μάχην, την έπι Παλληνίδι 17, 16; την έν
Μαραθώνι 22, 10. (τών ἀπὸ Φυλής)
νικησάντων μάχη τούς μετὰ τών τριάкорта 38, 2 μάχεται, πρός έκατέρους ύπερ έκατέρων 5, 9 Meγaκληs (the slayer of Cylon) Heracl. epit. l. 15 Μεγακλής Ίπποκράτους Αλωπεκήθεν 22,24 Μεγαρέας ' έν τῷ πρὸς Μ. πολέμω 14, 2; (+περί Σαλαμίνος) 17, 6 μέγας γυναίκα μεγάλην και καλήν 14, 25. μείζων (' too powerful') 22, 27; μείζω 10, 4; στόλον μείζω 19, 30 μεγισται και πρώται τών άρχων 3, 4; τὰ πλείστα και τὰ μέγιστα 3, 35; 8, 22; πρώτον και μέγιστον 9, 3; μεγίστην είχεν δύναμιν 13, 11; μέγιστον πάντων ήν 16, 29 μέγεθος τοῦ τιμήματος 7, 14 Μέδων (βασιλεύς) 3, 9 μεθιδρυσόμενος, έκεῖσε 19, 6 μεθίστατο 22, 27 μεθύων 34, 11 μεθώων 34, 11 μέλανες, κύβοι col. 31, 19 μέλλω c. inf. praes. 6, 6; 7, 29; 18, 11; 24, 12, 14; 45, 3; col. 36, 10 c. inf. fut. 63, 10 and col. 31, 36 μέλλη πληρωθήσεσθαι (not noted either

by H-L, or in Class. Rev. v 185 b).

χρόνον 31, 1 μέμνηται 6, 20; 12, 2 μεμψιμοιρία · ρί. 12, 55: (only in de Vist. 1251 b 25; μεμψίμοιρος in Hist. As 608 6 10) μέν-δέ passim, 1, 2 f; 3, 2 f &c. μό without δέ 19, 9; 48, 23. μέν in irre gular position 48, 24; μέν-δέ-δέ 21. 13. μέν οῦν passim, 2, 10; 3, 14, 33 4, 1; 8, 8; 9, 1, 10; 10, 1 &c. \$\text{\psi} \text{\psi} < \tau \cdot \cdot 28, 35 μένω, μένει 44, 5; 49, 2; ξμείνει 16, 35; μεινάντων 38, 31; 39, 3. μεμένηκε ομ Blov 3, 38 μερίζειν κατά τάς - τριττύς 21, 10; (π χρήματα) μερίζουσι ταῖε ἀρχαῖε 48, 8 μερισμόε 48, 9, 11 (Met. 1027 b 20 Bl p drtiddoews) μέρος, κατά 55, 5; τὸ λαχὸν μέρος 30, 16 (decree); ἐν μέρει 43, 7; 56, 13; ἐν τι μέρει col. 37, 7. τὰ δύο μέρη 51, 17 διένειμε τὴν χώραν—τριάκοντα μέρη 21 12; διανείμαι τέτταρα μ. 58, 6; νενέμη ται-δέκα μ. 63, 20 μεσόγειος, ή 21, 14 μέσος Σόλων—τῆ οὐσία και τοῖς πράγμας τῶν—μέσων 5, 12; τὴν μέσην πολιτεία 13, 18; ψῆφοι—αὐλίσκον έχουσαι & τῷ 13, 18; ψήφοι—αυλισκου εχουσαι ε τη μέσφ col. 35, 28 μετά c. gen. τῶν 'Αθηναίων 19, 33; αὐτοί 20, 11; δλίγων 20, 18; δποτέρων 11 13; τούτων 14, 6- μεθ' ὅπλων 18, 28 μετά σπουδής 25, 17 c. αcc. τοὺς ἀρχαίους 28, 29; τὸν—α τῶν νόμιων θέσν 14 θάνατον 19, 4; την τῶν νόμων θέσω 14. 7; την κάθοδον 15, 2; την τῶν τυράνω κατάλυσιν 13, 24; 21, 3; τὴν πρώτη κατάστασυ 14, 19; ταύτην την κατά στασυ 22, 6; τὰ Μηδικά 23, 2; 25, 1 την ναυμαχίαν 23, 22; την νίκην 22, 11 οὐ πολύ 6, 10; οὐ πολύν χρόνον 25 24; 34, 13; ταῦτα 2, 1; 10, 3; 14, 20 15, 1; 19, 1; 24, 1 &C; τὴν τοῦ πατρὸ τελευτήν 19, 38; την τυραννίδα 22, 23 μεταβολή 13, 15; 16, 2; 41, 5 μεταδιδόασι 36, 9; μετεδίδου 40, 9; μετέ быке 40, 9; µетабойна 36, 39. Constr μεταιχμίφ, έν 12, 65 (Solon) μετακινεῖν (τους νόμους) 31, 9 (decree) μέταλλα 22, 29; 47, 8, 11 * μεταλλικαί δίκαι 59, 14 * μεταπέμπομαι 3, 8; 18, 6; 20, 16; 38 μετατίθημι τὰς στάσεις άμφοτέρας μετα θέσθαι 11, 9 μετέχω άρχης 7, 29; τοῦ καταλόγου 37 7; ούδενδε 2, 12; της πόλεως 8, 30; 26 22; της πολιτείας 21, 5; 42, 2; πάστυ τῶν τόπων 21, 15. μετεχόντων πολλά 18, 14 μετεώρους, δχετούς 50, 12

els το μέλλον 6, 2; εls τον μελλοντο

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μέτριος μέτριον γενέσθαι και κοινόν 6, 14; μέτριοι τοις πολίταις 35, 8; εὐποροῦντες τῶν μετρίων 16, 9; ἔχειν τὰ μέτρια 27,
    16. ἐν μετρίοισι 5, 17 (Solon)
μετρίω<del>ς</del> 16, 3
μέτρον 7, 17, 26; πεντακόσια μέτρα 10, 4; μέτρων καὶ σταθμών 10, 3
λους 56, 7; τίνων 52, 37; της νῦν (sc. .πολιτείας καταστάσεως?) 41, 23 (τοῦ νῦν
    usurpat Ar.); τοῦ κ 63, 20; col. 31, 4;
    τούτου 23, 1; τριών 43, 25
μή, μηδέ, μηδείς, μήτε passim.
   ή, μηδέ, μησειε, μητε ρωιιοπ.
μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων 8, 29 (law of Solon).
uh—unδέ 0. 7. μήτε—μήτε 11, 3; 16,
    μή—μηδέ 9, 7. μήτε—μήτε 11, 3; 16, 10; 39, 6 (decree); col. 35, 34. μήτε—dλλά 16, 8
Μηδικά, μετά τὰ 23, 2; 25, 2; 41, 16 
* μηδισμοῦ, κρίτεσθαι 25, 12
Μηλόβιος 29, 6
μήν ου μήν άλλά 6, 12; 7, 20; + καl 2,
11. ου μήν είκὸς άλλά 9, 12. ή μήν
    29, 12 (decree)
μήν, δ. μηνός 32, 4; μήνα 62, 13; μήνας
    13, 7
μηνύειν 18, 8; έμήνυσν 18, 33; μηνύσων
    18, 34
μήτηρ and μητρός πατήρ 55, 14
μικρόν 3, 14; 11, 12; 15, 17; 25, 3; 41,
    in
            έν ούτω μικροίς 6, 17
Μιλτιάδης 26, 5; 28, 10
μισθός (δικαστικός) col. 33, 18; col. 37,
   7; cf. τρειε δβολούε 62, 7. μ. (ἐκκλησιαστικόε) 41, 29—35; 62, 6 f
μισθοφορά κατεσκεύασε μισθοφοράν τοις
    δικασται̂s (Pericles) 27, 22; άνευ μισθο-
φοράς 30, 5 (decree). μισθοφοράν πορίζειν Pol. 1304 b 27 μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια, ἐποίησε 27, 11;
   μηδεμίων άρχην είναι μισθοφόρον 33, 9;
μισθοφόρον 33, 9; μισθοφόρον έπκλη-
σίαν—ἀπέγνωσαν ποιεῦν 41, 29. Cf.
    Pol. 1303 b 1; Rhet. 1399 b 2.
μισθοφορείν, έν ταις στρατείαις 27, 10;
μισθοφορεῖν, έν ταῖς στρατείαις 27, 10; μισθοφοροῦσι δραχμήν 62, 6; πέπαυται μισθοφοροῦσι δραχμήν 62, 6; πέπαυται μισθοφορῶν 49, 8. Cf. Pol. 1317 b 35 μισθοῖ τοὺς οίκους τῶν δρφανῶν 56, 42; μισθοῦσι τὰ μισθώματα 47, 8; τῷ λαχόντι μισθοῦσι 50, 9. Pass. ὅπως—μὴ μισθωθήσονται 50, 7. Mid. στρατιώτας μισθωσάμενος 15, 18; ἐμισθώσαντο τὸν—νεὼν οίκοδομεῖν 19, 20
* μισθώματα 47, 8
μίσθωσις 47, 27; μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν
    47, 26. κατά ταύτην την μίσθωσιν 2,
5; τας μισθώσεις αποδιδοίεν 2, 7
μισώ μισείν 28, 24
μεά 10, 5, 8, 9; έντδε τριών μεών 49, 26;
    τριάκοντα μνας 50, 3; έκατον μνας 56, 26
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μέτοικος 43, 25; 57, 18; 58, 11. δίκαι—

μετοίκοις 58, 5, 10

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Μνησιθείδης άρχων (457/6) 26, 16
*μησισείσης αρχων (457(0) 20, 10

*μησικακήν 39, 20 (decree); 40, 11.

*μησικακήσε 40, 16 (μησίκακος Rhet.

1381 δ 4; Eth. 1125 a 5)

*μοῦρα (=μέρος)· συνεβάλετο δ' οὐκ έλάττω
    μοίραν 19, 24
 μοιχείας γραφή 59, 11
μοιχόν λαβών 57, 19
 μόνοι c. gen. 3, 21, 38 &c. ου μόνου—
άλλα καί 40, 18 &c. ὥστ' αὐτὴν μόνην
    χωρείν την ψήφον col. 36, 9. τρισχι-
    Mois morois 36, 9
 * μονοχίτων 25, 18
   μορίαι 60, 8, 9; έλαίαν μορίαν 60, 11
 Μουνιχία 19, 5; 38, 1, 16; 42, 21. (στρα-
τηγός) els την Μ. 61, 6
μουσικής άγών 57, 5; 60, 5. τοίς την μουσικής νικώσυ 60, 21
 μύδροι 23, 24 (only in de Mundo 395 δ
23 μύδρους διαπύρους)
"μυλωθροί 51, 11
 Μύρων 1, 1
 * μύσται, όταν οίκουρῶσι 56, 22
 μυστήρια 39, 8; 57, 2
 Nátios 15, 11
Nάξος 15, 15
*ναυκραρίαι 8, 13 f
 *ναυκραρικοῦ άργυρίου, ἐκ τοῦ 8, 18 (de-
    cree)
ετες)
**πάκραροι 8, 14, 17; 21, 20
**αυμαχία, ή περί Σαλαμῦνα 23, 5; ἐν Σαλαμῶνι 23, 22; 27, 7. ἡ περί Ἐρετρίαν 33,
4. ἐν Ἡργινούσαις 34, 4. ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμῶς 34, 15. ἡτύχησαν—ναυμαχίαν 34,
ναυμαχώ εναυμάχησαν-πρός τούς βαρβά-
    pous 22, 37
ναυπηγουμένου 22, 37; έναυπηγήσατο 22,
    36 (only in Oec. 1349 a 25 ναυπηγείσθαι
    τριήρεις μέλλων. ναυπηγός and ναυπηγία
in Pol.; ναυπηγική in Eth.)
ναθε έπ' άλλοτρίας νεώς 34, 6; νήες φρου-
ρίδες 24, 18; άλλαι νήες 24, 19; els τάς
ναύς 23, 7
ναυτικήν δύναμιν, την 27, 5
νέμω νειμαι—τούς άλλους πρός την λήξιν
    έκάστην 30, 16 (decree); Ένα νεμηθώσω
    —είς τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις 31, 18 (decree); ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης νενεμημέναι
    τριττύες τρείς 8, 13; νενέμηνται κατά
φυλάς δέκα μέρη οι δικασταί 63, 20.
Mid. έάν τις μη 'θέλη κοινά τὰ όντα
    νέμεσθαι 56, 37
Νεοκλής 23, 14
  νεοπολίτας, τούς 21, 17
νέος ών 27, 3; τη νέα βουλή 46, 5. νεώτε-
ρος 19, 6; ν. όκτω και δέκα έτων 42, 13;
    νεώτερον (?) 26, 5
*νεωρίων, φρουροί 24, 15 νεως δ έν Δελφοίς 19, 20
 * решоског 46, 2, 4
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νεωστί 3, 18

νίκην, μετά την 22, 11. Νίκαι 47, 5 Νικίας 28, 15, 29 Νικόδημος (οτ Νικομήδης) ἄρχων (c. 483/2) 22, 20 νικώ· νικάν 12, 9 (Solon). ἐνίκησεν (τους lππείε) 19, 31. c. acc. cogn. νικήσας την έπι Παλληνίδι μάχην 15, 12; την έν Μαραθώνι μάχην νικησάντων 38, 2; την μουσικήν νικώσιν—την εθανδρίαν τον γυμνικόν άγωνα και την Ιπποδρομίαν 60, 20 f. c. dat. νικησάντων μάχη 38, 2; τους τη ναυμαχία νικώντας 34, 5. δ νικήσας (of one who gets a decree passed) 45, 24. (In the law-courts) έὰν δὲ νικήση 42, 11; οὖτος νικά col. 36, 35 νομίζειν 6, 21; νομίσαντες 18, 18 νομίμων, είργεσθαι τών 57, 14 νόμισμα 10, 4, 7 νομοθεσία 10, 2 νομοθετώ ένομοθέτησεν 8, 8; νομοθετήσας 11, 15 (both of Solon) νόμος 4, 23; 16, 41. δ μέν νόμος έστιν 60, 13. είσαγγελίας 8, 26; περί τοῦ όστρακισμοῦ 22, 5. νόμον ξθηκε 8, 28; 22, 17; νόμους ξθηκε 6, 3; 7, 1; νόμους ξτέθη 21, 4; 22, 13, 26. νόμον μη έπιτηδειον θείναι 59, 6. αναγράψαντες—νόμους 7, 3; ασαφείς-νόμους 9, 11; μη γεγράφθαι τούς νόμους άπλως μηδέ σαφως 9, 7; νόμους (διατηρείν) 3, 35; νόμους έξηγείσθαι 11, 6; νόμων θέσις 14, 7; έν τοις νόμοις 10, 1; κατά τους νόμους 4, 21; τουςνόμους τους περί τῶν Αρεοπαγιτῶν 35, 10; ύπο τῶν νόμων 51, 2; ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῷ 22, 12. νόμοι quoted, περί των ταμιών 8, 6; Σόλωνος 8, 16; περί των τυράννων 16, 39 *νομοφύλακεῖν, έπὶ τὸ 8, 20 (νομοφύλακες and romopularia in Pol.) νόον, τρέφεσθε μέγαν 5, 17 (Solon) νοσήσας 17, 2. Μετ. τὰ πράγματα νοσνοσήσας 17, 2. Μετ. τὰ πράγματα νοσοῦντα 6, 19; διετέλουν νοσοῦντες 13, 12 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν 44, 2 νῦν 3, 24 &c. τὸ νῦν εἶναι 31, 9 (decree). καὶ νῦν 3, 39; 7, 29. ἔτι καὶ νῦν 3, 25; 7, 6; 8, 6; 22, 7. νῦν δέ (opp. πρότερὸν μέν) 53, 24; 54, 19; 55, 11, 25; 56, 25; 61, 2; (opp. πρότερον δέ) 56, 9; (opp. ποτε) 49, 20; (opp. τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς) 55, 4; νῦν δ' after impf. 51, 9

Ζάνθιππος δ 'Αρίφρονος 22, 28; 28, 10 Ζεναίνετος άρχων (401/0) 40, 27 ξενίας γραφή 59, 8 ξένος 19, 23; 20, 6; 57, 18 Ζέρξου στρατεία 22, 40 ξηρά και ύγρά 7, 17 ξύλινος (άμφορεύς) col. 36, 5, 7. ξύλινοι (?) κύβοι col. 31, 19 ξυνήγαγον 12, 28 (Solon)

ό. τὰ μὲν ἐκών τὰ δ' ἄκων 27, 10.--τὰ δύο μέρη 51, 17.

Article often found in periphrasic phrases, of περί 'Ανακρέωντα 18, 5; εί περί τὸν Κλεομένην 20, 12; τῶν ἐν τὰ πολιτεία 38, 9; τὰ περί τὰς ἀρχάς 3, 33; τὰ πρὸς ἐαυτούς 13, 13; τὰ εἰς τὸ πόλεμον 23, 10; τὰ τοῦ πολέμου 30, 30 (decree); The Kath The Wolitelas 2, 10; 29, I f.

Sometimes omitted (1) before the names of officials, as θεσμοθέται 3, 30; στρατηγούς και Ιππάρχους 4, 8; cf. 30, 7: (2) in certain set phrases, as in dyoph 51, 10; 52, 14; in date: 50, 5; in 33, 00, 10 (tal ess την ακροναίν 10, 13); άτευ δικαστηρίου γνώσεως 45, 4; έκ καταλόγου 20, 8; έν μέρει 43, 7; κατά μέρος 55, 5; είς πόλω 8, 24; μέχει άρχης τέλους 50, 7; έτει δευτέρω 14, 7; 15, 9 &C; καί αὐτὸν καὶ γένος 16, 44; 15, γ def, and μητρός) παιτήρ 55, 14.

Similarly with 4ρχή 5, 6, 20. (The exx. mainly from H-L, s.v. Articulus) See also obe, Exactos and Tpostos.

δβολότ 41, 33; 62, 9. δύο όβολούς (reis δδυμάτοις) 49, 28; δυοῦν όβολοῦν 28, 21; τρεῖς όβολούς 29, 32; 62, 7; τέτταρας 42, 26; 62, 10; πέντε 62, 7; ἐννέα 62.

804, article sometimes omitted in papyras after, 7, 8; 29, 29; 37, 5; not omitted in 42, Ι τόνδε τον τρόπον.—νόμος—δι 16, 42

* оботого! 54, 1

* όδοποιοί 54, 1
όδός 50, 11—14; 54, 2
όδύναι 16, 21
δθεν (1) 'whence', (of place) 15, 7; (of origin &c) 6, 11 δθεν φασί γενέσθαι; 8, 3 δθεν έτι διαμένει; 18, 12 δθο συνέβη; 19, 20 δθεν εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων; 21, 5 δθεν ἐλέχθη τὸ φιλικτικέν. (2) 'wherefore', δθεν καί 3, 8; 17, 15; 21, 18; δθεν έτι καί νῦν 7, 6; δθεν δυτερον 19, 13
οίδα passim. οίδεν άδικοῦντα 49, 11; μη εἰδη 57, 20; εἰδότες 14, 12
Οίηθεν 27, 19

Olήθεν 27, 19 olkelas, έκ τής 7, 17; των olkelων 40, 24 olkelws etxor 36, 5 οίκέτην άποκτείνη 57, 17

οίκήματα 15, 21 olkla dar-olklar haußarwour 30, 10; oiklas 20, 9; tà xwpla kal tàs olklas 52,

οίκοδομεῖν 19, 20 οίκοδομήματα δημόσια 46, 8 овкои дрфанской какшось 56, 34; овком όρφανων 56, 43

ολεουρώσε μύσται, όταν 56, 22 ολεώ c. acc. ολεείν την πόλιν 22, 19; c. pracp. τους ολεούντας έν έκαστη τών δήμων 21, 16; οίκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἄστα 24, 3 &c. ψκησαν (?) 3, 23

οΙνοχοείν 20, 23 (scol.) οίομαι οίονται 9, 10; οίεσθαι 10, 6; ώετο 11, 10 olor, 'for example', 35, 14; 57, 19. "ovx ολον* papyri lectio 40, 23 όκτώ 23, 7. όκτωκαίδεκα έτη 42, 3, 13 δλβος 12, 13, 18 (Solon) δλιγαρχία κατέστη 32, 7; δλιγαρχίας έπε-θύμουν 34, 20; έν δλιγαρχία 38, 29; την όλιγαρχίαν έζητουν 13, 19; χειροτονείν την όλ. 34, 26; την προτέραν όλ. 37, 11; την έπι των τριάκοντα όλ. 53, όλιγαρχική, ή πολιτεία 2, 2; προσθεμένου τοῖε όλιγωρχικοῖε 34, 25 όλιγος δι' όλιγων ήν 2, 6; 4, 24. οι όλι-γοι 41, 28; των πολλών δουλευώντων τοῖε όλιγως 5, 2 όλιγωρώ τούτων μέν ώλιγώρησαν 36, 12 δλος: την δλην πράξιν 18, 21; έκ της φυ-λης δλης 62, 2 δλως 13, 12 όμιλιαις-προσήγετο, ταις 16, 37 ομιλούστας, πρός χάριν 35, 19 δμινομι: δμινόουσι 3, 11; 7, 6; 22, 7; 55, 31; 55, 34. δμινόντες 7, 5; τοὺς δρκους 31; 55, 34. δμυύντες 7, 5; τοὺς δρκους ώμοσε τοῖς Ίωσιν 23, 23; ώμοσαν χρή-σεσθαι 7, 4; περί τοῦ δρκου ὅττινα χρή-δμόσαι γράψαι 31, 6. δμόσαντες 42, 4, 15; 55, 29, 33; ἢ μήν 29, 12 (decree); καθ leρῶν 1, 1; καθ leρῶν τελείων 29, 39; δμόσωσυ 39, 15 δμοίως και πρότερον 26, 12; δμοίως—και έπι των άλλων 35, 17 δμολογία 19, 35 δμολογώ όμολογούσι» 28, 31; όμολογή 57, 19; όμολογώσι 52, 3; όμολογείται 28, 31 . δμονοίας, άρχειν της 40, 23 * δμοφρονήσαντες 14, 18 δμόχρων τῷ δικαστηρίω, βακτηρίαν col. 32, 4; δικαστήριον δμόχρων τῷ βακτηρία col. dreidliwr 12, 55; dreidlaas 18, 36; drei-dlaai 12, 57 (Solon) биона 7, 19; 14, 27; 17, 13; 48, 20; 54, 36; 63, 19

δπλα, dreλόντες 15, 21; έξαράμενος 14, 13; μη θηται 8, 29; παρείλετο 15, 15; παρείλουτο 37, 14; παρελέσθαι 37, 4; παρελόμενος 15, 13; παρεχόμενοι 4, 47; ἀπό τῶν ὅπλων 18, 27; τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς πο-λιτείας οὐσης 33, 14; μεθ' ὅπλων 18, 28; περί τῶν ὅπλων 15, 24. ἐξέτασιν 55, 11 έν δπλοις 31, 11 (decree) 27, 20 δπλίται 24, 18; 61, 21, 24. (στρατηγός) έπι τους δπλίτας 61, 4 * όπλομαχείν 42, 22 όπότερος αν 46, 3; όποτέρως ποτ' έχει 3, 14 δπου 43, 15 όπώρα 27, 17 όπως (1) with subj. pres. (a) after past

tense, άρχωσιν 4, 21; ἐξῆ 27, 17; ἢ 9, 11; μετέχη 21, 15; προσιστήται 41, 31; φυλάττωσιν 3, 21; μήτ' ἐπιθυμῶσι μήτε σχολάζωσιν 16, 10; μή ή 35, 16; μή παραμελώσι 16, 15; μη συμβαίνη 21, 9. (b) after pres. inf. dependent on pf. ind. προστέτακται-έπιμελείσθαι, δπως πωλήται 51, 2—4.
(2) with subj. 2nd aor. μετάσχωσι 21, 5; μηδένα λάθη 43, 22.
(3) ὅπως <ἄν > —βουλεύσωνται 29, 18 (decree); &ν συμβουλεύωσι 29, 24 (decree); dr σωα ή 30, 20 (decree)
(4) with fut. ind. (after ἐπιμελοῦν-(4) With Jan. 1912. (αιτεί επιμελουνται), όπως — ξοται —, όπως — πωλήσουσι 51, 10 f; μηδείς καταβαλεί 50, 9; χρήσονται (χρήσωνται MS); (after σκοπούσυν, όπως μή —μισθωθήσονται 50, 7 δργή: ὑπό τῆς όργῆς 18, 37; οὐ κατείχε τὴν όργήν 18, 9 δρθως, ποιείν 41, 28 δρίζω ωρισαν τοῦς δστρακιζομένοις—κατοικείν 22, 41; ώς έν τούτφ τῷ πλήθει τῆς άρετης ώρισμένης 36, 10 * брких тогфович (?) 3, 12 δρκον έποίησαν 22, 7; δρκους ώμοσεν 23, 23; τοις δρκοις έμμένειν 40, 13 όρμή 19, 24; όρμαῖς (?) 28, 16 όρος 12, 23, 66 (Solon) όρφανοί 24, 20; όρφανῶν, ἐπιμελεῖται 56, 39; δρφανών κακώσεως 56, 32; δίκους δρφανών 56, 43 δρφανικός δίκου δρφανικοῦ κακώσεως 56, 34 δρώ passim. δρών 8, 26; δρών col. 35, 33; Ιδών 16, 18; Ιδόντες 18, 16 33; τουν 10, 10, του 12, 13, 17, 16 το 16, 12; 34, 17, 17 αν δοκή αυτοίς άριστα έξευ 30, 19; η άν γγώνται συμφέρευ 31, 7 (decrees) η αν τηνωτιά υσμφερείο 31, / (decree) δούων 43, 30; + χρημάτων 30, 0 (decree) δού: δου αν 51, 14; καθ' δού 14, 14; δού μη 22, 18; δοαι ημέραι 43, 13 δούπερ. δούπερ 63, 7; δοάπερ αν 63, 10 δόπερ έκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους οῦπερ 4, 13; τὸ αὐτὸ ὅπερ 31, 7, 13, 31. ὅπερ ἐγένετο 38, 11; ὅπερ καὶ συνέπεσεν 40, 15; ὅπερ είώθασι ποιείν απαντες 40, 4; δπερ έστιν άγαθοῦ πολίτου έργον 28, 38 δ τι ἀν γνῶδστις δ τι χρήσεται 22, 31. σιν 48, 27; δοκή 48, 22; 63, 15; έγκαλή 48, 21; προστιμήση 63, 7; χειροτονήση 47, 11; ψηφίσωνται 45, 10; μη προγράψωσιν 45, 22. οξτινες καταλέξουσι 29, 38; δυτιν' άποδοκιμάσειεν ή βουλή δστρακίζω 22, 15, 24, 25, 27, 38, 40, 41; δστρακισμός 22, 13 δστρακοφορία 43, 23 бтан passim. 4, 17 &c ore passim; c. opt. 16, 35; 36, 14 ore passim; 6, 18 &c ού passim; θ, 00 49, 28. ούχί 18, 32 (Poet. 1448 δ 18, 1459 a 21 &c). οὐ

βώτια col. 32, 23; τοῖς είληχόσιν col. 32, 24; ἐκάστψ τῶν δικαστῶν δύο ψήφους μήν άλλά 6, 12; 7, 26; + καί 2, 11; οὐ μην είκὸς άλλά 9, 12 201. 32, 31. παραδώσοντας τοῦς πωλη-ταῖς 52, 7. παρέδωκαν την ἀκρόπολω 19, 36. παραδώσω έξειργασμένα 46, 5; oude and oudels passim; oud' av els elmou 7, 30 οὐδείς. οὐδεμιᾶς 7, 28; οὐδ'—εῖς 7, 30 οὐκέτι χρωνται 8, 16 &c παραδούναι τοίς ένδεκα 20, 27 (decree) обнека 12, 28, 53 (Solon) * παραιβατούσης της γυναικός 14, 20 *παραινώ' 5, 10, 14; 36, 2 παραιρούμαι' τών 'Αρεοπαγιτών ένια παρείούπω 14, 17 ούσία 4, 17 ούσία 4, 8; 5, 12; 27, 13, 19; 49, 16. Pl. 35, 23, 25; 47, 13 ούτε—ούτε 38, 30 f ούτεροι 12, 51 (Solon) αρατρουμα: των αρευπωγείων ενώ πωρελ. λετο 27, 4. (ΟΙ άνλα) παρελ.όμενος 15, 13; παρείλετο 15, 15; παρελ.έσθω 37, 14; παρείλοντο 37, 14. Cf. περιαιρούούτος passim. τούτον <τον> τρόπον 12, 1. Har. τούτων δ' είναι 30, 5 (decree) παρακάθηται τŷ βουλŷ 54, 15, 20 (only quoted from de Admir. 845 b 28 eyeiούτω, ούτως, passim. ἐν ούτω μικροῖς 6, 17 [όφειλε]τῶν (?) 47, 14 ρειν τον υίον παρακαθήμενον) παρακαλών abs. 14, 16 οφείλειν δραχμήν της ήμέρας έκάστης 30, παράκειται τῷ άρχοντι κιβώτια col. 31, 35 33; όφείλων (προίκα) 52, 13; όφείλουσι τῷ δημοσίῳ 63, 12 * ὄφλημα 63, 16 (δφείλημα Εth. 1162 b 28, παραλαμβάνει σύμβολον col. 32, 14; παρα-λαμβάνουσι τὸ άγαλμα τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς 47, 5; βακτηρίαν πάλιν παραλαμβάνοντες col. 1165 a 3) 37, 3. έὰν παραλάβωσιν (48, 26; (εθθυναν) 48, 26. όχετούς μετεώρους-ποιείν 50, 12 έὰν παραλάβωσυν (τὰ δημόσια) ỏψέ 26, 6 παραλαβών τούς χορηγούς 56, 10; παραλαβόντες την τους χορηγούς 50, 10; παρακαρώντες την άρχήν 38, 6; τὰ γραμματεία 48, 2; (τὰς δίκας) 53, 7, 14; (Ιππέων κατά-λογον) 49, 11; (τὸ πρόγραμμα) 44, 10 παραλία, η 21, 13. παραλίων (στάσις) 13, 17 Πάγγαιον 15, 7 πάγος, "Αρειος" υ. "Αρειος Παιανιεύς 14, 26; 38, 22 παιδιώδης 18, 4 παιδοτρίβης 42, 22 παραλλάξεω 11, 12 παρακιάςτει 1, 1. Πάραλος 61, 27 παραμελώσι τών άγρων 16, 15 (ένέργεια παρημελημένη Είλ. 1175 α 10) παρανοίας, δίκη 56, 35. Cf. de Part. An. παις 16, 19; παιδες 2, 8; 4, 9; 19, 35. εάν μη αποδώσι τοις παισίν τον σίτον 56, 46. χορηγούς—παισίν 56, 11 f; παισίν χορηγούντα 56, 18 *παλαιόπλουτοι 6, 12 635 6 5 πάλιν 11, 11; 12, 55; 14, 21; 15, 9; 16, 35; 20, 6. πάλιν έξ ύπαρχής 4, 16. πάλιν δέ 12, 10, 15, 26 παρανομοίεν 28, 37; παρανομούσαις 28, 38; παρανομούντων 3, 21 παρανόμων γραφή 45, 24; 59, 6; pl. 29, 23. γραψάμενος παρανόμων 40, 8-(Pol. Παλλαδίω, έπι 57, 18 Παλληνίδι, έπι 15, 13 1255 a 9) *παρανοούντα 56, 35 Παναθήναια 18, 11, 15; 43, 4; 49, 23; 54, 28, 31; 60, 4, 19; 62, 13
Πανδίων Heracl. epit. l. 3 παραπλησίαν c. dat. 29, 20. Adv. παραπλήσιον 10, 5 πάνυ πένης 47, 4 πανά: c. dat. έωντες—παρ' αὐτοῖς 24, 8; παραπλησίως ίσοι 63, 21 παρά c. dat. έωντες—παρ' παρά τοις Έλλησιν 23, 11 παρασκευάζω παρεσκεύαζεν είρήνην 16, 25 παράστασις τίθεται 59, 8 (found in Pol. in c. acc. ελθόντι παρ' αὐτόν 27, 16: different senses) * παραστρατηγηθήναι διά των φίλων 6, 8 παρά το Λεωκόρειον 18, 20; τους έπωνύμους 53, 26; δόξαν II, 9; τὸ βέλжаратпродитея 18, 14 τιστον 35, 19; παρ' δν άδικείται νόμον παρατίθενται, βακτηρίαι κατά την είσοδον 63, 7 παράβολον p. 253 frag. dubium 7 (not * παρατρέφουσι κήρυκα και αὐλητήν (of the found elsewhere in this sense) archons) 62, 11 παραβώσι τῶν νόμων, ἐἀν τινα 7, 6 παράδειγμα ποιήσειν 40, 15. Pl., 'plans', παραυτίκα πρός τό π. βλέποντες 28, 28 παραχρήμα 18, 25 παραχωρησάντων των Κοδριδών—3, 1 παρεχώρουν αυτή του άξιώματος 23, 8 49, 20.
παραδίδωσι δικαστηρίφ 46, 10; (τὰ γραμματεῖα) τοῖε ἀποδέκταιε 47, 32; τὰ μὲν [δια τοῖε δικασταῖε 48, 24; τὸ πρόγραμμα 60, 16. -3, 13; παρεγκλίνουσα της βασιλικής, μικρόν 41, 10 *παρεδρεύει» 56, 3 *πάρεδροι (to the άρχω», βασιλεύς and 44, 10; (τὸ ἔλαιον) τοῦς ταμίαις 60, 16.

πολέμαρχος) 56, 1; (to the εθθυνοι) 48, 15 πάρειμι (είμί). παρών 11, 4, 6; τῆς παρ-

παραδιδόασι (τὰ τέλη) τῷ βουλῷ 47, 17; (τὸν κατάλογον) τοῖς ἐππάρχοις 49, 10; τὸ τίμημα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς 53, 6; (τοὺς ἐχίνους) τοῖς—δικάζουσιν 53, 14; τὰ κι-

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ούσης πολιτείας 37, 8; έν τῷ παρόντι 6,
2; + καιρῷ 31, 2; τῶν παρόντων (masc.)
38, 13; πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα 61,
                                                                         Πειραιεύς. Πειραιέως τοῦ Π. άρχοντας δέκα
                                                                            35, 5; τῶν ἐκ Π. κατελθόντων 38, 31;
τοὺς τοῦ Π. ἀρξαντας 39, 22; τοῖς ἐκ
Π. συγκατελθοῦσυ 40, 9; τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Π.
40, 22; τὴν ἐκ Π. κάθοδον 41, 23. Πει-
   10
πάρειμι (είμι)· els την 'Αττικήν παριέναι
                                                                            40, 22, 7, 10 11. Λαυσου 41, 23. 11ε1
ραιεί 38, 23; 39, 23 f; 50, 5; 61, 7.
Πειραιέα 38, 16; 42, 21; 51, 1, 6, 8,
10; els Π. δήμαρχος 54, 34; (στρατηγοί)
   19, 31
παρέργως 28, 35
παρέρχομαι παρήλθεν els τούς-τόπους 15,
                                                                             enl ror IL 61, 6
   7; των παρεληλυθότων-μνησικακείν 39,
   20 (decree)
                                                                         πειρώμαι c. inf. 6, 5; 20, 10; 34, 19
παρέχει δ' έν μέρει έκατέρα των φυλών τοῦ-
                                                                         Heloaropos 31, 9
                                                                         Πεισιστρατίδαι 19, 24 f, 34
   τον 56, 13. Mid. τοις όπλα παρεχο-
   μένοις 4, 5; των όπλα παρεχομένων 4,
                                                                         Пецбатратов 13, 20; 14 passim; 15, 22;
   7. έγγυητάς παρασχομένους 4, 12; πα-
                                                                             16 and 17 passim; 23, 14; 28, 5; 41, 13
                                                                         πέλαγος 23, 24
Πελαργικόν τείχος 19, 32
   ράσχηται τους μάρτυρας 55, 20; τιμή-
   ματα παρεχομένοις (?) 39, 24
   αρίστημι παρέστηκεν ίππος 7, 25
                                                                          πελάται 2, 5
Πάρνης 19, 12
                                                                         Πελοποννησίους, πόλεμος πρός 27, 8; των
# παροξυνθέντα 18, 13; # αρώξυνε 18, 36 
# παροργίσαντας, διά τους 34, 7 (Act. hitherto found in Gk. Test. alone)
                                                                             П. 38, 13
                                                                         πέμπτω (έτει) 13, 3, 5; 26, 19
πέμπω οὐ γάρ έπεμπου—μεθ' ὅπλων 18,
παρορώ· τὰ δόξαντα—παρεώρων 35, 3; el
                                                                             28; την πομπην-πέμπουσιν 57, 6
                                                                         20, 11μ πομπην—πεμπουσιό 51, 0
πένης 47, 4; πένητες 2, 3; πένησιν 13, 14
*πενθήμερον, κατά 30, 24 (decree)
*πεντακισχίλιοι, οἰ 29, 35, 39 (decree);
30, 2; 31, 10 (decree); 32, 1, 12; 33,
8, 12
   μή τι παρεωράτο 26, 18
παροχλώ παρώχλει 16, 25
παρρησία 16, 23
* παρωνύμιον 17, 12
πας, απας, passim. πάντες 12, 2; πάντ

ανάδαστα ποιήσειν 11, 11; πάντα ποιών
                                                                         πεντακόσιοι, οl 21, 7; 22, 7; 25, 10. π.
22, 22; 24, 14 f, 18; 55, 6. π. βου-
λευτάs 35, 3; 43, 6. πεντακόσια 7, 17
    18, 33
πάσχω ύπο των άντιστασιωτών ταθτα πε-
                                                                         πεντακοσιομέδιμος 4, 18; 7, 10 f, 27; 8, 7; 26, 17; 47, 3. - ον τελεῦν 7, 16 πέντε 13, 8; 19, 36. πεντεκαίδεκα 51, 9 πεντετηρίδες 54, 28—32 (διὰ πενταετηρίδος Pol. 1308 δ 1)
   πονθώς 14, 4; παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι 61,
13; 63, 15; (ἴππος) ὁ ταῦτα παθών 49,
πατήρ 19, 39; 55, 13; πατρός πατήρ 55, 14
πατρικάς δόξας, τιμωμένων διά τάς 26, 9
                                                                          πεντήκοντα 19, 39; 21, 8; 24, 15
* πέπλος (of Athena) 49, 20; 60, 6
 πατρικώς χρωμένους, τη πόλει πάση 28, 32
 πάτριος πάτριον πολιτείαν 34, 18, 22;
   τών πατρίων 3, 16; πατρίους νόμους 29, 17 (decree); πατρίους θυσίας 57, 8;
                                                                          πέρας, ἐπὶ 38, 24
                                                                          περί c. gen. της αποκοπης 12, 26; ταύ-
                                                                             της της άρχης 13, 11; αυτών 8, 26; 12,
2; των βουλομένων 12, 15; των διψκη-
μένων 25, 7; κλήρων και έπικλήρων 9,
8; των νόμων 11, 2; των δπλων 15, 23;
    κατά τὰ πάτρια 21, 24 and (in decrees)
31, 3; 39, 6, 19
πατρίδα, σώσαι 11, 14; βεβοηθηκέναι τῆ
    πατρίδι 14, 14
                                                                             τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ 22, 5; πλείονος ποιή-
σασθαι 6, 16; τοῦ πλήθους 12, 10
 * πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες 21, 17; τδ
     όνομα το έαυτοῦ πάτροθεν 63, 19
πατρώος, 'Απόλλων 55, 16; p. 251 frag. 1 (only in Pol. 1303 b 34 ή των πατρώων
                                                                                 c. acc. (local) τὸ ἀστυ 21, 13; Σαλα-
                                                                             c. acc. (local) το άστυ 21, 13; Σαλαμῶνα 23, 4; Πάγγαιον 15, 7; τον Θερμαΐον κόλπον 15, 6. τὰς άρχάς 9, 1; τον σστρακισμόν 22, 13; τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον 23, 10.—οι περί 'Ανακρέοντα καί Σιμωνίδην 18, 5; τὸν Κλεομένην καί 'Ισαγόραν 20, 12; τὸν 'Ισαγόραν 28, 9; τὸν 'Ρίνωνα 38, 28
     νομή)
 παττάλω (?) 16, 18
Παυσανίας, Spartan general in Persian
     war, 23, 20
 Παυσανίας, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς 38,
 23, 25
παίω Mid. ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι 7, 1;
πέπαυται μισθοφορών 49, 8. τῆς ἀσελ-
                                                                          περιαιρώ περιαιρείται τον στέφανον 57, 26;
                                                                             άπαντα περιείλετο τὰ ἐπίθετα 25, 8;
περιείλοντο αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν 25, 22.
Cf. παραιρῶ
     γείας παύσασθαι 36, 2.
 29, 63 (Solon)
πεδιακών (στάσις) 13, 19
                                                                          περιεγένετο τη πόλει τάλαντα έκατόν 22, 30
                                                                            περιελαυνόμενος τῆ στάσει 14, 21
 πεζάς μόσχους p. 255 frag. alienum 15
 πείθω ούκ έπειθεν 14, 12. πείσας 18, 34;
                                                                          περιέρχομαι τὰ Ιερά περιήλθον 42, 20;
     40, 12. πεισθέντες—ταῦτα 24, 6. γυ-
ναικί πιθόμενος 35, 16 (law of Solon).
πεισόμεθ' 5, 18 (Solon)
                                                                          κατά δήμους περιίοντες 53, 3
περιζωσάμενος έδημηγόρησε 28, 17 (περιε-
ζωσθαι τὴν φορβείαν Pol. 1324 b 16)
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Περικλής (law concerning citizenship) 26, 22; πρός τὸ δημαγωγεῖν έλθόντος Π. 27, 1; ἐποίησε μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια 27, 12; πρός ταύτην την χορηγίαν έπιλει-πόμενος 27, 18; έως Π. προειστήκει τοῦ δήμου 28, 1; τοῦ δήμου (προστάτης) 28, περιλαβείν καθόλου π. το βέλτιστον 9, 13 περιπολούσι την χώραν 42, 32 (not found in technical sense; occurs only in frag. 122, 1476 α 6, ήλιον περιπολούντα) πέτρας σκάπτοντα 16, 19 πήγνυμι' δρους-πεπηγότας 12, 33 (Solon) πηρώ το σώμα πεπηρωμένους 49, 26 πίαρ 12, 64 (Solon) πιείρας χθονός 12, 24 (Solon) πιθανώτερος ὁ τῶν δημοτικῶν λόγος 6, 12 πικρός 19, 3. πικρότατον 2, 10. πικρώς 18, 10 πινάκιον λελευκωμένον 48, 20. (δικαστού) π. πύξινον 63, 18; πινάκιον col. 31, 7, 10, 30; βl. 63, 6; col. 31, 5, 11; col. 32, 19; col. 33, 9. έν τοις δικαστηρίοις ...φέρειν ξκαστον πινάκιον (of Hippodamus) Pol. 1268 a 2 πίναξ 49, 12 (πίναξ δν άνέθηκε-χορηγήσας Pol. 1341 a 36) *πιπράσκω τὰ πραθέντα μέταλλα 47, 11; μ. πεπραμένα 47, 12 f; τέλη πεπρα-μένα 47, 16 (πραθέντων ή μισθωθέντων Rhet. ad Alex. 1425 b 23) πιστεύω ἐπίστευεν 21, 1 πίστεως χάριν 18, 34 πιστότατος 54, 17 πλανωμένους 12, 39 (Solon) πλαττόμενος 18, 32 πλεονάκις 62, 18 πλεονεκτείν 4, 15 πλεονεξία 7, 17; 16, 32 πλήθος, τό 2, 2; 9, 5; 12, 10; 16, 24; 20, 5, 12; 21, 2, 12; 22, 4; 25, 4; 28, 24; 34, 9; 36, 4; 41, 24, 32. τό πλ. των πολιτών 26, 21. πλήθος, 'numτων πολιτων 10, 21. ποινου, παι... ber', 36, 10; 40, 4
πλήν ε. gen. 7, 2; 24, 7; 29, 31. πλήν εάν 43, 13; 54, 31. πλήν βουλεῦσαι 61, 19. πλήν μυστηρίαι 39, 7 (decree) πλήρης, ψήφοι col. 35, 29; col. 36, 20, πληρωθήσεσθαι, δικαστήρια 63, 11; col. 31, 37 (not found in Ar. in this technical sense) πλησίον c. gen. 3, 25. τὰ πλ. οἰκήματα 15, 21 πλοίφ, έν 57, 23 πλούσιος 2, 4, 6; 4, 14, 19; 22, 33. πλουσιωτάτους 56, 8 πλουτίνδην 3, 2, 37 πλουτίνδην 3, 2, 37 πλουτών έπρες. 6, 11 πόθεν τών δήμων 55, 13, 15 ποιήματα 5, 13; 6, 20 ποίησις των Νικών 49, 22. ἐν τἢ ποιήσει 12, 2

mounths 18, 6 ποιον τέλος τελεί 7, 20 ποιώ εὖ ποιεῖ 55, 17. ποιεῖν τὴν σεισάχ-θειαν 6, 6; ποιεῖν—μέτρα 7, 17 f, 28. πάντα ποιών 18, 33. τοῦτο—ἐποίει 16, 7. ανάδαστα ποιήσειν 11, 11. έποίησε 27, 11; βουλήν έποίησε 8, 18; έποίησε —σταθμά 10, 7; άτελη έποίησεν 16, 24; άσαφεις ποιήσαι τους νόμους 9, 11; 24; άσαφεῖς ποιήσαι τους νόμους 9, 11; ποιήσαι—χρεῶν ἀποκοπήν 10, 2; τὸ γεγραμμένα ποιήσαι 11, 7. Μid. ποιείται τὰς τριήρεις 46, 7. ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο 11, 4; 13, 1. δι' ὁλίγων ποιήσωνται 29, 9; περί πλείονος ποιήσασθαι 6, 16 (cf. Είλ. 1160 ὁ 15). ἐξοπλισίαν ποιησάμενος 15, 17; ὁμολογίαν ποιησάμενος 19, 35. ἀλκὴν—ποιεύμενος 12, 53 (Solon); ποιοίατο 12, 61 (Solon) (Solon) * πολεμαρχείον 3, 28 * πολεμαρχία 3, 6 πολέμαρχος 3, 5, 17, 27; 22, 9; 55, 5; esp. 58 πολεμαρχώ. -χήσας 3, 29 πολεμικά, τά 3, 7; 23, 14 πόλεμικά, τά 3, 7; 23, 14 πόλεμικά, τά 3, 7; 23, 14 Σαλαμῦνα 17, 6. πρός Πελοποννησίους ἐνέστη 27, 8; συνεστήσαντο τόν πόλεμιον 24, 17; τὰ είς τὸν πόλεμον 23, 10; τὰ κατά του πόλεμου 29, 1. al κατά π. dρχαί 62, 18; al πρός τον π. dρχαί 43, 5; 44, 7; 61, 1. ἐν πολέμφ 57, 20; τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμφ 58, 3. π. έν τη χώρα 61, 5 πολεμώ απείρων τοῦ πολεμεῦν 26, 9. πολεμεί ούτος 61, 5 πολιορκώ 19, 32; 20, 14 πόλις της πόλεως, τυραννείν 6, 15; την της πόλεως σωτηρίαν 6, 16; στασιαζούσης της πόλεως 8, 29; της πόλεως μή μετέχειν 8, 30; κυρίους τής πόλεως μή μετέχειν 8, 30; κυριους της πολεως 20, 11; θαρρούσης τής πόλεως 24, 1. των έν τῆ πόλει 3, 35; τῆ πόλει, περιεγένετο 22, 30; τῆ πόλει πατρικώς χρωμένους 28, 32. πόλιν-στασιάζουσαν 8, 27; οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν 22, 19; πρὸς τὴν πόλιν όψὲ προσελθόντα 26, 6. τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις 59, 16

=ἀκρόπολις· εἰς πόλιν 8, 24; ἐν τῆ πόλει 24, 15 πολιτεία 2, 2, 11; 3, 1; 4, 15; 5, 1, 5; 7, 1, 7; 8, 21; 9, 2, 14; 11, 1; 13, 14, 18, 25; 15, 12; 20, 5; 21, 5; 22, 2; 25, 2, 9, 15; 27, 6, 11; 29, 28, 33. Pl. 24, 8; 28, 34, 36; ('grants of citizenship') 54, 18. The kath the terpakostup 28, 2; the end the terpakostup π. 19, 5; ή των τετρακοσίων π. 33, 1; δι' όλίγων ποιήσωνται την π. 29, 9; άναγράψονται την π. 30, 3; των έν τῆ πολιτεία 38, 9 πολιτεύεσθαι κατά πάσας (τάς πολιτείας), δυνάμενος 28, 37; έφ' ψ τε πολιτεύσον-

ται την πάτριον πολιτείαν 34, 18; δοκεί τοῦτο πολιτεύσασθαι καλώς 40, 7; των 'Αθήνησι πολιτευσαμένων 28, 29. Pass. ἐπολιτεύθησαν 'Αθηναίοι καλώς 23, 8; πράξιν, πράττειν την 18, 14; την δλην έλυμήναντο την πρ. 18, 21; κοινωνούντων τής πράξεως 18, 17; έχνος τής πρ. 18, 26 καλώς πολιτευθήσαι 33, 13 πολιτης passim. άγαθοῦ πολίτου έργον 28, 38; τῶν πολιτῶν ένίους 8, 27 πρώς 16, 5; νόμοι πρώοι 16, 39 πράστης, τοῦ δήμου 22, 19 πράττειν τὴν πράξιν 18, 13; τὰ κοινά 24, 5; ἢ ἄν ἡγώνται συμφέρειν 31, 7; ἐφ' οἰς ἡρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον 38, 7; ἔπρατπολιτικός, τη φύσει 18, 3; ανδρας—πολιτικούς 28, 32; τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτι-κῶν 8, 22; τὰ πολιτικά δεινός 23, 14; οις ηρευήσαν ουκ επραττον 38, 7; επραττον 19, 11; επραξε 25, 11

Μίδ. επράττετο άπο των γεγνομένων δεκάτην 16, 12; [τοῦ πράττ]εσθαι (τὰς ἐκτίσεις, οι τὴν ζημίαν) 8, 24

πρεσβείαις 30, 29 (decree); 43, 30 (in another sense, κατὰ πρεσβείαν Pol. 1259 περί των πολιτικών 31,8; των πολιτικών (conj.) elσηγητής 27, 20. πολιτικώς 14, 16, 14; πολιτικώτατα 40, 17 πολλάκις 8, 27; 16, 14, 26 πολλαχή 12, 33, 39 (Solon) πολλαχοῦ μέμνηται 6, 20; π. γέγραπται 6 13) πρέσβεις 37, 16; 43, 32 (not in this sense πολύς πολύν χρόνον 2, 2; 5, 3; 16, 34; in Index Ar.; πρεσβευταί αίροθνται Pol. 18, 23; 36, 13; οὐ πολύν χρόνον 15, 3. μετ' οὐ πολύ 6, 10. πολύ πρὸς ώμό-1299 4 19) * πρεσβευσάμενοι, πρός Δακεδαιμονίους 32, τητα-έπέδοσαν 37,15; νεώτερος πολύ 18, 6; δημοτικωτέρα πολύ 22, 1. πολλώ ε. πρεσβύτερος 18, 2. πρεσβυτάτην 5, 8 compar. 16, 28; 19, 1. ol wollo 2, (Solon) 10; 4, 2; 27, 21; 28, 27; 29, 8; 36, 5. τῶν γνωρίμων—οἱ πολλοί 16, 37. πολλῶν — ἄλλων 15, 10; μετεχόντων πολλῶν 18, 14. πολλούς 11, 8; πολλῶν Μαμαβλατικο. πρεσβύτης 14, 14 πρίν τυχείν 12, 29; διαβουλεύσαι 32, 4; &c. πρίν ἃν ἀπογράψηται 39, 18 (decree); παραδῷ 60, 17. πρίν [ħ] ἀφικέσθαι 38, 22 (de Part. Anim. 668 a 35). Cf. Eucken, i 5—8. πρίν—ἐξεῖλον 12, πολλων 18, 14. πολλους 11, 8; πολλάς άμφισβητήσεις 9, 9. τὰ πολλά 21, 19. πλείων ἢ ἐνιαύσιος 3, 22. πλέον ἢ ἄπαξ 31, 17; 44, 14. πλείονος 50, 7; περὶ πλείονος 6, 16. οὶ πλείους 3, 9; πλείους 21, 5; 24, 12; 50, 8. τὰ πλείοτα 3, 35; 8, 21; 49, 31 ουπερίω 18, 27 64 (Solon) πρό, (1) of place, τοῦ βουλευτηρίου 53, 25; τῶν θυρῶν 14, 13. (2) of time, τοῦ διελθεῦν 4, 16; τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας 28, 37; τῆς νομοθεσίας 10, 2; τῆς συλπομπεύω 18, 27 *πομπή 57, 5. την πομπήν, αποστέλλων 18, 16; διακοσμούντα 18, 20; αναλώ-28, 37; Της νομονεσιας 10, 2; 1/2 συσ. λήψεως 18, 18; τούτου 26, 17. τον πρό (?) τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον 54, 11 προαγοντες τὰ πράγματα 17, 9; τούς τι προαγαγώντας ποιείν αὐτοὺς τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων 28, 5; πάσας (τὰς ποματα els 56, 24; κοινή πέμπουσιν 57, 6; διοικούσι 60, 4. πομπών 56, 21 πονηρός 35, 20; 55, 26 λιτείας) προάγειν 28, 37 προαγορεύων, (1) 'proclaim', 57, 13; (2) 'state beforehand', προειπεῖν 6, 7; τὴν πονηρία 37, 15 ποστριά 37, 15 πορεύσται, els Πειραιέα 42, 21 πορίσσα δραχμάς έκάστω όκτω διέδωκε 23, 6; όβολον έπόρισεν 41, 33; την ώραν την προρρηθείσαν 30, 32 (decree) προαιρούμαι: [προγρείτο] πάντα διοκείν κατά τούς νόμους 16, 30; προγρείτο την πολιτείαν διοικείν αύτός 27, 11 διωβελίαν 28, 20 Hootdewros col. 35, 7 Ποσιδεώνοι col. 35, 7
ποτέ 16, 32; ποτε—νῦν δὲ 49, 20; ὁποτέρωι ποτ' έχει 3, 14
πότερον—ἢ οῦ 49, 17
που, ἐτέρωθί 12, 15
ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ leρά ἐστι 55, 16 f
πράγματα 'government', προάγοντει τὰ
πράγματα 17, 10; κατασχόντοι τοῦ δήμου τὰ πράγματα 20, 17; τὰ πρ. παρέδωκαν τοῖι πεντακισχιλίοιι 33, 8; μεταδοῦναι τῶν πρ. τοῖι βελτίστοιι 36, 3;
τὰ πρ. βεβαίωι είνον 38, 12; κύριοι τῶν
τὰ πρ. βεβαίωι είνον 38, 12; κύριοι τῶν **п**роагакрічен 3, 32 προβολή 43, 24; 59, 5 (not in Ar. in technical sense) πισαι sense; *προβούλευμα 44, 19 προβούλευεν είς τον δήμον 45, 21 (Pol. 1298 b 30, 1299 b 33, 1322 b 16) πρόβουλοι 29, 11 προγεγενημένων, μάλιστα τῶν 33, 6; ταῖς -αις συμφοραίς 40, 18 -αις συμφοραίς 40, 10
* πρόγραμμα 44, 10
προγράφουσι (οι πρυτάνεις), δσα δεῖ χρηματίζειν τὴν βουλὴν κτλ 43, 16; τὰς ἐκκλησίας iδ. cf. 45, 23. (οι θεσμοθέται) τοῦ προγράψαι τὰ δικαστήρια κύριος 59, 1. (Of the people) προγράφουσιν 53, 36. (Found only in the fragments, and in Oec. ii 1352 a 1) τα πρ. βεβαίως είχον 38, 12; κύριοι τών πρ. 18, 1; κύριος δ δήμος γενόμενος τών πραγμάτων 41, 2. 'Public affairs', τά τε πράγματα νοσούντα μαρτυρεί 6, 19; έξαπορησάντων τοις πράγμασι 23,

'Occupation', vitae studia ac negotia. (Herwerden), τη ούσία και τοις πράγ-

fragments, and in Oec. ii 1352 a 1)

μασι τών μέσων 5, 12

*προδανείζω τοις άπόροις προεδάνειζε χρή**µата** 16, 6 προδιασπείρω προδιασπείρας λόγον 14,24 ** προδρομεύεω 49, 6 πρόδρομοι 49, 5 (not in Index in this sense) προδωσέταιρον, Λειψύδριον 19, 15 (scol.) *προεδρεύευ 44, 14
**προεδρεύευ, γραφή 59, 6
πρόεδροι 44, 8 (found in technical sense in the fragments only) προειπεῦν 6, 7; υ. προαγορεύων
** προεξαλειφθ ŷ 47, 35
* προεξαναστάντες τῶν [λοιπῶν] 18, 19 προέχουσιν άλλήλων 3, 23; ταις ούσίαις κτλ προέχοντας 35, 24 προήλθεν ή πόλις, μέχρι τούτου 23, 1 (μέχρι τινός προέρχονται Pol. 1280 a 10) προθυμουμένων 38, 21 προθύμως 26, 3 προικός (δίκη) 52, 12 προέστημι προειστήκει 13, 17; 28, 1, 10, 14; 34, 24; προευτήκεσαν 19, 9; 38, 21. προεστήκως 21, 2; προεστώτων 25, 2; προεστάναι 26, 5 (Pol. 1285 a 36, 1319 6 7) πρόκειται 54, 32; περί τῶν προκειμένων 29, 25 (decree) πρόκλησι: 53, 10, 17 προκρίνει and προδκρίνεν 8, 2; προκρίνοντας 30, 12 (decree). προκρίνεσθαι 26, 15. έκ των προκριθέντων 21, 25; 22, 22 προκρίτων, έκ 8, 1; 30, 11 (decree); 31, 4 (decree); 35, 4 πρόνοια: ἐκ προνοία: ἀποκτείνη ἢ τρώση 57, 15 (Pol. 1300 b 26) *προξένοις, δίκαι 58, 5 *προξένοις, δίκαι 58, 5 *πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, πρὸς τὸ 15, 19 προρρηθείσαν, την ώραν την 30, 32 (decree); υ. προαγορεύων πρός c. dat. πρός τούτοις 23, 13; 24, 15, 17; 26, 6; τοῦν δυοῦν δβολοῦν 28, 22. τῷ λίθφ 7, 5. τοις ίδίοις όντες 16, 9 c. acc. πρός άλλήλους 23, 17; άμφοτέρους 11, 14; 16, 38; τους Άργείους 17, 15; τους Άρεοπαγίτας 15, 14; της 17, 15; τους Αρευκαγιτας 15, 14; της πρός αὐτόν φιλίας 18, 9; πρός την—βοήθειαν 19, 20; πρός την βουλην είσαγγέλλευ 4, 22; πρός το δημαγωγείν έλθυτος 27, 1; πρός έκατέρους μάχεται 5, 9; πρός τον Έφιάλτην έλεγεν 25, 13; την κρίσιν 3, 21; τὰς μεμψιμοιρίας 12, 55; τὸ νόμισμα 10, 7; τὸ παραυτίκα 28, 28; τὰ παρόντα πράγματα 61, 10; τὸν Πεισίστρατον 14, 22; αι πρός τόν πό-λεμον άρχαι 43, 5; 44, 17; δ1, 1; πρός τὴν πόλιν προσελθόντα 26, 6; τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις 59, 16; δίκαιος πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν 25, 6; πρὸς τὸ πρὸπυλον 15, 19; τὰς τιμάς 51, 11, 13; πρός χάριν όμιλουντας 35, 19

προσαγορεύοντες, πατρόθεν 21, 17; τι ηγόρευσε 21, 21 προσαγαγόντας τούς στρατηγούς, τὰ πολέμου-άκληρωτί (decree). Mid. δμιλίαις προσήγετο 16, 38; προσηγή του δημου 20, 4 (Pol. 1296 b 37, 1 6 36) *προσαιρούμαι προσελόμενοι σφίσυ & άρχονται 35, 53 (only quoted in In from Pollux viii 92)
προσαναβήναι 15, 18 προσαναζητήσαι 29, 16 (decree) προσαρτήσαντες, την γνώσιν του διαιτη 53, 13 πρόσειμι (είμί) τας προσούσας δυσκο) 35, 15 πρόσειμι (είμι) προσιόντες αὐτῷ 11, 2; χρήματα τὰ προσιόντα 29, 29 (decre ἀπό τῶν προσιόντων 39, 8 (decree) *προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἔ olar 41, 24 προσέρχομαι c. dat. 43, 31. έναντίου τής βουλής 30, 28 (decre πρός την πόλιν όψε προσελθόντα 26, προσέχοντες, τοίς νόμοις 26, 13 (fr. 496³) προσήκον, ού 13, 25 πρόσθεν (?) col. 31, 2 προσστήται το πλήθος, δπως 41, 31 προσκαθεζόμενος επολιόρκει 20, 14 προσκαθημένου δ' αυτοῦ 19, 33 προσκαλούμαι. προσκληθείς φόνου δίκη: 32; δ προσκαλεσάμενος 16, 34; ἐψ προσκαλήται 29, 25 (decree) *προσκλήσεις 29, 23 (decree) *προσκοσμών προσεκεκόσμηντο 13, 21 (r found elsewhere in this sense) προσκυνούντες 14, 30 προσόδους, τὰς 16, 11 *προσοργίζομαι προσοργισθέντες 19, 29 *προσορμισάμενος έν πλοίω 57, 23 *προσπαρατίθεσθαι c. dat. 63, 22 προσποιοθμαι' προσεποιοθντο διώκαν τ πάτριον πολιτείαν 35, 8 προστάτης, ἡγεμών καὶ (of Hipparch 22, 20. προστάτης τοῦ δήμου 2, 9; 1 18; 23, 12; 25, 4; 28, 6; 36, 6. τι στάτην Ελαβεν ὁ δήμος 28, 3 προστάττω προστέτακται 51, 2, 15; 54, προστεθέασι των οίκείων 40, 24; προ θεωτι 58, 7; δβολός προστίθεται 62, προσθεμένου τοῖς όλιγαρχικοῖς 34, 25 προστιμῶσιν αὐτῷ οἱ δικασταί 63, 1 προστιμήση 63, 17 (Bekk. Anc. 21 16 in Testimoniis, c. 57 § 2) 16 in Testimoniis, c. 57 § 2)
*προτεροία, τῆ 48, 8
πρότερον 3, 28; 7, 10; 8, 20; 10, 5; 1
27; 17, 14; 20, 20; 62, 1; 63, 1
ού—πρότερον—πρὶν ἄν 60, 17. πρότρον μὲν—μετὰ δὲ— 53, 3. πρότερον νῦν δέ, see νῦν. ὁ πρότερον λέγων, δοτερον λέγων, τοι. 36, 15 f. τοις π

ναυκράροις 2Ι, 20; έν τοῖς πρότεiorois 28, 4 τῷ προτέρψ ἔτει 53, 24; τὴν οαν δλιγαρχίαν 37, 11; ol πρότε-, 23 1017 44, 11; 48, 10 ω' προτρέψειν 40, 14; προύτρεψε 19, 22; (ἐπὶ c. acc.) 27, 5; δ προs (ent c. acc.) 23, 19 ιχούσας τριττθς, τάς 21, 10; των αρχόντων δέκα προβούλων 29, 11 βάλλωνται (?) col. 36, 5 ς τοῦ ἀπιέναι 42, 35; τὴν πρό-τοῦ [πράττ]εσθαι 8, 24; ἀρχὴν ρόφασω 13, 13 r προδφερεν, ή Πυθία 19, 21 (not dex in this sense) ororlas, arev 43, 31 (only in frag. la 43, 14, 22; karà mpuravelar 47, γραμματεύς) κατά πρ. 54, 13; κατά ρ. 48, 14; + έκάστην 61, 11; έπὶ τῆς ις πρ. 47, 21, 25, 28; πρό της ένάτης Mundo 400 b 19) 44, 1; 45, 23 εύει 43, 7; η πρυτανεύουσα φυλή); οί πρυτανεύοντες 43, 10; 62, 8; τά την έκτην πρυτανεύοντες 44, 18. Index refers to the fragments only) 22, 27; οἱ πρῶτοι 5, 12; πρῶται ἀρχῶν 3, 4. πρῶτον μὲν-ἔπειτα τ ἔπειτα δέ) 9, 3; 21, 3; 24, 8; 5; 27, 13; 29, 21; 34, 4; 36, 8; 11; 51, 10; 56, 7; 57, 2; 59, 1.—

12, 20.—ἐκεθθεν δὲ 15, 6.—δεύτερον, ν 30, 29 (decree). — μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 13 f; τὸ πρῶτον — μετὰ ταῦτα 3, 3. τον — τότε 28, 3; τότε πρῶτον 15, 2, 12, 23; 41, 7 † 10, 21; 21, 26 υρος ἄρχων (432/1) 27, 8 υρος άρχων (434/3) 41, 3; Π. Ἐπιυ 29, 7, 10, 16 \elδης frag. 13 p. 255 27, 25 », πινάκιον 63, 18 as (γραφή) 57, 16 πω 14, 17; πώποτε apparently does occur al 7, 13; 47, 7; 52, 8. (Index stofrag. 401² only)
τοῦτον ἡ πόλις 42, 10; τὰ μέταλλα οῦσι 47, 9; τὰς οὐσίας 47, 15; τὰ ία 47, 23. οι πωλούντες 51, 7. ήσουσιν—ἄλφιτα—ἄρτους 51, 12 f. λει τον καρπόν ή πόλις 60, 10; ἐπώοι δήμοι (τὰς ἀρχάς) 62, 3. Pass. 5—πωλήται 51, 3. τὰ πραθέντα 11, 22. τὰ πεπραμένα 47, 12 f.

pablus 16, 36 ραθυμία 8, 28 Ραίκηλος 15, 6 ρέζειν 12, 24, 44 (Solon) ρέζω· ούπω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρριζωμένης 14, 18 'Ρίνων 38, 21, 28, 32 σάκος 12, 8 (Solon) Σαλαμίς 17, 7; 22, 38; 23, 5, 22; 27, 7. δρχων els Σαλαμίνα 54, 34; 62, 11 Σάμιοι 24, 7 Σάμον, άρχαι els 62, 16 oarls 48, 9 (only in de Admir. 832 a 9) σαφῶς, γεγράφθαι 9, 8 *σεισάχθεια 6, 4, 7; 12, 27 σελήνην, κατά 43, 10 σημαίνουσαν, ώτ—7, 25 σημείου δ' ἐπτφέρουσιν 3, 10; σ. δὲ φέρουσι 7, 19. ὅτι τελευταία—ἐγένετο τῶν ἀρχῶν, σ. καὶ τὸ—διοικεῖν 3, 15; σ. δ' ὅτι 13, 23; σ. δ' ὅτι—ὁ—νόμος 8, 5; σ. δέ—γάρ 3, 25 Σικελία: δ έν Σ. τελευτήσας 28, 15; την έν Σ. γενομένην συμφοράν 29, 2 Σιμωνίδης 18, 5 *olthow, els 62, 9 f, 17 στικόν (?) έμπόριον 51, 17 (ραρ.) στος άργός 51, 11; περί σίτου 43, 18; τοῦ σίτου 51, 16; ζημιοῖ τῷ σίτψ 49, 2; ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδῶσι τοῖς παισί τὸν στον 56, 46 στοφύλακες 51, 8 (Index quotes corresponding frag. only)
σκάπτοντα, πέτρας 16, 19 σκεύη, 'tackling' &c. 46, 23 *σκήπτωνται κυεύ 56, 41 σκήψεις 56, 14 (ού δοτέον ἐπιτιμήσεως σκήψιν Τορ. 131 b 11) Σκιροφοριών 32, 7 σκόλιον 19, 14; 20, 21 σκοπούσιν όπως μη c. fut. 50, 6 Σκυλλαΐον 22, 42 Σκυρον, αρχαί els 62, 16 σ[μικρόν] 12, 12 (ραρ.?); υ. μικρότ Σόλων 5, 5, 11; 6, 1, 6; 8, 7, 16, 25; 9, 2; 13, 2 f; 14, 8, 15; 17, 6; 22, 1 f; 29, 20; 41, 12, 15; (appointment of ταμίαι) 47, 3. προστάτη: τοῦ δήμου 28, 6. Σόλωνοι θεσμών 35, 11 σοφιζομένων, πολλά 41, 31 Σοφωνίδης 25, 5 σοφώτερος 14, 10, 11 Σπαρτιάται 19, 23 σπουδάζω c. inf. σπουδάσωσι λαβείν 50, 8. έσπούδαζον μη κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλης 38, 15; οὐς—ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν 38, 27. Abs. ένιοι μέν έσπούδαζον 34, Q σπουδής, μετά 25, 17 σπω σπασάμενος την μάχαιραν 18, 38 σταδίων, έντδε δέκα 50, 10 σταθμός 51, 13; σταθμά 10, 7; σταθμών 10, 3; σταθμώς 10, 9 στασιάζειν, διά τὸ 13, 8. τὴν πόλιν—

στασιάζουσαν 8, 27; στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως 8, 29; στασιάζοντες 13, 11; 20, 19. ἐστασίαζον 20, 1. στασιάσαι 2, I στάσις Ισχυράς της στάσεως ούσης 5, 3; την alrian της στάσεως 5, 19. περιελαυνόμενος τη στάσει 14, 21. διά την στάσω 13, 4; μετά την στάσω 41, 12. τας στάσεις αμφοτέρας 11, 9; 15, 5; στάσεις τρείς 13, 16 στατήρ 10, 9 (Oec. ii 1349 a 28, and fragments) στέλεχος 60, 9, 15 στεφανόπωλίς 14, 27 στέφανος 57, 27 στήλη χαλκή 53, 25; έν ταις στήλαις 54, στοά, ή βασίλειος 7, 3 (Index refers to fragm. only) στοιχείον 63, 9, 20; col. 31, 3, 8, 37 στόλος 19, 30 στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους 22, 4 στρατεία, 'military expedition' 22, 41 (CTPATIAN); 26, 7; 27, 10 (CTPA-TIAIC); 53, 35; 55, 18 στρατευομένοις 24, 4; στρατεύεσθαι 53, 37; τὰς στρατείας εἰ ἐστράτευται 55, (δσας αν στρατεύσωνται στρατείας Pol. 1324 b 15) στρατηγία 27, 26 отратную 22, 14; 23, 16; 26, 8; 38, 32. отратную 4, 8, 11, 13; 22, 8; 23, 5; 29, 27; 30, 5; 34, 4; 44, 16; esp. 61, 2—16. έπὶ τους οπλίτας 61, 3; έπὶ την χώραν 61, 4; έπι τον Πειραιέα, els την Μουνιχίαν, 61, 6; els την Ακτήν 61, 7; ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας 61, 8 στρατηγείν 17, 6 στραταί, (1) 'army' 19, 27; 22, 9. (2) 'expedition' κατά τὴν στρατιάν (στρατείαν Κ-W) ἡν ἐξήγαγον 37, 2 στρατιώτης 15, 8; 37, 19 στρατιωτικών, ταμίας 43, 2; c. art. 47, 9 and 49, 23 στρέφω έστράφην 12, 54 (Solon) συγγενών, των έκείνου 22, 15 συγγίγνεσθαι 15, 4 συγγνωμονικός 16, 5 συγγράψειν, συγγράψουσι, 29, 13 (decree); ταῦτα συνέγραψαν 30, 1 (only in Eth. Eud. 1214 a 2 and Rhet. ad Alex.) *συγκαθιστή την τυραννίδα 16, 44; συγκαθεστώτες 34, 21 συγκατελθούσιν, τοις έκ Πειραιέως 40, 9 (Pol. 1300 a 18) συγχωρών, παρανόμούσαις οὐ 28, 39; τὰ συγκεχωρημένα 47, 12 συκοφάντης 35, 17 f; συκοφαντών προ-Bodal 43, 24 συκοφαντίας γραφή 59, 9 συλλαβόντες—ἀπέκτειναν 38, 11; τους έφήβους 42, 19; δστερον συλληφθείς 18,

συλλέγεται, χρήματα 47, 29; το 60, 7; συλλέξας 60, 15. ου σε μένων els την έκκλησίαν 41, 30 λεγέντες—κατά φυλάς 42, 14 συλλήψεως, πρό της 18, 18 (not in this sense) συμβαίνω c. inf. συμβαίνη 21, 0. βawer 11, 7; 16, 11; 19, 1; 2 26, 2, 10; 37, 12. συνέβη 2, 1; 16, 28; 18, 7, 12; 22, 2; 23, 3; 27, 5; 34, 5, 16; 37, 19; 41, συνεβεβήκει 13, 14. συμβήναι < 28, 33; sine inf. 16, 17. ε συμβαίνωσεν άλλήλοις 39, 11 (dec συμβάλλω, συνεβάλλετο ούκ έλάτι par 19, 24 ραν 19, 24 σύμβολον, παραλαμβάνει col. 3: άποδιδόντες col. 37, 2. (2) τὰ σι τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις 59, 16; τὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων 59, 17 τυμβουλεύειν 30, 14 (decree): σ λευόντων 12, 31; συνεβούλευσ συμβουλεύωσι 29, 24 (decree) βουλεύσαντος 27, 19. συμβουλ μετά της βουλης 31, 3 (decree) σύμβουλος 23, 16 συμμαρτυροίη 12, 30 (Solon) συμμαχίαν, την πρός βασιλέα 29, της των Δακεδαιμονίων συμμαχ 19; πρός ταις συμμαχίαις 54, 18 συμμαχικών, τὸ 39, 9 (decree). Ι: τῷ συμμαχικῷ (in another sense 1418 4 32 συμμάχομαι συνεμαχέσαντο τήν-17, 15 (Pol. 1300 a 18, Rha. 18) σύμμαχοι 24, 6, 11 (Pol. 1269 b 1, 2, omitted in Index Ar.) σύμμειξις 3, 26 (not in Ar. in this s συμμορία (στρατηγός) έπε τας συ 61, 8 σύμπας σύμπαντα 19, 39 συμπείθειν τον κεκτημένον 39, 10 (d συνέπεισε τον δήμον 14, 3; συν c. inf. 20, 6. συμπεισθέντων τώ λών 29, 8 Λων 21, ο συνέπιπτεν το μπίπτεν 11; συνέπεστε 19, 33; 26, 4 συμπολεμήσειν βασιλέα—ξαυτοίς : μετά τῶν τριάκοντα συνεπολέμησ *συμπροθυμουμένων αὐτῷ 15, 10 συμφέρειν, ή αν ηγώνται 31, 7 (deci συμφορά 19, 14; 19, 3; ταις προ-μέναις συμφοραίς 40, 18 (συμ περιπεσείν Εέλ. 1100 α 7; work ted in Index Ar.) συμφωνούσι πάντες 12, 2 (frequ genuine works; but the closest I is in the spurious de Admir. 8 συμφωνούσιν, uno ore perhibent) σύν οίι ὁ πατήρ ήρξεν τὰ σύμπωντ

19, 39

```
συνάγειν την βουλήν—τον δημον 43, 12;
    44, 7; συνάγειν (?) col. 31, 34
ι συναγωνιζομένου 38, 13; -ων 38, 20
. συναθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους 20, 12; συνα-
    θροισθείσης τής βουλής 25, 20; συναθροισθέντες είς την άγοράν 38, 4
ι συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους 25, 11
 συνάμφω 7, 17, 28
συναναγκασθήναι μένειν 40, 6
*συναρεσκόμενοι τοῦς γιγνομένοις 33, 10
  συναρμόσα: 12, 43 (Solon)
 συναρπάζειν 25, 14
*συνδιοικεί ταις άλλαις άρχαις τὰ πλείστα
  47, 1; 49, 31
συνεθισθείς—μισθοφορείν 27, 10
*συνεισήγαγεν μετ' αὐτοῦ 14, 28
  σονεξαμαρτάνω. οσοι μή συνεξημάρτανον
  συνεξηλθον, els δ 19, 12
   *συνεπιμελείται, των άθλων—μετά τοῦ
  ταμίου 49, 23
συνέσει καί γνώμη—διαφέρευ 32, 11
  συνεχώς 28, 26
  συνήγοροι, τοις λογισταίς 54, 3
  συνήλθον, απαντες els το θεσμοθετείον 3, 31
  συνθήκας συντίθεσθαι 29, 36 (decree);
κατά τὰς σ. τάσδε 39, 2; κελευουσών
     τών σ. 40, 21
  συνίστημι συνέστη φιλία, πόλεμος conj.
van Leeuwen, for ένέστη, 17, 15; 27,
     9. μεθ' όποτέρων έβούλετο συστάντι 11,
13. Mid. έπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου
     συνισταμένους 8, 25; έπλ καταλύσει τής
     πολιτεlas 25, 15.
                              συνεστήσαντο τὸν
     πόλεμον 24, 17
  *συνναυμαχήσαντας 34, 6
  *συννέμω συνένειμε πάντας els δέκα φυλάς
     21, 4; els τας τέτταρας συνενεμήθησαν
     φυλάς 41, 8
  σύνοδος 4, 18
  σύνοιδα' τούς συνειδότας έμήνυεν 18, 33
  συνοικείν 39, 13 (decree); τῶν συνοικούν-
των 56, 34; συνοικησάντων 41, 7
  συνομέζω 15, 5 (?)
συνομολογούσι 6, 20
συνορώ· συνιδών το πλήθος 40, 4
  συντάττω ούκ είς δώδεκα φυλάς συνέταξεν
     21, 9
  συντελείν-
               --είς τὸ συμμαχικόν 39, 8 (decree)
  συντίθεσθαι, συνεπρίαντο πολλήν χώραν 6,
     8 (συμπρίασθαι πάντα τον σίδηρον Pol.
     1259 a 24)
  συσπουδάζω, συνεσπούδασαν τήν κάθοδον
  38, 24
συσσιτοῦσι κατὰ φυλάτ 42, 28; ἐν τῆ θόλφ
      43, 11
  σφας αὐτούς 21, 19; 30, 15. σφών αὐτών
     30, 2
  σφηκίσκος col. 32, 9 (only in corresp.
  frag.)
σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμηκώς 14, 1; σφόδρα πρεσβύ-
     της 14, 14
```

```
σφραγίδα, δημοσίαν 44, 5
σχεδόν 20, 18; 28, 31
σχολάζωσιν 16, 10
σώζειν έκαστον έαυτόν 23, 6; την δημο-
κρατίαν σώζειν 40, 13. σώσας την πατρίδα
    11, 14. ἐπ' άλλοτρίας νεώς σωθέντας 34, 6
σώμα πεπηρωμένους 49, 26. φυλακήν τοῦ σώματος 14, 4. ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασος 2, 8;
   4, 23; 6, 3; 9, 3. σώμασυ — λητουρ-
γειν 29, 34 (decree). μη δυνατούς—
    τοις σώμασιν 49, 14
σωα ή, όπως ἀν 30, 20 (decree); only in
    Oec. ii 1347 a 24
σωτήρ, Ζεύε, 56, 27 (σωτήρ απάντων δ
   Bebs de Mundo 397 b 20)
σωτηρίαν, την της πόλεως 6, 17; έπὶ τῆ
    τῶν παίδων σωτηρία 19, 35
        Abs. περί της σωτηρίας 29, 14, 22
    (decree)
 * быфрогібтаі 42, 18, 25, 27
τὰ μέν ἄλλα καθάπερ 29, 16
τάλαντον 10, 8; 22, 30
ταμας (της βουλής) 49, 30. τ. στρατιωτι-
κών 43, 2; c. art. in 47, 9; 49, 23.
τ. της Παράλου και άλλος της του Αμ-
    μωνος 61, 27
   ταμίαι 4, 6; 7, 13; 8, 6, 7; 60, 16. ol ταμίαι της Αθήνας 47, 2; τ. τών lepών χρημάτων τη θεώ καl τοις άλλοις θεοις δέκα (411) 30, 8 (decree)
Ταναγραίος 15, 14
ταξίαρχοι 30, 6; 61, 17 (Oec. ii 1350 b 10,
de Mundo 399 b 7; ταξιαρχείν and
ταξιαρχίαι in Pol.)
τάξις της πολιτείας 3, 1; πολιτείας τάξιν
    41, 10; της τάξεως—έν τη πολιτεία
5, 1; η τάξις τόνδε τον τρόπον είχεν 4,
    3; (ή βουλή) τάξιν είχε τοῦ διατηρεῖν
τοὺς νόμους 3, 34; τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν
ἀποδώσειν ΙΙ, Ι2. Ρί. τὰ περί τὰς
    τάξεις 42, 31
ταράττω της πόλεως τεταραγμένης 13, 2
ταραχαίε, έν ταίε 22, 18 (Pol. 1302 a 22)
 ταραχώδεις τας πολιτείας 28, 33
 τάττω έταξεν έπι το νομοφυλακείν 8, 20;
   τὰ περί τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτον ἔταξε τὸν
τρόπον 9, Ι; τοὺς φόρους οὖτος ἢν ὁ
τάξας 23, 21; ἢντιν ἀν—τάξωσιν τιμήν
    39, 12 (decree); δσον δυ—τάξωσω—
τάττεω (τον σταθμόν) 51, 14. (στάσις)
   τεταγμένος ην 13, 14. (στασις) 

έφ' η τεταγμένος ην 13, 20; έπι τούτω 

τεταγμένοι 15, 21 (Pol. 1307 b 13); 

(άρχη) τεταγμένη πρός c. acc. 8, 15; ol 

τεταγμένοι col. 36, 23
τάφος Ι, 2
τάχους, διά 34, 2
      -kal passim
 Teloardpos 19, 2
*τειχίζειν 19, 5; τειχίσαντες 19, 11
τείχος, τὸ Πελαργικόν 19, 32; τὸ ἐν Ἡετιω-
    νεία 37, 9; τοῦ τείχους 50, 10; τὴν τῶν
    τειχών άποικοδόμησιν 23, 17
```

τέκνα 2, 4 τελείων, καθ' ίερων 29, 39 (decree) Τελεσίνος άρχων (487/6) 22, 21 τελευταίοι 3, 9; 53, 26 τὸ τελευταίου 18, 10 τελευτήν, μετά την του πατρός 19, 38 τελευτήσας 28, 15; τελευτήσαντος 17, 8; 19, 27; 28, 2, 14; 56, 41; έτελεύτησεν 18, 22; τετελευτηκόσιν 58, 3 10, 22; τεταν η δίκη 53, 9; άρχης τέλους 56, 7. adv. 18, 33. Classis, census, τέτταρα τέλη 7, 9; έκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλος. τέλους 4, 12; τό δυομα τοῦ τέλους 7, 19; θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους 7, 24 (anon.); ποῶν τέλος τελεῖ 7, 30. τέλη 24, 11; 47, 9, 15; 55, 18 15, 55, 16, 17) θητικόν τελούσιν 7, 15; τελεῦν 7, 16, 27; ποιον τέλος τελεῖ 7, 30; εἰ—τὰ τέλη τελεῖ 55, 18 (quoted in this τελώ sense from the fragments only) τελώναι 52, 18 τεμενών, μισθώσεις 47, 26 τετάρτω, έτει 19, 4; 21, 2; 22, 26 τετράδι έπι δέκα 32, 6 f; άπο της τετράδος Ισταμένου 62, 14 τετράκις 43, 14 τετρακοσίους και ένα, βουλεύειν 4, 13; (βουλήν) τετρακοσίους 8, 19: ένα καί τετρακοσίους (δικαστάς) 53, 16. ol τετρακόσιοι C. 29; 37, 10; 41, 20 τετρήρεις 46, 3 (frag. 558²) *τετταρακαιδεκέτις (?) 56, 44 τετταράκοντα (δικασταί κατά δήμους) 53, τετταρακοντα (οικασται κατά δήμου) 53, 1 f; 53, 27 (quoted from frag. 413²). τ. Ετη γεγονότες 29, 12, 37; 56, 18 τέτταρες 4, 12; φυλοβασιλείς τ. 8, 12; άντι τών τεττάρων (φυλών) 21, 4; τέτταρας φυλάς 41, 8. τέτταρα τέλη 7, 9. τοις τέτταρσι τοις τήν φυλήν—δικάjouour 53, 13 τηρώ· τὰ γραμματεῖα—τηρεῖ ὁ δημόσιος 47, 30; τὰς κλεῖς (ὁ ἐπωτάτης) 44, 3; (τὸ Ελαιον) οἱ ταμίαι τηροῦσιν 60, 18. ἐτήρει τὴν ἡσυχίαν 16, 26. τηρήσας τούς Λάκωνας διαβεβλημένους 23, 19 τίθημι· νόμους ξθηκε 6, 3; 7, 1; νόμον ξθηκε 22, 16; + πρός αὐτούς ίδιον 8, 28; (νόμους) θείναι 22, 4; έν τοίς νόμοις ταῦτα δοκεί θείναι δημοτικά (of Solon) 10, 1; θεσμούς έθηκεν (of Dracon) 4, 3; Σόλωνος θεντός νόμον είσαγγελίας 8, 26 Pass. ἐτέθη (νόμος) 21, 4; 22, 13, 26; τοις νόμοις οι αν τεθώσι περί των πολιτιτος τορως οι ω τευσιατώς τίθεται 59, 8. Μία. τόμον έθετο 45, 8; μηδ' έτέρους (νόμους) θέσθαι 31, 9; δε αν μή θήται τὰ δπλα μηδέ μεθ' έτέρων 8, 29 τίκτει 12, 13 (Solon) τιμήν, άποδοῦναι την 47, 24; λαμβάνειν 39, 12 (decree); πρός τὰς τιμάς τῶν κριθών τὰ ἄλφιτα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς τών πυρών τοὺς ἄρτους (πωλεῦν) 51, 12. τιμής 12, 5 (Solon)

```
τιμήματα διείλεν 7, 9; μεγέθει—τιμήματος 7, 12; έκ τών τ. 8, 5. έν τοις τὰ τιμήματα παρεχομένοις (?) 39, 24 (decree). 
Penalty', τίμημα έπιγραψάμενος 48, 22; ὑπέρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα 53, 6
τίμησις col. 37, 4
τιμητάς ελέσθαι τρεῖς 39, 11 (decree).
τιμηταί ζημίας οἱ δικασταί Rhet. ad
Alex. 1427 b 6 (the only ref.)
Αίεχ. 1427 δ δ (the only ref.)
Τιμοσθένης άρχων (409/8) 23, 23
τιμωμένων διά τὰς πατρικάς δόξας 26, 9.
Litem aestimare, δώρων τιμώσων 54, 9;
άδικίου 54, 10; ὅτι χρὴ παθεῦν ἡ ἀποτεῖσαι 61, 13. πάλων τιμώσι, ἀν δέη
τιμῆσαι, col. 37, 1. ἐὰν ἀργυρίου τιμηθη
           63, 16
03, 10
Τιμώνασσα 17, 13
Τιμώνασσα 17, 13
Τιμωρείν τῷ ἀδελφῷ 19, 2 (cf. Pol. 1311
b 21, Rhet. 1401 a 10); ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων 9, 4 (τιμωρείσθαι ὑπέρ των S. Rhet. 1372 b 4)
  tls, turés, passim
                   τίς; τίς σοι πατήρ κτλ; 55, 13. τί
           γίγνεται; 16, 20
τιτρώσκω έτρωσεν 39, 20 (decree); τρώση 57, 15; τρώσαι 57, 22
 τοιόσδε' 3, 2; 29, 10
τοιούτος' 15, 1; 16, 15; 40, 1
   *тоша 55, 28
  τοξεύειν 42, 23
 τοξόται 24, 13
τόπος άπο των τόπων 13, 26; 21, 22;
           πάντων τών τόπων 21, 15; τοις τόποις
 21, 23; τοὺς περί Παγγαΐον τόπους 15, 7 τόσον—ὄσουν 12, 4 (Solon) τοσόσδε not found (?) in 'Αθ. πολ.
  τοσούτος· 16, 2
τοσουτος: 10, 2
τότε 4, 16; 14, 16; 15, 9; 18, 28; 21, 2,
8; 22, 12, 22; 41, 7. τότε δ' after
τὸτ μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον, 57, 29; redun-
dant after el δὲ μή, 52, 5
τραγφδοῖς, χορηγοὺς 56, 7
*τραπεζιτικαί (δίκαι) 52, 16
τραγφοῦς δίκαι δες το τοσούμοτος δίκοι το τοσούμοτος δικοι το τοσούμοτος δίκοι το τοσούμοτος
 τραύματος, δίκαι 57, 14
  τραχύν-νόον 12, 19 (Solon). τραχυτέραν
την άρχην 16, 29; την τυραννίδα 19, 1
τρείς 4, 19; 8, 13; 13, 9, 16; 21, 14.
τρείς και εξήκοντα μνᾶς 10, 8. τρία
ταῦτ' 9, 2; τρία μεν ιερών χρηματίζειν,
τρία δε κήρυξι και πρεσβείαις, τρία δ'
          οσίων 43, 29. μέχρι τριών 43, 25; έντος τριών ήμερων 48, 18
  τρέφειν (ἴππον) 49, 2; τῶν δημοτῶν ἔτρεφε
            πολλούς 27, 15. τρέφεσθε (νόον) 5, 17
           (Solon); τρέφεσθαι 24, 12
  τριάκοντα (δικασταί κατά δήμους) 26, 20;
          53, 3. τρ. έτη 4, 15; έτη τρ. καὶ τρία
17, 3. τρ. μέρη 21, 12. οἱ τριάκοντα
 34, 17; 35—37; 40, 20; 41, 22; 53, 4
*τριακοντόριον 56, 20; cf. p. xlvii, n. 4
 τριακοσίους 20, 10; τριακόσια (μέτρα) 7,
 * τριακοστῷ (ἔτει) 14, 7
```

```
ύπαlθριοι, δικάζουσιν 57, 26
ύπακουσάντων, ούχ 32, 16; ούχ ύπήκουσεν
<sup>1</sup> τριηραρχίας (δίκαι) 52, 16
τριήραρχοι 61, 7
τριήρεις 22, 36; 46, 1—8
τριήρου τοιοί 46, 8
                                                                              34, 9

υπαρχής, έξ 4, 17 (de Gen. Anim. 745 a

18, de Anima 412 a 4, Rhet. 1355 b
  τρίς 47, 19
**τρισχίλιοι 26, 10; 36, 7, 9, 13; 37, 8,
                                                                              ύπάρχει col. 31, 24; ἡ - ύπάρχουσα φιλία
19, 25; ὑπῆρχεν καὶ πρότερον 8, 20;
· τρίτον 9, 4; τρίτη (στάσις) 13, 20; τŷ
      τρίτη (ἡμέρα) 20, 14; τρίτψ (έτει) 26,
                                                                                  ύπηρχον 21, 23
                                                                              ύπεξαιρούμενοι τον φόβον 35, 24 (ύπεξ-
αιρήσομεν τας έπιφερομένας δυσχερείας
   *τριτοπάτωρ frag. alienum 14 p. 255
  τριττύε τριττύες τρείς 8, 13; (τὰς) τριττύς 21, 10, 14; δώδεκα τριττύες 21, 11. τριττύν τῶν πρυτάνεων 44, 6 (reff. to Frag. only)
                                                                                   Rhet. ad Alex. 1432 b 13, the only ref.)
                                                                              ύπεξειμι ύπεξιόντας 19, 34
ύπεξερχομαι - ύπεξηλθεν 15, 5; ύπεξελ-
                                                                                  θόντος 20, 8
                                                                              ύπέρ c. gen. Πάρνηθος 19, 12; των όδων
   τριώβολον 41, 35 (reff. to Oec. ii 1347 a 35
       and Frag. only)
                                                                                  51, 11. των άδικουμένων 9, 4; έκατέ-
   τρομευμένους 12, 41 (Solon)
τρόπου, τον αὐτον 17, 10; 25, 22; col. 31,
                                                                                  ρων 5, 9. τών γερών 57, 12; ών δεί
χρηματίζειν 44, 11
c. acc. υπέρ δέκα έτη γεγονότες 4, 10;
       22; col. 37, 1. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον 3,
33; 9, 1; 12, 1; 16, 2; 26, 1; 32, 7;
42, 38; 55, 27; 60, 1. τόνδε τὸν τρό-
πον 7, 8; 15, 6; 29, 29; 37, 5; 42, 1.
δνπερ είρηται τρόπον 11, 1. δν τρόπον
                                                                                   (decree); 42, 16; 56, 19; 63, 11. τὰ ὑπέρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα 53, 6; τὰ ὑπέρ
  ουπερ είρηται τροπου ΙΙ, Ι. δυ τροπου 55, 3; τρόπω τοιῷδε 34, 17 τροφή 25, Ι; εὐπορίαν τροφής 23, ΙΟ; τροφήν 6τεσθαι πάσι 24, 3; διδωσι—είς τροφήν—δραχμήν 42, 24; διδόναι—τροφήν δύο όβολούς 49, 28 (law) τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γνάθον ἐπιβάλλει 49, 4 τρυπήματα col. 36, 25 τρυπου ὑπλαος ἐπερωπημένη col. 36, 20 f:
                                                                                  xıllas 53, 16
                                                                              ύπερβάλλομαι τον κατάλογον-
                                                                                                                                 −πολύν χρό-
                                                                                  νον ὑπερεβάλλοντο 36, 13 (Rhet. ad Alex.
1420 a 8, 1438 b 6, the only reff.)
                                                                              υπερηφανία 5, 21 (Solon)
                                                                              ύπερόριοι, άρχαί 24, 16
                                                                              ύπερτείνειν, δρυφάκτους ύπερ των όδων 50,
   τρυπώ. Υήφος τετρυπημένη col. 35, 29 f; col. 36, 14, 19, 30, 33
τυγχάνω. c. part. 2, 12; 18, 15; 24, 9;
                                                                                   13
                                                                               * ὑπεύθυνος 54, 5
                                                                              υπηρέτης 63, 23; col. 31, 8; col. 32, 2,
       37, 9, 11; 53, 31. μαλλον τών τυχόν των η τών έπιεικών ανθρώπων 27, 24
                                                                                   3, 19. Εχοντει δημοσίους υπηρέτας 50,
                                                                              14; μαστιγοφόρους—ύπηρέτας 35, 7
ύπισχνούμαι: ύποσχόμενος έπιθήσειν 28,
   τυπάνου, ο από τοῦ 45, 7 (not in Ar. in
                                                                                   22; ὑποσχόμενος τι 43, 26; ὑπεσχόμην
       this sense; αποτυμπανίζεσθαι in Rhet.
                                                                              12, 44 (Solon)
ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων 18, 22; ὑπὸ τῆς ὁργῆς
18, 37; ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων 19, 13
ὑποβάλλωνται (?) col. 36, 5
   1383 a 5)
Τυραννεῦ ό, 15; 11, 4; 16, 43
Τυραννκὴν ἔχων οὐσίαν (Κίμων) 27, 13
       τυραννικώς, opp. πολιτικώς, 14, 17; 16,
                                                                              ύπογραφή 4, 1
ύποδείκνυμι' ύπέδειξεν, ορρ. έπετέλεσεν, 41,
        4; 19, 8
   4, 19, 19
τυραντίτ 14, 11; 15, 14; 16, 1, 27, 41,
43; 19, 2, 37; 20, 1; 22, 3, 23, 28;
28, 7; 41, 14. ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ
τῶν δέκα τυραντίτ 41, 22
                                                                              17
ὑποζυγίων δίκαι 52, 16
                                                                               ύπόλοιπος 40, 5
   τύραμνος 17, 3; τ. κατέστη 22, 14; τῶν τοῦ τυράμνου φίλων 18, 30. οἰ περί τῶν τυράννων νόμοι 16, 39; τοὺς τῶν τ. 10, φίλους 22, 18, 25; ὑπὸ τῶν τ. 10,
                                                                              υποποιησάμενον τους έτέρους 6, 15. τον 
έρωμενον (τοῦ έταιρου) υπεποιήσατο Pol.
                                                                                   1303 b 24, the only ref.
                                                                               * ὑπόσπονδος 20, 15
       13; \frac{1}{6}\kappa\beta0\lambda\hat{\eta}5 \tau\hat{\omega}9 \tau. 20, 19; \tau. κατάλυσω 41, 14. φίλοι τοῖ5 \tauυράμνοι5 18, 25; \frac{1}{6}\kappa6\theta6το τοῖ5 \tauυράμνοι5 20, 20
                                                                               ύποφερομένη κατά μικρόν (ή πολιτεία) 25,
3; της πόλεως ύποφερομένης 36, 1
                                                                               ύποψία τών έν ταις δυνάμεσι 22, 13; only
                                                                                   quoted from frag. and spurious works
    öβριν 12, 13 (Solon)
                                                                               υστεραία, τη 38, 4; 48, 9 · 
υστερος τω υστέρω έτει 22, 20; τον υστε-
    ύβριστής 18, 17
    ύγρα, μέτρα-ξηρά και 7, 17
                                                                                   ρον ένιαυτόν 42, 30; 45, 17; αὶ θστεραι
    υδρία 63, 6, 8; col. 31, 26
                                                                               (φυλαί) 43, 9

δστερον adv. 3, 19; 6, 12; 16, 18, 28;
    ύδωρ col. 33, 14; πρὸς ἡμίχουν ΰδατος col.
                                                                                   18, 22, 29; 19, 13; 24, 18; 27, 21; 28, 24; 38, 26. τῷ θστερον έτει 34,
    37, 5
vlós: vleîs 17, 9; 19, 34; vléwr 16, 28
Ὑμηττῷ, ἐν 16, 17
                                                                                    14; ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον—καιροῖς 41, 1.
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gen. έτεσιν δ' δστερον της τών τυράννων
                                                                            φόρος τους φόρους-τους πρώτους 23, 21;
                                                                            άπό τών φόρων 24, 11 (Pol. 1272 a 18);
φόρουν (pap.) άγουσαι νῆες 24, 19
φράζω' έφρασάμην 12, 7, 20 (Solon); φρα-
έκβολης μάλιστα έκατόν 32, 8
ὑφείλε τὰς ὑπολοίπους ημέρας 40, 5 (ὑφαι-
ροίη de Caelo 294 a 18, the only ref.) 

Ύψιχίδης ἄρχων (481/0) 22, 40
                                                                                σαίατο 12, 51 (id.)
                                                                            φρατρίαι 21, 23
Φρεάτου, έν 57, 22
φρενός ένδοθεν 5, 7 (Solon); ένι φρεσί 5,
Φαίνιππος ἄρχων (490/89) 22, 11
φαίνονται γάρ άει στασάζοντες 13, 11;
έφάνη τὰ μέταλλα 22, 29
                                                                                15 (id.)
φανεράς δράν (ψήφους) col. 35, 33. φανερώς ληρούσω 17, 5; φ. ήσαν δούλοι 40,
                                                                             * φρούρια, άρχοντες els τὰ 30, 7 (decree)
                                                                            *φρουροίδες, νήες 24, 18
φρουροί 24, 14, 19(?); 62, 5
φάρμακον φαρμάκων, δίκαι 57, 15
                                                                             φρουρώ abs. 24, 4; τὰ δύο έτη 42, 33; τὴν
φάσκων c. inf., after oὐ, 15, 18; 34, 12;
                                                                                άκρόπολιν-έφρούρουν 37, 20; φρουροῦσιντὴν Μουνιχίαν-τὴν Ακτήν 42, 21. (οἰ
45, 4; οι φάσκοντες 17, 5
Φάϋλλος δ 'Αχερδούσιος 38, 22
                                                                                έκει φρουρούντες στρατιώται Oec. ii 1351
Φειδώνεια μέτρα 10, 5
φέρω (of pay) φέρειν τρεῖς δβολούς 29, 32
(decree); (of expenditure) τὰ ἀναλώ-
                                                                                a 28, the only ref.)
                                                                             φυγάδες 19, 8; 20, 16; 34, 20; 37, 2
                                                                             φυγήν, φεύγων 57, 21
    ματα-ήνεγκον 56, 25. (of election) (χορηγούς κωμωδοίς) αl φυλαl φέρουσιν
                                                                             Φύη 14, 27
φυλακή: 61, 7; τοῦ σώματος 14, 4, 9; ἡ
τῆς πολιτείας φ. 25, 9; περί φυλακῆς
   (χώρη γους καραγούς τους ένηνεγμένους 

ύπο τών φυλών 56, 10. χαλεπώς φε-

ρόντων έπί τούτοις 38, 9; χ. ένεγκόντες 

έπί τῆ συμφορά 33, 5. ἐπέθηκε φέρων—
                                                                                 της χώρας 43, 18
                                                                             фикактіріа 42, 33 (Pol. 1331 a 20, b 16;
Rhet. 1360 a 9)
τὸ γράμμα 63, 23
φεύγω (of exiles) έφυγεν ἀειφυγίαν 1, 3;
                                                                             φύλαξ τῶν νόμων 4, 20; φύλακας τῆς ἀρχῆς
24, 8; δεσμωτῶν φύλακες 24, 21; τοῦ
   τοι τοι εκικοή εφυγεν αειφυγίαν 1, 3;
έφευγε τὰ λοιπά 17, 4; τῶν ἐξ 'Αρείου
πάγου φευγόντων 47, 14; φεύγων φυγήν 57, 21; (of the defendant) 48, 21;
53, 11; col. 36, 32
                                                                                 δεσμωτηρίου φύλακες 35, 6
                                                                             φύλαρχοι 30, 7; 31, 14; 49, 10; 61, 23
φυλάττω τὰ θέσμια φυλάττωσι 3, 20; τὰ
                                                                                ψηφίσματα φυλάττει 54, 15; φυλάττει
(την χώραν) 61, 5. παρ αὐτοῖς ἐφύ-
λαττον τοὺς ἐγνωσμένους 36, 14
φημί: φησιν 14, 25; 55, 19; φασί 6, 11;
7, 18; 9, 5; 16, 17; 17, 17; 18, 30,
&c. εφη 14, 13; 16, 21. φῆ 56, 15;
                                                                             φυλέται 31, 4 (decree); 42, 15, 26; 61,
    57, 19
φθείρω έφθάρθαι—κατά πόλεμον 26, 7
                                                                             Φυλή 37, 2; 38, 1, 15; 41, 23
φυλή τοις δικασταίς τοις την φυλήν ταύτην
φθίνοντος Θαργηλιώνος, ένάτη 32, 5
φιλάνθρωπος 16, 4, 30. Adv. 18, 17
φιλαργυρία (?) 5, 21 (Solon)
                                                                                είσάγουσι 48, 25; τοις την φ. δικάζουσιν
                                                                                 53, 14; τους την φ. δικάζοντας 58, 7.
                                                                                53, 14; τους τὴν φ. δικάζοντας 58, 7. τὴν φ. καλεῖ εἰς τὸ κληρωτήριον col. 31, 18. δυοῦν φυλαῦν 56, 13. φυλαὶ τέτταρες 8, 11; 41, 8; (χοργγοὺς κωμωδοῖς) αὶ φυλαὶ φέρουσι 56, 9; (χορηγοὺς ἐνηνεγμένους ὑτὸ τῶν φυλῶν 56, 10. ταῖς φυλαῖς 8, 4. διελόμενοι τὰς φυλά 61, 20; κατὰ φυλὰς 22, 8, 22; 42, 15, 28; 48, 1; 56, 13; 63, 2, 20. ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς δλης 62, 2, 4. For τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης εἰ sim., and for εἶς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς. ν. ἐκαστος
φιλεργία 16, 24 (Rhet. 1361 a 8)
φιλία 17, 15; 18, 9; 19, 26
φιλοκτήμων 12, 48 (Solon)
φιλόμουσος 18, 4 (Eth. 1175 a 34)
Φιλόνεως άρχων (527/6) 17, 2
φιλονικίαν την ένεστωσαν 5, 11; την προς
άλλήλους φ. 13, 16
φίλος 23, 24; φίλοι τοις τυράμνοις 18, 24;
των του τυράμνου φίλων 18, 30; τους
    τῶν τυράννων φίλους 22, 18, 25; φίλους 18, 32; φίλους τῶν τυράννων 20, 2; τῶν
                                                                                λής, υ. ξκαστος
    φίλων 20, 11; διά τῶν φ. 6, 8
                                                                             * φυλοβασιλείς τέτταρες 8, 12; φ. 41, 8;
φόβον, ὑπεξαιρούμενοι τὸν 35, 24
                                                                                 57, 31
φοβούμενοι μὴ καταλυθώσι τῆς ἀρχῆς 38,
9; φοβηθέντες μὴ—καταλύση 36, 5; φο-
βηθείς 15, 4; 16, 34; φοβουμένων abs.
                                                                             * φυλοκρινείν 21, 6
                                                                             φύσει, τη 5, 10; 18, 3, 24
φύω προς αμφοτέρους έπεφύκει καλώς 16,
                                                                                38
    40, 1
                                                                             φωνής (?) 15, 17
* φονεύς 18, 36
φονικών (θεσμών) 7, 2 (Pol. 1269 a 1, 1274 b 24, 1275 b 10, 1300 b 24)
                                                                             φωρώ εφώρασεν 18, 27
φόνου δίκην, προσκληθείς 16, 32; al τοῦ
                                                                             χαίρω, έφ, οιε έχαιδες ή πργιε λιλουπέροιε
    φόνου δίκαι 57, 12; φόνου δίκαι καὶ
                                                                                35, 20
    τραύματος 57, 14
                                                                             * χαλω έχάλασεν (?) 15, 17
Φορμίσιος 34, 24
                                                                             χαλεπώτατον—καί πικρότατον 2, 9
```

¬χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες 33, 5; χ. φερόντων 38, 8 - · χαλκοῦς άμφορεύς col. 36, 4, 7; χ. ψήφοι col. 35, 27; στήλην χαλκήν 53, 25 χαρακτήρ, ὁ άρχαῖος 10, 7 χαρίζεσθαι τοις πολλοίς 28, 27 χάρις πρός χάριν όμιλουντας 35, 19 Αάν. πίστεως χάρω 18, 35; τοῦ βελτίστου χ. 35, 21; τούτων χ. 29, 25 (decree); δυούν χ. 16, 7; ων χ. 22, 25 Pl. χάρισω 41, 29 Χάρμος, father of Hipparchus, 22, 16 χαθνα 12, 20 (Solon) χειμώνος, τοῦ χ. ἐνεστώτος, 37, χειροτονητός 54, 16 (Rhet. ad Alex. 1424 a 14 χειροτονηταί άρχαί, the only ref.) χειροτονία κριθήναι μιά χ. πάντας 34, 5; προς την επικύρωσιν της χειροτονίας 41, 32; τὰς χειροτονίας κρίνειν 30, 25 (decree); κρίνουσιν 44, 12. διατάττουσι cree); κρίνουσιν 44, 12. διατάττουσι τῆ χειροτονία 61, 3 (frag. and Rhet. ad Alex., the only reff.) χειροτονώ 34, 26; 42, 18, 22; 43, 3—5; 46, 3, 4; 49, 9, 18; 54, 17, 21; 56, 24; 57, 3; 61, 1, 17, 19, 23, 25, 27 χείρων χείρους 27, 23; χείρω 28, 2 χηρω έχηρώθη 12, 52 (Solon) χίλιοι 17, 16; 19, 28; 24, 13, 14; 35, 5 (?); χιλίους πεντακοσίους 35, 26 Xι̂οι 24, 7 χλαμώδας έχοντες 42, 33 (frag. 458², the only ref.) χολούμενοι 12, 20 (Solon) χορηγία met. 27, 18 χορηγούς τραγωδοίς καθίστησι τρείς—καί κωμωδοις καθίστη πεντε 56, 7—9; χο-ρηγούς καθιστάσιν 54, 35. els Δήλον χ. 56, 20 χορηγούντα, παισίν 56, 18 χρείας καταλαβούσης 3, 8 χρειούς, ύπο 12, 38 (Solon) χρέα, οι άφηρημένοι τα 13, 21. χρεών άποκοπαί 6, 3; 11, 8; χρεών άποκοπή 6, 11; 10, 2; 12, 26; 13, 13 (*Probl.* and Oec., the only reff.) χρή 6, 21; 15, 24

χρήματα, προεδάνειζε 16, 6; δανειζόμενοι 38, 8; διαχειριουσιν—διαχειρίζωσι τὰ

χρηματα 30, 10, 14; χρ. συλλέγεται 47, 29; τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα 48, 3; τῶν ἰερῶν ἐν οἰς τὰ χρήματ ἐστίν 44, 4. χρημάτων καταβολή 47, 31; χρημάτων τολ-λῶν 24, 1; τῶν ἰερῶν χρ. τῶν ὀσίων χρ. 30, 8 f. χρήμασων λητουργέω 20. 24

χρηματίζευ 43, 14, 29 f; 44, 11; περί σίτου και περί φυλακής τής χώρας 43,

Mid. χρηματισάμενος 15, 7

χρηστηριαζομένοις 19, 22 χρόνου τινός ου πολλοῦ διελθόντος 4, 2; χρόνου διαπεσόντος (?) βραχέος 35, 25.

χρησμών γιγνομένων 19, 7

(decree)

πολύν χρόνον 2, 2; 5, 3; 16, 35; 18, 23; οὐ πολύν χρ. 15, 3; χρ. τοσοῦτον 3, 23; χρ. τινὰ 28, 21; πλείω χρ. 44, 2 f; els τον άλλον χρ. 31, 18 (decree); -λοιπόν χρ. 30, 15 (decree); μετ' οὐ πολύν χρ. 25, 24; 34, 13. Pl. διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρ. 13, δ; τῶν χρόνων—μὴ ἐξεκληλυθότων 56, 17; ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρ. 3, 14; έν τοις τότε χρ. 26, 8; έν τοις έπιγέγραπται, τοι δικαστηρίοις col. 32, χρώμαι τοις Δράκοντος θεσμοίς χρώμενοι 7, 2; (νόμφ) χρώμενοι 8, 6; (νόμοις) οὐκέτι θυται 8, 16; χρώνται τοις έπωνύμοις και πρός τας στρατείας 53, 35; ώς (τῷ πλήθει) δεί χρησθαι 12, 10; χρώμενοι τη είωθυία-πραότητι 22, 19; τη πόλει πάση πατρικώς χρομένους 28, 32. έ-χρώντο τῷ μέν στρατηγῷ τῷ δὲ συμβούλω 23, 16; τοις συμμάχοις δεσποτικωτέρως έχρωντο 24, 7. δ τι χρήσεται τοις χρήμασιν 22, 32. έχρήσαντο τώ νόμφ 22, 12; χρήσασθαι ταις—συμφο-ραις 40, 18; ου χρησάμενοι καλώς τοις πράγμασι 34, 13 χώρα ή χ. δι δλίγων ήν 4, 24. έξεργα-ζομένης τής χώρας 16, 12; φυλακή τής χ. 43, 18. έν τή χώρα 19, 11. συνεχ. 43, 10. το τη χωρί 19, 11. τουτο πρίωντο πολλήν χ. 6, 10; κατά τήν χ. 16, 8; εἰς τήν χ. 16, 14; (στρατηγός δ) ἐπὶ τήν χ. 61, 5; τήν χ. ἀνάδαστον ποιοῦσιν 40, 25 χωρεῖν τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὴν μόνην col. 36, 9 χωρίον 15, 6; 16, 20; 60, 13; χ. ἀτελές 16, 18. Pl. 27, 17; 47, 21, 24; 52, 6; 60, 8 χωρίς 39, 26 (decree); χωρίς μέν—χωρίς δέ 47, 18; 53, 11. Not found c. gen. in 'Αθ. τολ. ψαλτρίαι 50, 6 (only in corresp. frag.) ψευδεγγραφής γραφή 59, 10 (only in corresp. frag.) þevðή την altlar elrai 6, 21 ψευδοκλητείας γραφή 59, 10 (only in corresp. frag.) ψευδομαρτύρια τὰ έξ 'Αρείου πάγου 59, 17; cf. col. 36, 11, 13. Form ψευδομαρ-τυριών in Pol. &c. ψηφιζόμενοι col. 37, 2; έὰν μὴ ψηφίζηται col. 36, 3; εἰς οθς (sc. ἀμφορέας) ψηφί-ζονται οἱ δικασταί col. 36, 6. δ τι ἀν οἰ δικασταί ψηφίσωνται 45, 11; ούκ έξεστιν ούδεν άπροβούλευτου — ψηφίσασθαι 45, ουσεν απρομουλευτου — ψηφισαυσια 45, 23; ψηφισάμενοι μηδεμίαν άρχην είναι μισθοφόρου 33, 9 ψήφισμα 29, 6, 10; 34, 27; 40, 8; 41, 26. τὰ ψηφίσματα φυλάττει 54, 14.

ψηφίσματα quoted (Pericles) 26, 22 f.

B.C. 411 (Pythodorus) 29, 10-19 (with amendment); 29, 21—39; c. 30; c. 31. B.C. 403 (al διαλύσεις ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου) c.

39
ψήφου, κύριος—τῆς 9, 6. δίδωσω—τὴν
ψήφον 55, 23 f; εἶς ἐνέβαλλε τὴν ψ. 55,
24. αὐτὴν μόνην χωρεῖν τὴν ψ. col. 36,
9. ψῆφοι χαλκαῖ col. 35, 27; τετρυπημέναι, πλήρεις, iδ. 29. ψήφων, ἀριθμὸς
col. 36, 32

ῶδ' 12, 11

ώμοτητα και πονηρίαν, πρός 37, 16 (not in this sense in Mateor. the only ref.) ώνιος 51, 11. ώνια, καθαρά καὶ άκιβδηλα

51, 13 ώνοθμαι. τόν τε πριάμενον και όσου αν πρί-

ηται 47, 17 ώραν την προρρηθείσαν 30, 32 (decree)

Όρεός 33, 5 ώς 'as', ώς λέγουσι 6, 7 f; 14, 26; 18, 32; φασίν 18, 30; φησιν 14, 25; δμολογείται 5, 12 'how', ώς (τῷ πλήθει) δεῖ χρῆσθαι 12,

10 'that', ώτ ούχ ήξει 11, 5; ού χρή θαυμάζειν 15, 24; έφώρασε 18, 26; είη 16, 27

when', ws exemese 15, 2; exemesor 28, 6; ούκ εδύνατο 18, 33; ελαβεν 18, 35; εφάνη 22, 29; είδεν 25, 18; επεκράτουν 38, 16

c. part. ws dr dπò τοῦ πράγματος κείμενον 7, 20 (ws dr not noticed elsewhere in Ar. in this sense); δυνάμενος πολιτεύεσθαι 28, 37; πεπουθώς 14, 4; δντα 18, 12; έπανορθούντες 35, 12; άπο-λογησόμενος 16, 33; μηνύσων 18, 34; μεθιδρυσόμενος 19, 5; μεταδώσοντες 36, 7 c. inf. ώς είπειν 2, 12; ώς έπος είπειν

49, 31; 57, 8 c. gen. abs. 6, 5; 13, 24; 36, 9

c. acc. abs. 7, 25; 29, 19 c. numeralibus, ws ентаковоры 37, 19

c. superl. ws loaltata 30, 18 (decree) ώτ = πρότ, ώτ τον δήμιον 45, 3 ώστερ 8, 20; 9, 8; 16, 3; 24, 10; 61, 24. ώστερ νύν 3, 32

шоте c. ind. od категхе ваито 18, 36; ού συνέπιπτεν αν 21, 11.- ε. inf. άπεχθέσθαι κτλ 6, 14; διατρέφεσθαι 16, 6; άναλίσκεσθαι τούς έπιεικείς 16, 11; τόν αύτον έχθρον είναι και φίλον 23, 23; μή δύνασθαι 49, 27 ωφελούμενοι, ετύγχανον 33, 7

ENGLISH INDEX.

The numerals refer to the pages; a and b denote the first and second columns of the commentary.

For proper names not found here, see Greek Index.

Abbott's History of Greace quoted, 17 a. 45 a abbreviations in the MS classified, xxxvi Aegospotami, 132
Aeschines, Schol. on F. L. 150 corrected, 131 b; Schol. on ii 87 quoted, 212
Alcmeonidae 1, 72—76
altars as places of refuge, 103 b Ambracia, Cypselidae in, 67 a amendment, formula for, 117 b Ammonias, state-trireme, 230 a, cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 149
amnesty after the fall of the Thirty and the Ten, 143 a Anaceum, 60 δ Anacreon, 68 b Andocides, de Myst. 78; 214 b (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 110 f)
Androtion, lv; on Solon, 37 a; date of, 86 a; cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 190 f animals, damage done by, 188 a; judicial trial of, 216 b Anthemion, 28, and Addenda, lxxvii Antinemion, 20,
Antiphon, 127
Anytus, 110 b, 132 b
Apollonius Rhodius, scholia on, xxviii
arbitrators, 190—192 Archestratus, 134 a, and Addenda, lxxvii Archinus of Ambracia, 67 Archinus, a leader of the moderate party, 404 B.C., 132 b, 144 a archons, early history of, 6; official residences of, 8—11; mode of appointment before Dracon, 12, 31; under Dracon, 14; under Solon, 29—31; under Cleisthenes, 86; their appointment

by lot, 29 b, 87 a; archonship opened by 10, 3y, 5y, 5y, at action property of to zengitae, 106 b; oath of, 7, 25, 203; salaries of, 231 b; scrutiny of, 201 b; archons of same name, how distinations of same name, how distinations of the same of th guished, 129 b
chronological list of archons (*denotes those hitherto unknown) 621 * Aristaechmus, 12 b 594 Solon, 19 a, 49 a, 55 a 582 & 1 Damasias II, 50 f 560 Comeas, 55 a 555 * Hegesias, 57 527 * Philoneos, 65 b 511 * Harpactides, 75 b 508 Isagoras, 77 b 501 *Hermocreon, 84 b 501 Hermocreon, 84 0 490 Phaenippus, 85 6 487 Telesinus, 86 6 483 Nicodemus, 88 a, 89 a 481 Hypsichides, 91 a 478 Timosthenes, 94 a 462 Conon, 100 a 457 Mnesitheides, 106 b 453 Lysicrates, 106 b 451 Antidotus, 106 b 432 Pythodorus, 108 a 412 Callias, 126 b 411 Mnesilochus, 128 a
411 Theopompus, 128 b
406 Callias Άγγελήθεν, 129 b 405 Alexias, 132 a 404 Pythodorus, 133 b, 146 b 403 Eucleides, 141 a 401 Xenaenetus, 146 a 329 Cephisophon, 200 b Areopagus, before Dracon, 11 and 31 b;

under Dracon, 18; under Solon, 33; revival of its authority after Persian war, 92; attacked by Ephialtes, 100 f; Pericles, 107; under the Thirty, 142 b; trials before, 172 b, 212. Cf. Keil, trials before, 172 b, 212. Solon. Verf. 100 f, 120 Arginusae, 129 b; overtures of Sparta after, 131 a Aristides, archonship of, 87 ab; ostracism

and recall of, 91; προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, 93; co-operates with Themistocles in building the walls of Athens, 93; withdraws the Ionians from alliance with Sparta, 94; assesses the tribute, \dot{w} .; counsels the people to live in Athens and to assume the control of affairs, ib.; promoter of the seventh change in the constitution, 147

Aristides, rhetor, xxv, 20 a, 45 a, 49 147 b. Cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 196 f Aristogeiton, 69 f

Aristogeiton, 09 t Aristophanes, scholia to, xxviii Aristotle and Macedonia, 59 a; Politics, xii f, xl, xliii—xlvi, lviii, 63 a, 66 a, 67 a, 76 a, 78, 83 &c.; Politicus, xiv; περl βασιλείαs, xiv (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 128—142); δικαιώματα πόλεων, xiv; νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, xiv; πολιτεΐαι, xiv—xxxi; style of, xlix; see 'Athenian Constitution' Constitution

under Solon, 26; pay for attendance, instituted by Agyrrhius, 149; its final amount, 231. Number of meetings, 158; business at each, 159 f, 162 f

Athenaeus, xxvi

Athênê, statue of, 170 a; peplus of, 180 a, 223 a; treasurers of, 170, cf. 121 Athenian ascendancy, beginning of, 94 'Athenian Constitution', abstract of, lix
—lxvii; authorship of, xxxix—liv; authorities followed in, liv (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 48, 51, 186, 205, 227, 231, and esp. 200 f); date of, xxxix; Berlin fragments of, xxxi f; British Museum papyrus of, xxxiv - xxxix; language and style, xlvi-1; literature of, lxviilxxv; relation to the *Politics*, xliii—xlvi; lviii; 57 a, 83 a; rhythm, l and *Addenda*, lxxvii

Atthides, writers of, lv f (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 200 &c.)

Attica; men of the 'Highlands', the 'Shore', and the 'Plain', 54 a Attic lunar year, 157 b auditors, 193 a

Bauer, Prof. A., quoted, 56 b, 58 a, 90 b, 130 b beasts of burden, damage done by, 118 a Bergk quoted, xxxii f Berlin Fragments, the, xxxi f, liv

Blass, Prof. F., quoted, xxxi f, xxxviii, lxxviii, 82 b, and, in the critical now passim Bouzyges, 254 frag. 10 bowmen, citizens serving as, 96 b Brauronia, 198 b British Museum papyrus describi xxxiv f Busolt, Prof. G., quoted, 14 a, 15, 1761

Callixenus, 114 a Cauer, F., criticised, 148 & chiasmus, 124 b Chios, 95 a choregi, 204 f chronology of rule of Peisistratus, 56

of later years of Themistod 101-3 Cicero's mention of the Holuteiau, xi Cimon, 104 f; accused by Pericles, 11

his liberality, 108 f citizens, revision of the roll of, 53; rq tration of, 150 citizenship, grants of, 196 & Cleidemus, lv

Cleisthenes, 76-Cleitophon, 117 b Clement of Alexandria, xxvi Cleomenes, King of Sparta, 75-7

Cleon, 111 f
Cleophon, 112 f, 131
clerks, public, 194—6
cleruchi, 97 b

Cobet, marginal correction of Pollux 85, 202 b Codrus, 6

coinage, Aeginetan and Euboic, 39 Comedy, choregi appointed for, 204 conflict of classes before Dracon Solon, 3-

Solon, 3—5 conjectures proposed, (c. 2, 1) 4 b; (c 13) 7; (c. 4, 13 and 16) 16 bis; (c 19) 22; (c. 8, 24) 33; (c. 8, 28) (c. 13, 24) 53; (c. 26, 5) 104; (c. 16) 112 a; (c. 35, 9 f) 134 b; (c. 3) 139; (c. 39, 24) 143; (c. 43, 15) 15 (c. 45, 3) 167; (c. 47, 14) 172; (c. 24) 177; (c. 51, 17) 185; (c. 54, 21) 199; (c. 50, 40) 210; (c. 57, 26) 215 63, 3) 233 l. 3; (c. 63, 8) 234; (col. 1 f) 237; (col. 31, 27) 239; (col. 3: 240; (col. 32, 15, 16, 19) 241. Son Aeschin. F. L. 150 corrected, I. Photius, s.v. ηγεμονία δικαστηρίου Photius, s.v. ηγεμονία δικαστηρίου rected, 216 a; mistake in Photius, πάραλοι, accounted for, 230 a Council of 401 under Dracon, 16;

under Solon, 33. Council of 500 stituted by Cleisthenes, 79 a; app ed by lot, 157 a, 231 a; function 168 f; their right of imprisoning, b, 175 b; salary of, 231 b; scruting appointment to, 168 a; transfer of s

their duties to the Assembly 148 b, the law-courts, 180 b
n of archon basileus, 216 a
ius, Prof. O., quoted, 9 b, 44 a, 110
149 a
ius, Prof. E., quoted, 9 b, 10, 54 a, &c.
n, 1—3
selidae in Ambracia, 67 a

asias II, 50 f
onides, 109
ste, M. R., quoted, 46 a
leia, 131 a
s, festival at, 198, 199 b; amphiones, 232 a; choregiand architheoros,
5 b
hi, temple at, 74 a
hinium, court in precincts of, 213 a
legogues, 111
s, names of, 82: number and disbution of, 80
etrius Phalereus, xlii
earchus, xxi, xliii
ts, 6000, 96 b; number of, 190 b,
5 a; pay, 241 b; procedure for their
otment to the several law-courts,
3 f; votes of, 246
mus, xxi f (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf.
f)
lia, 112 b (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf.
3)
enes Laertius, xxv
ysia, 201 a, 204 b, 206 a
ict-judges', 63 b
y, restitution of, 187 a
on, constitution before, 6—12; conution of, 12—18 (defended by Keil,
lon. Verf. 96—98, 202); laws of,
b, 23 b

burgh Review, 1891, p. 478 f, quoted, 6, 138 6 neia, 138 a inia, 199 a is, 141 f :n, the, 99 b, 185 f i, 150—155 2e, 214; cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 106 ff, altes, 99-104; cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. enides, 3 itheus, 250, l. 3
ia, Knights of, aid Peisistratus, 59 b; tle of, 411 B.C., 128 b ologicum Magnum, xxvii ea, revolt of, 411 B.C., 128 en, Prof. R., quoted, xlviii f, 3, 43 a, a, 145 a ides, scholia on, xxvii; 253 frag. 4 thius, xxviii

Festivals, of Asclepius, 206; Brauronia, 198; Delian, 198, 205; Dionysia, 204; Heracleia, 198; Lenaea, 210 b; Panathenaea 223; Thargelia 204 f, 207 Five Thousand, the, 120, 126, 127, 128 fortresses of Attica, 123 a, 155 a Forty, the, 188 b Foucart, M., quoted, 97 a Four Hundred, the, 115—128 Fragments, index of, 256

Gellius, xxv generals, 85; election and duties of, 225 f; at Arginusae, 129 f gennetae, 252 (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 64 f) Gilbert, G., 7 b, 225 b, and passim Giles, Mr P., quoted, 81 b Girard, M. P., 151 b, 154 b Gomperz, Prof., quoted, xlvii, 5 a, 14 a, 58 a Goodwin, Prof. W. W., 164 a, 222 b Grote, quoted, 26 b, 35 b, 36 b, 37 b, 42 a, 56 a, 59 a, 63 b, 79 b, 81 a, 85, 127 b, 128 a, 131 a, 135 b, 164 b; supported by text, 90 b, 117 a guards, on the acropolis, 97 a; over the dockyards, ib. guardships, 98 b

Hager, Dr H., 118 b &c. Harmodius, 67-71; commemoration of, 217 Harpocration, xxvi Hartel, Prof. von, quoted, 161 b Haussoulier, M. B., quoted, 174 b, 237 f Head, Mr B. V., quoted, 38 b, 39 b, 40 Headlam, Mr J. W., quoted, 1, 13—18, 152 a, 156 b, 157 b, 214 a, 231 a, 232 b Hegesistratus, 66 b, 67 b heliaea, 215 b Heracleia, 199 a Heracleides of Clazomenae, 149 b Heracleides Lembos, xxi, 250 Hermippus, xvi f Herodotus, liv, 57 b; (v 66, 69) 78 a; (v 69) 79 b; (v 71) 1 b (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 96, 117) Hesychius, xxvii hiatus, I, lii (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 195) Hicks, Mr R. D., 178 (n. c.) Hipparchus, 68 son of Charmus, 85 b holidays, Athenian, 158 b Homer, scholia on, xxviii; Solon's reminiscence of, 48 a homicide, law of, 23 b; the Areopagus and its cognisance of, 100 b, 142 b; trials for, 212-6 hoplites (2500), 98 a horses and horsemen, δοκιμασία of, 177 f houses, purchase-money of, 173; windows of, 183

Hultsch, quoted, 38 b

Ion, 146 b, 250 l. 2, 251 frag. 1 Ionisms in Solon's verses, 46 b, 47 b; in Cleidemus, 58 a Isocrates, li, 12 a, 30 a, 93 a; (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 78 ff, 89 ff)

Jackson, Dr H., quoted, 185 a, and in critical notes 22, 41, 44 &c.
Jebb, Prof. R. C., quoted, 42 b, 44, 166 a

Keil, Prof. Bruno, quoted, lxxiv, lxxvii Kenyon, Mr F. G., quoted, xxxiv f, 4 a, 14 b, 25 b, 47 b, 74 a, 78, 86 b, 102, 110 a, 120 b, 122, 134 a, 139 a, 146 b, 191 a, 193 b, and in the critical notes passim

Knights (1200), 96 b; (1000) 133 b; under the Thirty, 142. Of Eretria, 59 b Köhler, Prof. U., quoted, lxxiv, 39 4

Larmor, Mr J., quoted, 245 δ law-courts, allotment of, 221 δ, 233 f; Gk. Index, s. v. δικαστήρια, "Apeios πάγος, (ἐπι) Δελφινίφ and Παλλαδίφ, (ἐν) Φρεάτου law-suits, see Gk. Index, s. v. γραφαί,

and bleau leases of mines, 171 f; of sacred enclosures, 173 f; property of minors,

closures, 173 f; property of minors, 209 b Leeuwen, Prof. van, quoted, xxxvi f, and

in critical notes passim

Leipsydrium, 72 b

Lempos farageous sent to 200 g

Lemnos, ¹ππαρχοι sent to, 229 a Leocorium, 70 a

Lesbos, 95 a
Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, 183 a
Lipsius Prof I H quoted 150 h 158

Lipsius, Prof. J. H., quoted, 150 b, 158 a, 189 a, 195 b, 219 b &c. lot, appointment by, 16 a, 29 f, 87, 230 b,

lot, appointment by, 16 a, 29 f, 87, 230 b, 236 b; Council appointed by, 157 a, 230 a. See also Gk. Index, s. v. κληρώ and λαγχάνω
Lycurgus, administration of, 170 b,

Lycurgus, adn 200 a b Lygdamis, 59 f

Macan, Mr R., quoted, lviii, lxvi, 30 b, 37 a

Mahaffy, Dr J. P., quoted, xv, 89 b

maladministration, fines for, 194 b

Marmor Parium, 50 b &c.

Maroneia, mines at, 89 b

Mayor, Rev. Prof. John E. B., quoted, 4a, 55 a, 58 a, 154 b, 182 (n. c.) &c.

Mayor, Rev. Jos. B., quoted, xlvii (n.), 21 (n. c.), 67 (n. c.), 145 (n. c.) &c.

Megacles, son of Hippocrates, 87 b

Megarian war, 54

Meyer, P., quoted, 14 a

military discipline, 228 a; period of military service, 191 a

mines, 89 f, 171 f Müller, Carl, xxix Munichia, 72, 226 a

naucrari, 32 b, 81 b; cf. Keil, Sol. Verf. p. 93 ff neutrals, Solon's law against, 34 Newman, Mr W. L., quoted, xlv, lv. 13 a, 20 b, 34 b, 71 b, 83 a, 85 b, 95 b, 96 a, 103 b, 114 b, 167 a, 200 a Nicias, 114 Nicodemus, or Nicomedes, 89 a Nittle, figures of, 170

officials, home and foreign, 97 b; appointed by lot, members of Council, 157, 231 a; other officials so appointed, 170—5, 181—201, cf. Gk. Index, s. r. κληρώ. Military officials, 225 f; elected by show of hands, 155 f; time of electing, 165 b. Scrutiny of, 202 a oil from the sacred olive-trees, 223 f Oncken, Prof. W., quoted, xxx opisthodomos, 163 a orthography; see critical notes on δεί 20 f; γίγνομαι 5; γιγνώσκω 19; έξοπλασία[?) 60; leptworty 83; λητουργία 108 b; Μουνιχία 72; σώξειν 92; σῶος, σῶτ 123 Ostracism, 84—92; 160 a; archeological evidence on, 88 a b

Palladium, court in precincts of, 213 & Panathenaea, 71 a, 157 a, 198 a, 222 f Panathenaic vases, 223 b Paralot, 229 b (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 149) Paton, Mr W. R., quoted, 15 (n. c.), 83 Patrizzi, xxix Patrizzi, xxix
Patrizcleides, decree of, 214 b
paupers, relief of, 181 (cf. Keil, Solon.
Verf. 75)
Peiraeus, demarch of, 200 b; generals set over, 226 b; party of, 140-Peisander, 127 Peisistratus, chronology of, 56 (cf. Köhler, on p. lxxii, and Keil, Solon. Verf. 51); in Macedonia, 58 Pericles, 106-111; law of citizenship carried by, 106 b; his accusation of Cimon, 107; his successors, 111 etitions, 161 a Phanodemus, lv Pheidon, 37 b Philochorus, xix, lvi; on ostracism, 84 & Philon's σκευοθήκη, 168 b, 180 b
Philostephanus of Cyrene, xx
Phormisius, a leader of the moderate
party 404 B.C., 132 b

Photius, xxvii; s. v. ηγεμονία δικαστηρίω corrected, 216 a; mistake, s. v. πάραλω, accounted for, 230 a 'Phreatto', 213 b Phyle, 137 plans of buildings removed from cognisance of the Council, 180 a Plato's Republic, Politicus and Laws, x, xi; Rep. 558 B, xliv n; Gorgias 515 E, 110; cf. Keil, Solon, Verf. 158, 218 f; scholia on, xxviii Pliny the Elder, xxiii
Plutarch and the Πολιτείαι, xxiii f, 19 a; Theseus, 147 a, 251 frag. 2; Solon, xxiii 1, 19 a; Theseus, 147 a, 251 frag. 2; Solon, xxiii 1, 1—3, 21, 24 f, 33—37, 41—48 (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 40, 45, 55, 164, 173, 175, &c.); Themistocles, 102; Cimon, 104 f, 107 f; Pericles, 106—9; Nicias, 2, 114 b Polemon, 27 b Pollux, xxv f, 28, 176 a, &c., and in the Testimonia, passim (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 64); corected by Cobet, 202 b Poole, Mr R. S., quoted, 39 a Poste, Mr E., quoted, 14 b, 21 a, 97 b, 115 a, 123 b, 142 a Postgate, Dr, 20 (n. c.) proedri, 163 proxenos, grants of title of, 196 a prytaneum, court in precincts of, 216 b prytanies, duration of, 157 b Pythocleides, 255 frag. 13 Pythodorus, archon 432/1, 108 a; archon 404/3, 116 b, 133 b quadriremes, 169 a Quarterly Review, Apr. 1891, quoted,

Reinach, Th., 13 b, 143 b &c. Richards, Mr H., quoted, xlvii f, 19 b, 61 b, and in critical notes passim Ridgeway, Prof., 40 b Robertson Smith, Prof., xxxi

Rose, V., xxx, 74 a &c. rotation in office, 16 f, 125 b Rühl, F. xxi (*), lxxiii, 147 b &c.

103 a

sacrifices, commissioners of, 197 a Salaminia, 230 a b Salamis, battle of, 92; archon in, 200 b salaries, 230 f Samos, 95 a, 232 a 'Sandwich marble', 232 a scholia, quotations from πολιτείαι in, Schöll, quoted, 219 b Schömann, quoted, 133 a, 148 a, 164 b &c. Schvarcz, criticised, xlii f scolia, 73, 77 seal of Athens, 163 b Selden, xxix Shute, Mr R., quoted, xl, lii f Simonides, 68 a slaves, damage done by, 187 b Solon, liv, 18—48; date of his archonship, 49 f, 55 a; legislation of, 23;

obscurities in his laws, 36 b, 134 b; law obscurities in his laws, 36 b, 134 b; law against neutrality, 34; limited power of testation granted by, 135 a; verses of, 19—21; 44—48; democratic tendency of his reforms, 34; reform of coins, weights and measures, 37 (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 70 f, 163—172); withdraws to Egypt, 41; opposes Peisistratus, 55; ashes of, 254 frag. 11; elσαγγελίαι, 34 a; κύρβειε 236 (Keil, L. 58); δροι 45 f; σεισάχθεια 21, 37 b Solon and Peisistratus, 55, 66 Sophocles, his στρατηγία, 166 a; scholium Sophocles, his στρατηγία, 166 a; scholium on O. C. 701, 223.
Strabo and the Πολιτεΐαι, xxii

symmories, generals set over the, 226 a

taxes, Athenian, 95 f Ten, the, appointed to succeed the Thirty 139 b; their atrocities, ib.; superseded by another body of Ten, 140; excluded from the amnesty, 143 a; allowed to settle at Eleusis, ib. For other bodies of Ten, see Gk. Index, s. v. δέκα

Themistocles, brings about building of triremes, 90 f; date of his archonship, 90 b; co-operates with Aristides in building walls of Athens, 93 b; accused of Medism, 102; helps Ephialtes to overthrow the Areopagus (B.C. 462), 101 f

theoricon, 113 f, 156 a, 171 b
Theramenes, leader of aristocratical party, 114; character of, 115. A leader of the 400, 127; joins in subverting them, 128. Leader of moderate party after Aegospotami, 133; opposes extreme measures of the Thirty, 136; put to death, 137. Cf. lxiii n Theseum, 61 a, 230 b

Theseus, 147 a, 251 frag. 2, 253 frag. 4
thesmothetae, 218 f; clerk to, 201 b
Thettalus, 66 b, 68 b

Thirlwall justified, 59 a, 63 b

Thirty, the, established by Lysander,
133; their rule, 133—6; defeated at
Munichia and expelled from power, 139; excluded from amnesty, allowed to settle at Eleusis, 143

Thompson, Mr E. S., quoted, 13 b, 75 b Thompson, Dr W. H., quoted, 25 a Thrasybulus, occupies Phyle and defeats forces sent by the Thirty, 137; decree proposed by T. attacked by Archinus,

144
Three Thousand, privileged body under the Thirty, 137 a Thucydides (i 126), 2 a; on Harmodius, liv, 69—71; (viii 67) 117 f, 125 a
Thucydides (son of Melesias), leader of

aristocratical party, 111 Timaeus, xx

torch-races, 211 a

Torr, Mr Cecil, xxxix, 169 a, 185 b treasurers, lxxvii, 121, 170; treasurer of the Council, 181 b treaties, 196 a tribes, four in early times, 31 b; ten instituted by Cleisthenes, 83 b triremes, building of, 90 f, 169 a 'tyranny', law against, 65 Tyrrell, Prof. R. Y., quoted, 22 b, 103 a Tzetzes, xxvii

verbs, compound followed by simple, 194 a votes of dicasts, 246; reckoning-board for, 248 b

Walker, Mr E. M., quoted, 105 a 'war-king', 7 water-clock, 244 f weights and measures, 184 a

Weil, Prof. H., quoted, 14 n. c., 69 a Wilamowitz, von, quoted, 97 f, 195 a 218 a, and in critical notes passim wills, 135 a Wright, Prof. J. H., xix f, xxiv, lvii, lt Wyse, Prof. W., quoted, 33 b, 62 b, 66 b, 85 a, 91 b, 97 a, 99 a, 103 b, 119 b 126, 190 a, 199 b &c.; also in critical notes passim

Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, ostracised, 88 b; his dog, 254 frag. 12
Xenophon and the 'Αθ. πολ., lv; his political writings, ix, x; Pseudo-Xenophon, 'Αθ. πολ., ix (cf. Keil, Solon. Verf. 215)

year, lunar, 158 a

Zenobius, xxv; (vi 29) criticised, 113 b

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